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DIVE AGAR (Spurious) PLATES OF CALUKYA VINAYADITYA. Saka 520.

Plate IIb.

DIVE AGAR (Spurious) PLATES OF CALUKYA VINAYADITYA. Saka 520.

Plate IIIa.

B. C. LAW VOLUME

PART II

EDITED BY

DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D.
PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.
DR. B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.LITT.
DR. B. K. GHOSH, D.PHIL., D.LITT.
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Published by
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THIS VOLUME OF ARTICLES

contributed by

HIS FRIENDS AND ADMIRERS

is presented

to

Dr. B. C. LAW,

M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B., F.B.B.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Buddhāgamaśiromaṇi.

PREFACE

We are glad to complete the second and the last part of the B. C. Law Volume. We are grateful to scholars of the east and west for their ready response to our appeal, without which it would have been impossible for us to perform our arduous task. It is most regrettable that two well-known scholars, among the contributors, have left the world before the volume is out. We shall consider our labour amply rewarded, if the volume is proved to be of some use to scholars. We are thankful to the authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for accepting it as their publication.

D. R. BHANDARKAR,
B. M. BARUA,
K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,
B. K. GHOSH,
P. K. GODE.

April 2, 1946.

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THE MALAY VERSION OF THE RAMAYANA

By

SIR RICHARD WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT.

Two of the classical Malay texts of the *Ramayana* have been printed, one by Roorda van Eysinga at Amsterdam in 1843, the other by Dr. Shellabear in the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 71, December 1915, with an analysis in No. 70, April 1917. A third Malay text in a manuscript collected by Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore, and now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, has been described by me in the Journal of that Society, Part I, 1944. All three texts appear to be derived from the same archetype. The Shellabear text is from a MS. which once belonged to Archbishop Land and since 1633 has been on the shelves of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, but notwithstanding its age it is in matter the latest, although textually the oldest and best preserved. I have commented on the two printed texts in my *History of Malay Literature* (Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1940). A feature of Archbishop Land's text is certain Muslim additions, although of course all three texts are a translation done (probably in fifteenth century Malacca) after the Malays had embraced Islam and borrowed the Arabic alphabet and many Arabic words.

It is interesting to notice how the scribe who wrote Archbishop Land's text has adapted the text of an earlier original to the taste and exigencies of a Muslim court. The contents of the first thirty-one pages of the Raffles MS. are outlined in my article cited above. The story then continues as in the Land MS., but just before the Land MS. begins, the Raffles MS. has a passage in which Chitra-Baha asks his father's pardon for the ferocity of the young Ravana and accepts the decision that the child be banished. His speech runs as follows:—

' "Lord of the world, not to speak of this lump of flesh and blood Ravana, if I had a thousand such children, I would surrender them at your highness' wish. Provided the name and fame of the Maharaja of all the world do not suffer, I am content. Even my life is in your hands and at your command and I lay it at your highness' feet. For life with fair repute is good but life without fair repute is naught, because no man shall live for ever and verily all shall perish. So long as the country, the throne and the fame of your highness are safe, my heart rejoices." When his highness heard these words of his son, he was exceedingly glad and straightway Ravana was carried by Chitra-Baha aboard ship.'

This is the passage which the scribe of the Land MS. has chosen for the commencement of his MS., partly it would seem because he saw a way to twist Chitra-Baha's speech into an apology for a non-Muslim epic and partly because it was immediately followed in his original by the visit of Adam, a

Muslim Prophet, to Ravana as he is doing penance. This is a translation of his exordium:—

'This is a wonderful tale famous among all in the monsoon lands, as set forth in Hindu books. It is the tale of Maharaja Ravana of the ten heads and twenty hands, a ruler exceedingly great on whom Allah Most High bestowed four kingdoms, one on earth, one in heaven, one under the earth and one in the depth of the sea. All episodes that are not seemly I discard, so long as what I recite to your highness be of good report. For I am at the command of your highness and the slave of your highness. For life with fair repute is good. Let me not die in bad repute, for this world is not imperishable. If your highness' country be safe, it shall be with good repute. And straightway Ravana was carried aboard a ship.'

It is, of course, possible that the scribe of the Land MS. was copied from an original of which some early pages were missing but it seems more than an accident that he has chosen for his opening page a passage he can twist into an oblique apology and started with an episode immediately followed by the appearance of Nabi Adam.

THE OFFICIALS OF THE COURT OF THE KING OF SATARA, A.D. 1822

By

MR. R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E., C.L., I.C.S. (RETD.)

In the year A.D. 1822, a few years after the defeat of the Peshwa at the battle of Kirkee, a Maratha dynasty was restored to power in the city of Satara, when the British Resident invested Pertab Singh with full powers on his attaining majority.

In pursuance of his instructions, a State document was thereupon drawn up containing the names of the leading court officials, their respective functions, and rules for their guidance in the discharge of these duties. The document, obtained from the archives of the Satara Kings, was translated and supplied to me by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis some years ago. It is a very lengthy paper and, as might be expected, contains much repetition, particularly when describing the conduct of the various officials while at court.

In the following notes I have extracted the really important part of the manuscript, which may be of interest to students of the Maratha régime.

The following are named as the most important of the court officials:—

1. Pandit.
2. Upadhya.
3. Karbhari.
4. Fadnis.
5. Potnis.
6. Chitnis.
7. Vanknis.
8. Bakshi.
9. Havaldar.
10. Abdar.

11. Hajirnis.
12. Bhonsle Khanajad.
13. Bhoi.
14. Devapujar.
15. Khasbhardar.
16. Lagi, Bothati and Ita bearers.
17. Gunijana.
18. Tirandaj.
19. Rakhtavan.
20. Chalebargir.
21. Cook.
22. Gondhali.
23. Davaregosavi.
24. Kalavant.
25. Kalamdan bearer.

Of these twenty-five officials, the Bakshi is stated to have had two assistants known respectively by the titles of Jasuda and Bhaldar. The names of many of the above officials can be traced back to the Rules issued by Sivaji at the time of his coronation at Raigadh in 1674. This document contains over 90 offices, many of very minor importance. Students of the Peshwa's Daftar will be able to compare the two State documents, which throw an interesting light on the Maratha administration.

The orders of the Satara King for the conduct to be observed by these officials are couched in curiously vague terms. Thus, in the case of fifteen of them, we are told that 'rewards will be given for the efficient discharge of duties, and punishments for the neglect thereof'; and, again, that 'servants of the State, whether old or new, will be rewarded in consideration of the length and quality of their respective services'. This conveys little idea of the nature of the rewards or punishments referred to, and leaves the court a very wide discretion. Similarly, it is to be observed that, in the case of sixteen of these officials, a rule prescribed that 'a bath should be taken early in the morning', and that 'they should come to the palace in clean and decent dress'. Presumably the remaining nine officials were expected to follow the same line of conduct, though this is nowhere specifically laid down in their case.

At the Satara Court, as at all Hindu centres, the most important official was the Pandit or chief religious adviser. Few matters, indeed, were outside his sphere, either in an advisory or executive capacity. It is accordingly laid down that he should attend the palace daily. Here he must

(1) propitiate the family gods;
(2) select Brahmans who are to receive daily gifts;
(3) appoint others to assist in the propitiation ceremonies;
(4) deal with all questions involving an interpretation of the sacred laws;
(5) prescribe penalties for those who are reported to have violated the laws of the Shastras;
(6) supervise the preparation of the sacrificial pit (*kunda*), and the erection of the pavilion (*mandap*) for any special performance of propitiatory rites or worship;
(7) arrange for the feeding of a selected number of Brahmans at the court expense;

(8) on holidays and festivals, pay respect (*darshana*) to the King, who will in turn salute him in the same way ;

(9) advise the King, in advance, of all religious festivals ;

(10) arrange for the reception of distinguished visitors, Brahmans or others.

As a general instruction, the Pandit is enjoined to follow the stars in their courses, and to warn the King of their auspicious or inauspicious position in connection with public events. If these cannot be postponed when the omens are not favourable, the Pandit, by worship and by making gifts to Brahmans, should endeavour to modify any possible evil influence.

The functions of the Upadhya or family priest are very similar to those of the Pandit, under whose instructions he acts, attending the shrine of the gods in the palace, and helping to procure the various articles, i.e. rice, sandal paste, flowers, sacred basil and bel (*Ægle marmelos*) leaves, with the necessary utensils. He is responsible for making similar preparations in the queens' apartments, where the shrine must be supported and worship carried out.

He is specially charged with the duty of pouring water over the god's image (*abhisheka*), and must keep both the King and his chief minister informed of the good and bad influence of the stars.

The Karbhari is in charge of the King's civil affairs, including care of the official records, and the general supervision of the royal establishment. Accounts must be kept under his orders and all security bonds completed. The treasury balance sheet and the list of the royal jewelry and other valuables must be examined and certified by him. Any default or misconduct on the part of the menial establishment is to be entered by him in their service records, and brought to the notice of the King.

Under the Karbhari, the Fadnis and Potnis carry out the duties of accountant and treasurer respectively. The latter keeps the pay rolls of the establishment, and makes disbursements to the staff accordingly. It is for the Fadnis to keep a record of all orders regarding the dismissal, restoration or grant of leave relating to menial servants, known as the Shagiri Pesha, of which account must be taken when the monthly payments of salary are made.

A careful record is to be maintained of all correspondence with the village officials regarding accounts and *inams*. While the Potnis is responsible for the charge of all offerings (*nazars*) made to the King, the Vanknis makes arrangement for the distribution of charitable gifts, i.e. cash, clothing and food. These are drawn from the royal treasury or *Jamdar Khana*, and it is laid down that every single article of clothing so issued should be separately recorded, as well as the receipt of such articles by purchase or gift.

Such, in brief, were the arrangements for the religious and office work of the court at Satara. In addition to those of the Pandit and Upadhya, certain functions connected with religion were entrusted to the Devapujar, who, in a subordinate capacity, assisted these officials. To this official, in addition to worship and sacrifice in the palace shrine, is allotted the important task of finding water for the King's meals, and, when necessary, medicine for his indisposition. Elaborate instructions are recorded for the collection and care of the various articles required for conducting the rites at the time of the numerous religious festivals. Among these, which it would be tedious and unnecessary to specify in detail, it is noticeable that the Devapujar conducted the Devak ceremony. I have dealt elsewhere with the significance of Maratha devaks, to which Sir James Campbell drew attention in the pages of the Bombay Gazetteer. Here it will suffice to mention that, at the installation and worship of the fruit, flower or other emblems constituting the totemistic marriage guardian, the Devapujar's family provided the *Suvasini* or happily married woman and the *Mehuna* or happy couple who had to be present on these occasions, and to whom presentations of new garments were made, as well as offerings of food.

We pass now to officials of another description.

Chief of these is the Bakshi, with his two assistants, the Jasud (messenger) and Bhaldar (usher). This officer combined the command of troops, both mounted and on foot, with duties resembling those of a military secretary to a modern Viceroy or Governor. Thus, it was for him to summon distinguished visitors to court, and to arrange for their being properly seated according to precedence before the arrival of the King. He had similarly to marshal the King's guests invited to meals, and to arrange for interviews when necessary. In order to discharge these duties satisfactorily the Bakshi was expected to keep full records of the various chiefs, inamdars and other landlords and to handle their emoluments. On the accession of a King it was prescribed that the Bakshi should receive a new costume, a silver tray with inkstand and pens, a shield, a sword and a horse. He also received two betel rolls daily, and four on feast days. These betel rolls were prepared by the Havaldar attached to the department, known as the Abdarkhana, in charge of the Abdar. Water and the usual utensils for the royal bath, as well as flowers, scents and unguents, are to be provided by the Abdar, who, with the Havaldar and others assisting, is to be rewarded with a gift of clothes and occasionally a goat for their consumption. It is specially laid down that when distinguished visitors offer them gratuities in any form, these may be retained.

Special interest centres on the Bhonsle Khanajad, among the remaining members of the royal establishment, for the King, as a descendant of Sivaji, was of course a Bhonsle. The term Khanajad, i.e. born in the house, is stated by Molesworth to cover the child of a slave. This explains the menial duties allotted to him. He is, it appears, to be present at court with the royal shoes and spittoon, presenting the shoes to the King as he rises from the throne. He is to take his turn with others watching over the King when asleep or in private consultation. He is to act as a spy on palace intrigues, keeping the King informed of any sinister movements. He is also in charge of the King's sword. It is laid down that one of the Bhonsle family should always be included in the list of those invited to court banquets. On

occasions the royal standards should be borne by the Bhonsle. As body-servants of the King the Bhonsles are enjoined to show the greatest respect to their lord, even more than is paid by the King to the family gods. New clothes are given them at the Dasara.

Of the remaining officials the functions can readily be gathered from their names. Thus the Bhoi, known in the south as a Bedar, is the palanquin bearer who forms part of a team under a Naik. The Bhois were supplied with a *pal* or small sleeping tent, a sack for it, and a conveyance for these when on tour with the King. At Dasara time the palanquin was worshipped, i.e. propitiated, and the offerings made to it, including portions of a goat, divided among the Naik and the Bhois. At Divali they received sweetmeats.

The Khasbhardar was the King's armourer, and had charge of the guns. He accompanied the King to the chase, and was given the usual offerings at the time of the Hindu festivals. With the royal weapons in his charge he was assisted by the standard bearers, who bore the flags and spears. These were described as Lagi, Bothati and Ita bearers. Special orders enjoin that the famous 'bhagwa Jhenda' should be kept unfaded by constant renewal, and the spears brightly burnished. The Ita bearer is entitled to a goat at the Dasara. The Tirandaj kept the royal bow and arrows. The Rakhtavan and Kalamdan were charged respectively with provision of the ink supplies and the royal pen and inkpot.

Special interest attaches to the Chalebargirs, and their origin. Bargir, of course, was the name given to the Maratha mounted troops, who were provided with State mounts and equipment in contrast to the Silledars, who brought their own. But the Marathas were also very widely known by the term 'Bargir', of which the origin is by no means clear. The Chalebargirs are, by tradition found in these records, reputed to be the descendants of certain orphans of Maratha village officers discovered by Shahu I and by him taken into the service of the court. By conferring lands on these orphans Shahu was able to arrange for their marriages with certain deshmukhs and patils. At the Dasara the Chalebargirs were granted clothes and goats by Shahu; but the Satara Court reduced these gifts to merely a goat.

Their duties were those of watchmen, particularly for the royal treasury or Jamdar Khana.

It is interesting to note how the authority of Shahu sufficed in this case to set at rest any question of caste in regard to the orphan children. Their recognition as Marathas seems to have been rendered easier by the substantial dowries conferred on them at marriage.

We come now to the court dancers and musicians, the Gunijana, Gondhali, Davaregosavi and Kalavant, who, with the cook, whose functions are obvious, complete our list of court retainers. The orders mention by name two Guravas or village priests, i.e. Avaji and Sakhu Gurava, whose duty is described as to be present in the *devagriha* or palace shrine at the time of worship and to hold charge of the musicians' instruments, i.e. drum, cymbals, *vina*, etc., as well as to superintend the Kalavants or dancing girls. The Gondhalis, or itinerant musicians and singers, who are called after the *Gondhal* dance which they perform, are enjoined to attend every full moon day in order to dance before the throne. At the Dasara they are to receive two turbans for the player of the *chaundake* and a goat for the others. Oil and sweetmeats are to be given them at the Divali. The functions of the Davaregosavis, or itinerant musicians, are in all respects similar to those of the Gondhalis.

More detailed rules are given for the conduct of the dancing girls. They are to attend the palace shrine daily, to dance before the gods, dressed in silk garments and wearing ornaments of gold. They take precedence, in their performance, of the other musicians. They are to attend when the King entertains guests to dine, and are then allowed to claim special remuneration. At all functions the presence of these Kalavants is regarded as auspicious. The Gurava, as we have seen, is responsible for keeping order among them and settling disputes. For the dances musical accompaniment is provided by the Gondhalis. At the Dasara richly embroidered *saris* are to be given to the women as well as a goat and portions of the food that has been offered to the gods. A special cake known as *Kadakani*, or a paper image of the same, is also conferred on one or more Kalavants on this occasion. For Divali, the usual rewards are prescribed.

REFORMATION OF THE SANGHA AND REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM IN CEYLON IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By

SIR D. B. JAYATILAKA, K.B.E., M.A., LL.D., BAR-AT-LAW

The eighteenth century dawned upon a politically weakened and morally depressed Ceylon. The advent of the Portuguese, two centuries earlier, had opened an era of disaster which paved the way to the ultimate extinction of the Sinhalese kingdom after it had lasted for over twenty-three centuries. By intrigue, and by force of arms, the Portuguese succeeded in occupying the coastal districts and the rich and fertile plains of the Low Country, pushing the Sinhalese kingdom into the mountainous and inaccessible parts of the country. These invaders from the West were not only tyrannical as rulers, but also extremely bigoted in matters of faith. They considered it their duty to destroy Buddhism and substitute for it the form of Christianity to which they adhered. For this purpose they adopted the powerful weapons of persecution and corruption. The Vihāras and Dagobas within their reach were ruthlessly pillaged and destroyed, the practice of Buddhism was forbidden within their territory, and the Bhikkhus were driven to seek refuge in the part of the country still under the Sinhalese king. Roman Catholicism held undisputed sway in the Low Country, where thousands of Sinhalese deserted their ancestral faith through fear of persecution or tempted by temporal advantages, and received baptism. The practice of Buddhism fell into disuse

together with the national names, customs and manners. After 150 years of tyrannical rule the Portuguese power disappeared from Ceylon in 1656, leaving an evil memory behind it. They were succeeded by the Dutch, who continued to hold the maritime districts. As rulers, they proved to be much more humane than the Portuguese, but they were no less bigoted. They persecuted the Roman Catholics, and totally prohibited the observance of that form of the Christian creed under severe penalties. There was then the strange spectacle of one Christian sect, persecuted by another, seeking protection from the 'heathen' Sinhalese king, who not only gave them shelter, but permitted them to practise their religion without let or hindrance. The descendants of these Roman Catholic refugees are still found in the districts where they were permitted to settle by the king. The proselytizing weapon the Dutch used was wholesale bribery. By offer of office and honour to the leading men, whole districts were induced to give up the national faith and join the Protestant Church. But when in 1796 the Dutch power fell after 150 years of domination, the Church which they had reared on Sinhalese soil with so much effort, also collapsed with it. Though the efforts of the Portuguese and the Dutch to Christianize Ceylon ultimately proved colossal failures, the methods of conversion they pursued left upon the character of the people a deep evil impression which took several generations to eradicate.

If the condition of the Low Country under the Portuguese and the Dutch was thus unfortunate in this respect, the state of affairs in that part of the country which still maintained its independence was equally desperate. During the 150 years the Portuguese held the maritime districts, they sought every opportunity to destroy the Sinhalese kingdom and bring the whole country under their sway. There was thus almost incessant fighting between the Sinhalese king and the foreign aggressor. The utmost the king and his people could do was to defend the frontiers by constant watchfulness. This task absorbed the whole attention and energy of the Government. Other duties, such as education, were perforce entirely neglected. Religious practices fell into disuse; temples were deserted, and in course of time fell into decay and ruin; and the Bhikkhus, undisciplined and as uneducated and ignorant as the laity, forgot their high calling and lived ignoble lives like ordinary householders. It was truly a period of national disaster. But just when things looked most hopeless there arose the man, who by heroic efforts, sustained for nearly half a century, rescued the national faith from extinction, and the people from the depth of ignorance and moral depression in which they had sunk.

Saranankara, who effected this transformation and brought about a great and permanent revival of both religion and learning in the Island, was a scion of an aristocratic family, members of which held high office under the king. He was born in 1698. Even as a child he was noted for his piety, purity and devotion to his faith, and his mind was from the beginning set towards the goal of religious life. So in his sixteenth year, he persuaded his parents, much against their will, to allow him to join the Order. But

what he saw within the Church filled his youthful mind with shame. The worldly and sinful lives which the Bhikkhus led disgusted him, and young and inexperienced as he was, he made a solemn resolve to devote his life to the task of reforming the Sangha and spreading education among the people. In order to undertake this work, he found a knowledge of the Dhamma and even of secular subjects of instruction indispensable. But no competent teachers were available to him, and there was a lack of books, dealing with even such elementary subjects as grammar. Yet with the scanty help he could get, he set about educating himself with such earnest zeal that in a few years he acquired a proficient knowledge of Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit, and a thorough mastery of the Tripiṭaka.

In a short time he gathered round him a band of young men as zealous and enthusiastic as himself. Living simple and abstemious lives, begging their daily food, they traversed the country, teaching and preaching to the village folk, reviving their slumbering faith and influencing them to live in accordance with its tenets. Their reforming efforts rapidly spread through the country and soon Saranankara was acknowledged both by the king and the people as the virtual head of the Church and the recognized authority on Buddhism. He was not, however, prepared to rest contented with the success that had been achieved. There was yet another task to be accomplished before the reformation of the Sangha could be considered as completed. The solemn ceremony of Upasampadā (Ordination) had been given up for many years, and the whole country could not muster five ordained Bhikkhus—the least number necessary for the ceremony. But nobody knew wherefrom Ordination could be obtained. The occupation of the sea-board by the invaders from the West had entirely interrupted the intercourse which the Sinhalese kingdom had previously had with other Buddhist lands. In this predicament Saranankara approached the king Narendrasinha (1706–1739) with the request that an embassy might be sent to Buddhist countries in Further India in order to obtain a number of Bhikkhus to reinstitute the ceremony of Ordination in Ceylon. Narendrasinha was not, however, prepared to entertain this proposal. Saranankara, though greatly disappointed by this refusal, yet did not lose heart. He continued with unabated vigour his work of training young Bhikkhus, who flocked to him in ever-increasing numbers, and spreading education among the people. When Narendrasinha died in 1739, and was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Sri Vijaya Rajasinha (1739–1747), Saranankara renewed his appeal. The new king was much more sympathetic than his predecessor and agreed to send an embassy to Further India. Two high officials of the court and five pupils of Saranankara, who had disrobed themselves for the purpose, were sent on this voyage of discovery. But a great disaster overtook the mission. Near Pegu their ship foundered and all on board, except four, perished, together with the costly presents they carried with them. The survivors after many adventures managed to go back to Ceylon with the sad news of the misfortune that had befallen the embassy.

This was naturally a bitter disappointment to Saranankara, but it did not in any way deflect him from his set purpose. With the loyal support of his pupils and under the patronage of the king preparations were made to despatch another embassy. This time the mission reached Siam where they were welcomed by the king who readily agreed to send out Bhikkhus to Ceylon. But while preparations were being made, news was received of the death of Sri Vijaya Rajasinha. The king of Siam naturally declined to send out Bhikkhus to Ceylon until and unless the new king renewed the request. So the Sinhalese mission started on their return journey but only one of the envoys survived the voyage.

Sri Vijaya Rajasinha was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Kirti Sri Rajasinha (1747–1780), a name inseparably associated with the success of Saranankara's great reformation movement. Under his patronage and with his unstinted support a third embassy was despatched which reached Ayuthia, then the capital of Siam, and was received with due honour by king Dhammika who showed himself most sympathetic towards the objects of the mission. It was decided to despatch a number of Bhikkhus to Ceylon under venerable Upali Maha Thera. In a great procession attended by the king and the whole court, the Siamese Bhikkhus and envoys and the Sinhalese ambassadors were escorted on board the ships. But again the voyage proved disastrous. On the sixth day one of the ships sprang a leak and began to fill rapidly. With great difficulty they succeeded in making for the port of Muanlakong, a province of Siam. The passengers landed and in due course the mission was recalled to Ayuthia where owing to various untoward circumstances they were obliged to remain a long time before final arrangements could be made for their departure.

When the news got abroad that the Sinhalese ambassadors who had been away from their home on this mission for more than two and a half years had reached Trincomalee with a number of Siamese Bhikkhus, it caused great excitement and enthusiasm in the court circles and among the people. A deputation, headed by the Chief Minister, was at once sent to welcome the mission. The king himself met the Siamese Bhikkhus and envoys at the city boundary from where they were escorted in a royal procession through the streets of Kandy to the quarters specially prepared for them. The venerable Upali and the other Siamese Theras at once began to prepare the candidates for Ordination. On the full moon day of July that year there was held after a long period the ceremony of Ordination, when Saranankara and five other leading Bhikkhus were duly admitted to the higher grade of the Order. In the course of a few weeks several hundred novices were similarly ordained. Thus was consummated Saranankara's work for the reformation of the Sangha.

He was fifty-four years old when he received Ordination. Not long after he was with universal approval elected to the exalted office of Saṅgha-rāja. These honours however made no change in his mode of life. He lived the same simple life continuing his labours and inspiring his pupils, by the noble example he set, to work unselfishly for the regeneration of the people and the revival of the national faith throughout the country. The response to his inspiring call was most heartening. His pupils spread in all parts of the Island, carrying the torch of learning and reviving the spirit of religion among the people. The temples that had fallen into decay were soon repaired, religious worship and practices were restored, and Ceylon once more deserved to be called a Buddhist country.

Saranankara lived long enough to see the full fruition of his labours. To the end he maintained his mental vigour and activity, and the end came serene and beautiful in his eightyfirst year, when surrounded by his devoted pupils, he passed away, as he lay listening to the words of the Buddha, conscious to the last. Thus ended the career of the great Reformer, the last of the heroes of Laṅkā, to whose labours must be attributed the present position of Buddhism and oriental learning in the Island.

KĀÑCANASĀRA

By

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The story of Kāñcanasāra is included in the famous collection of tales, the Damamūka, which was made known from the Tibetan version by I. J. Schmidt in his book *'Dzangs-blun oder Der Weise und der Thor* (1843), pp. 3–6. This Tibetan version was made from a Chinese text as Professor Takakusu showed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1901. The correct name of the king Kāñcanasāra was, however, discovered only in the Uigur Turkish version by Professor F. W. K. Müller (*Uigurica* III, 1922, pp. 27ff., and p. 91). He there pointed out the name *Kančansari ilig bäg* King Kāñcanasāra, and *Kančasari* (pp. 33 and 28), and from these forms was able to correct the spellings in the Chinese and Tibetan (*Ka-na-śi-ni-pa-li*). The Chinese (with the Tibetan) and the Turkish versions of the tale diverge widely, but are based on the same original story. Since the pioneer work of Professor Schmidt in 1843 the history of this collection of stories has been elucidated in several articles.[1]

To these sources for the tale we can now add the Khotanese Jātaka-stava. This text, which I have had occasion to quote frequently in recent articles, was published in facsimile in *Codices Khotanenses* (1938, Copenhagen). A transliterated text has been in print since 1941 but lies still unpublished in the Press. The Jātaka-stava is a poem of praise in honour of the Buddha

[1] Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 13 (1912), 355; 26 (1929), 256ff.; *Journ. Asiat.*, 1914, 2. 139; B. Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, 17 (1916), 415–422; S. Lévi, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1925, 2. 305–332; Vladimirtsov, *Mongolian Collection of Tales from the Pañcatantra* (in Russian), 1925, p. 440 (for the Mongolian version of the Damamūka).

for his powers of endurance illustrated from Jātaka tales. A similar Sanskrit poem by Jñānayaśas was published from the Tibetan Tanjur in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, 9. 851ff. It is likely to have been a popular type of Buddhist composition.

The story, of the usual Buddhist kind, relates that the king Kāñcanasāra wished to learn a Buddhist stanza and promised any boon in return for knowledge of it. A Brahman Rudrākṣa knew this stanza but claimed in return for it the right to bore holes in the king's body and to kindle lamps in the holes. The king consented and being at the point of death was delivered by Śakra.

In the Khotanese text the tale is briefly alluded to in eight lines of verse (folio 31, recto 1—verso 1). These verses read as follows:—

kājenesārreṣṭā dā brrīye uvāre
suhavāysai ttraikṣą vīne jīye beṃda
cvai ttaraṃdare narrvāṃde pharāke daiśę
pīlirrvą stardāṃde rruṃ nīyāde hāṣṭą
pasvāde dī-māla tteraṃdare beśe
pasve haṃ bāḍe khu hauṣke brrāṃje pasuste
ysemaśaṃdai kaiṇą yuḍai duṣka kīre
ėṣṭavana bąyse si me pākāṃ órga

The translation of these verses may be given as follows:—

Thou, being Kāñcanasāra, enduredst, for love of the noble Dharma, grievous pains against thy life, thou, whose body they pierced in many places. They set pipes about in it and smeared fat thereon. They lighted the garland of lamps in the whole body. It burnt at once as burns a dry birch-tree. Thou wroughtest for the world difficult works. O enduring Buddha, therefor homage at thy feet from me.

To justify this translation the following lexical commentary will suffice:

(1) *kājenesārre* *Kāñcanasāra*, with *kāṃjana-*, which occurs in the Khotanese Buddhist text E (edited by E. Leumann) in the phrase *kāṃjani ysirrā* kāñcana gold. For *ñc* replaced by *ṃj* and later *j*, cf. also *pajābęña* pañcābhijña (see BSOS 10. 905). In the Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada we find similarly *paja* pañca five.

(2) *dā*, older *dāta*, law is regularly used to render the Buddhist Dharma.

(3) For *suhavāysai* read *ahavāysai*, 2nd sing. preterite, from Sanskrit *adhivāsaya-*, see BSOS 10. 904.

(4) *jīya* life, is given with other forms in BSOS 10. 591.

(5) *narrvāṃde*, 3rd plural preterite, from *nirūj-* to burst; the participle **niruta* would later regularly become *narva-*.

(6) *daiśę* place, older *diśā-*, from Sanskrit.

(7) *pīlirruva-* pipe, is found in one other place in Khotanese, in the medical text, the Siddhasāra (of which the facsimile is in *Codices Khotanenses*) 121 r 3 *pīlīrūvī hā viśtāñā* the pipe must be inserted into it, which translates the Tibetan *gce'us bsu-źiṅ* injecting (?) with the clyster-pipe (Sanskrit *netrika*).

(8) *stardāṃde* they spread, 3rd plural preterite of *star-*. From the present stem *star-* occurs the future participle *starāña-* to be spread. The past participle is *starda-* spread (*rd* represents an Old Iranian *rn-t*).

(9) *nīyāde* they smeared, with *nīya-* from **ni-axta-*, participle of *ang-* to smear. The Tibetan text has *snum-gyis bskus-pa* smearing with fat.

(10) *dī-māla* garland of lamps. The Tibetan text has *mar-me'i sñiṅpo* heart of the lamps; the Turkish uses *yula* torch. Khotanese *dī-*, *dīya-* (see BSOS 10. 906) is from a Middle Indian form corresponding to Sanskrit *dīpa-* lamp.

(11) *brrāṃje* birch-tree. In the Siddhasāra 13 r 4 *brāṃjā* renders Tibetan *stag-pa* birch-tree. The older form of the Khotanese word is *bruṃjā* which in the text E 21. 42 seems rather to mean bark.

THE KAUṬILĪYA AND THE MATSYAPURĀṆA

By

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Intensive study of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya has been going on for about thirty-five years. The controversies about its date and authorship cannot be said to have been set at rest. Much work remains to be done as regards the relation of the Kauṭilīya to the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and other branches of Sanskrit Literature. Recently while reading the Matsyapurāṇa I noticed a very close correspondence between the Kauṭilīya I. 20 and 21 and Chap. 219 of the Matsyapurāṇa. Some of the most striking passages of the Matsyapurāṇa that agree with the very words of the Kauṭilīya are noted below and such words of the Purāṇa are underlined.

Arthaśāstra I. 20	Matsya 219
(1) मानुषेणाग्निना त्रिरपसव्यं परिगत-मन्तःपुरमग्निरन्यो न दहति।	गृहे त्रिरपसव्यं तु क्रियते यत्र पार्थिव। नान्योग्निर्ज्वलते तत्र नात्र कार्या विचारणा॥ 5.
(2) ना चात्रान्योग्निर्ज्वलति वैद्युतेन भस्मना मृत्संयुक्तेन करकवारिणावलिप्तं च।	सामुद्रसैन्धवयवा विद्युद्दग्धा च मृत्तिका। तयानुलिप्तं यद्वेश्म नाग्निना दह्यते नृप॥ 7.

Arthaśāstra I. 20	Matsya 219
(3) शुकः शारिका भृङ्गराजो वा सर्पविषशङ्कायां क्रोशति । क्रौञ्चो विषाभ्यासे माद्यति । ग्लायति जीवंजीवकः । म्रियते मत्तकोकिलः । चकोरस्याक्षिणी विरज्येते ।	विरज्यति चकोरस्य दृष्टिः पार्थिवसत्तम । विकृतिं च स्वरो याति कोकिलस्य तथा नृप ॥ गतिः स्खलति हंसस्य भृङ्गराजश्च कूजति । क्रौञ्चो मदमथाभ्येति कृकवाकुर्विरौति च ॥ विक्रोशति शुको राजन् सारिका वमते ततः । ...मेहते वानरो राजन् ग्लायते जीवजीवकः ॥ —verses 18–21.
I. 21	
(4) विषप्रदस्य तु शुष्कश्याववक्त्रता वाक्सङ्गः स्वेदो विजृम्भणं चातिमात्रं वेपथुः प्रस्खलनं वाक्यविप्रेक्षणमावेगः (वेगः v.l.) कर्मणि स्वभूमौ चानवस्थानमिति ।	श्यावास्यो वक्त्रसन्तप्तः सोद्वेगं च निरीक्षते । विषदोऽथ विषं दत्तं यच्च तत्र परीक्षते ॥ स्रस्तोत्तरीयो विमनाः स्तम्भकुड्यादिभिस्तथा । प्रच्छादयति चात्मानं लज्जते त्वरते तथा ॥ भुवं विलिखति ग्रीवां तथा चालयते नृप । —verses 11–13.
(5) अग्नेर्ज्वालाधूमनीलता शब्दस्फोटनं च विषयुक्तस्य ।	समीपैर्विक्षिपेदग्नौ तदन्नं त्वरयान्वितः । इन्द्रायुधसवर्णां तु रूक्षं स्फोटसमन्वितम् ॥ 15.
(6) व्यञ्जनानामाशुशुष्कत्वं क्वाथश्यामफेनपटलविच्छिन्नभावो गन्धस्पर्शरसवधश्च ।	व्यञ्जनानां तु शुष्कत्वं द्रवाणां बुद्बुदोद्भवः । 24.
(7) कठिनानां मृदुत्वं मृदूनां कठिनत्वं च ।	मृदुता कठिनानां स्यान्मृदूनां च विपर्ययः । 29.
(8) लोहमणिमयानां पाकलोपदेहता (पङ्कोपलिप्तदेहता ?)	लोहानां च मणीनां च मलपङ्कोपदिग्धता । 30.

It is not necessary to multiply examples. It may be argued by some that both works might have borrowed from another work. But there are other considerations from which it follows that the Matsyapurāṇa is based on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and on no other work. In the first place it has to be noticed that the Matsyapurāṇa adds many details to the meagre statements of the Arthaśāstra. In the story of Indra and Diti, where it is narrated that Indra cut Diti's embryo into 49 parts, the Matsyapurāṇa (7. 63) makes Indra say 'this evil deed was perpetrated by me by relying on (the methods propounded in) the Arthaśāstra'.[1] In chap. 272. 22 the Matsyapurāṇa speaks

[1] अर्थशास्त्रं समाश्रित्य मयैतद् दुष्कृतं कृतम् । मत्स्य 7. 63. (Ānandāśrama ed.)

in a prophetic vein that Kauṭilya will uproot the sons of Mahāpadma and then the earth will come to the Mauryas.[1] Therefore it appears that the Matsyapurāṇa knew of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and its last verse.[2]

The date of the Matsyapurāṇa is far from being certain. It is clear that the Matsyapurāṇa had attained to the position of a very authoritative work on Dharmaśāstra before the tenth century A.D. The Mit. on Yājñavalkya I. 297 quotes all the nine verses of chapter 94 of the Matsyapurāṇa as regards the images of the nine *grahas*. The Rājadharmakāṇḍa of the Kalpataru (about 1120 A.D.) quotes hundreds of verses from the different chapters of the Matsyapurāṇa such as chapters 215–219, 253–257, etc. Similarly Aparārka quotes hundreds of verses from the chapters of the Matsyapurāṇa on the Mahādānas. In my opinion for reasons which cannot be set out here the Matsyapurāṇa cannot be later than the sixth century A.D.

BODHISATTVA AVALOKITEŚVARA IN CEYLON

By

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In my paper, ***Mahāyānism in Ceylon*** (***Ceylon Journal of Science***, Section G., Vol. II, pp. 35–71), I have shown that the Mahāyāna Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is still worshipped by Sinhalese Buddhists under the title of Nātha and that he is referred to as Lokeśvara Nātha in Sinhalese inscriptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Though there is ample evidence to prove that the cult of this Bodhisattva was once very popular in Ceylon, I was unable, at the time I wrote the above paper, to quote any Ceylonese inscription or literary work in which he is mentioned by the best known of his many appellations, Avalokiteśvara. Since then, I have discovered the Sanskrit rock inscription at Tiriyāy,[3] of about the seventh century, in which the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is eulogized, and I have also recently come across four Sanskrit stanzas praising this Bodhisattva in the *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*, written in Ceylon in the fifteenth century.

Before I quote these stanzas, a few words may be said about this work and its author. The *Vṛttaratnākara* is a well-known work on Sanskrit prosody which was much studied in Ceylon, as it was in India, and a very lucid commentary (*pañcikā*) to this text was written in Ceylon during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (1412–1468) by Rāmacandra, a Brahmin who came to

[1] उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्यः समैर्द्वादशभिः सुतान् ।
भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति ॥ मत्स्य 272. 22.

[2] येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।
अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥ अर्थशास्त्र last verse.

[3] *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 151–160 and 312–319.

this island from Bengal. In the colophon to the *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*, Rāmacandra states that he was born in a village named Viravāṭika. His father was Gaṇapati of the Kātyāyana-gotra and his mother Devī of the Bharadvāja-gotra. He had two brothers named Halāyudha and Aṅgīrasa. We do not know the reason why this learned Brahmin migrated from Bengal to Ceylon, but on his arrival in this island he studied the Buddhist scriptures from Śrī Rāhula Sthavira, the head of the Sinhalese Buddhist Church at that time, who was equally great as a Sinhalese poet, as a master of the Pali Tripiṭaka and as a Sanskrit scholar.

Rāmacandra espoused Buddhism and, in order to glorify his new faith, composed the *Bhakti-śataka*, also known as *Bauddha-śataka*, in which he extols the Buddha and his doctrine in a hundred elegant Sanskrit stanzas. The Sinhalese king Parākramabāhu VI, who was himself distinguished for his learning, was so pleased with this work that he conferred the title of 'Bauddhāgama-cakravarttin' and other favours on Rāmacandra. Śrī Rāhula, Rāmacandra's teacher in Buddhist lore, spent most of his life at Toṭagamuva, on the south-western sea-board of the island and it may be assumed that Rāmacandra himself lived here for some time. In the Sinhalese literature of the period, Toṭagamuva figures as a seat of Nātha (Avalokiteśvara) and Rāmacandra must have himself become a devotee of that Bodhisattva when he espoused Buddhism. Śrī Rāhula, in almost all his works, expresses his devotion to Nātha.

In his comments on the *Vṛttaratnākara*, Rāmacandra gives a full stanza to illustrate each of the metres explained in that text. The great majority of these stanzas are his own compositions and have as their subject the praise of the Buddha and his doctrine, and panegyrics on King Parākramabāhu and Śrī Rāhula Sthavira. Four stanzas are addressed to Avalokiteśvara.

In illustrating the metre called Upasthita, Rāmacandra gives this stanza:—

> Saṁsāra-mahārṇava-madhya-magnān =
> Uddharttum=ahar=nisam=ihate yaḥ—
> Mad-duḥkham=apākurutād=dayābdhir=
> Nāthaḥ sa satām=Avalokiteśaḥ [1] ||

'May Avalokiteśvara, the Refuge of the virtuous and the Ocean of Compassion, remove my suffering—he who endeavours, day and night, to deliver beings plunged in the midst of the great sea of *saṁsāra*.'

The stanza which illustrates the metre called Ekarūpa is as follows:—

> Pāyāt=tvām=Avalokiteśvaro 'yaṁ
> Hīne dīna-jane 'nukampako 'yam |
> Yasy=ābhuc=charad=indu-koṭi-bhāsā
> Trailokyaṁ mahasā payaḥ-payodhiḥ [2] ||

[1] *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*, edited by the Rev. C. A. Śīlaskandha Mahā-Sthavira, Nirṇaya-sāgar Press, Bombay, 1926, p. 39. This and the stanzas which follow are given as they appear in the printed text. Manuscripts of this work, which are found only in Ceylon, are in a very corrupt state, and the texts may therefore admit of amendment.

[2] *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

'May this Avalokiteśvara, who has compassion for the lowly and the poor folk, protect thee—Avalokiteśvara by whose lustre, equal to the radiance of millions of autumnal moons, the three worlds appeared like the Ocean of Milk.'

Another stanza eulogizing Avalokiteśvara is given in illustrating the metre called Pramadānana:—

> Śarad-indu-kunda-tuṣāra-hāra-pavīra-pārada-sundaraṁ
> Japamālikā-maṇi-padma-pāṇim=aśeṣa-loka-hitaiṣiṇam |
> Jina-maulim=ādiguruṁ jaṭāmukuṭādi-bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣitaṁ
> Praṇamāmi samprati sampadām=Avalokiteśvaram=īśvaram [1] ||

'I now worship Avalokiteśvara, the Lord of Prosperity, who is as beautiful as the autumnal moon, or the jasmine flower, or snow, or the garland of pearls, or the lance,[2] or quicksilver, who holds in his hands a rosary and a jewel-lotus, who wishes well to the whole world, who has, as his crown, a figure of the Conqueror (i.e., the Buddha), who is the foremost teacher, and who is adorned with ornaments like the *jaṭā-makuṭa*,[3] etc.'

The following stanza, which illustrates a variety of the Daṇḍaka metre, also praises Avalokiteśvara:—

> Pratidinam=Avalokiteśvaro Nātha eṣā kriyā loka-rakṣākarī sarva-vedī=ti
> Vidadhad=Anupamaḥ sambhramaṁ tyajyase 'tas tato hīna-dīn=ānukampī=ti vijñāya |
> Śaraṇam=aham=upaimi prabhuṁ taṁ madīya-pramodālayaṁ Bodhisatvāgragaṇyaṁ nu
> Vrajata sapadi yūyaṁ ca sarve janāḥ svarga-mokṣārthinas=taṁ guruṁ siddhaye sādhu [4] ||

'The all-knowing and the incomparable Lord Avalokiteśvara, assuming that this action affords protection to the world, daily removes fear; hence, having known that he is compassionate towards the lowly and the poor, I go for refuge to that Lord, who is the abode of my rejoicing, and who is indeed the foremost among Bodhisattvas. May you and all people who desire heaven and final beatitude go at once for the accomplishment of your aims to that Teacher. May it be well!'

It is doubtful whether Avalokiteśvara was a popular deity in Bengal in the fifteenth century, so that Rāmacandra could have known his name before he came to Ceylon. In Sinhalese literary works of that period, he is, as has been stated, referred to as Nātha, and in inscriptions as Lokeśvara Nātha. He is described as a Bodhisattva whose characteristic was compassion towards

[1] *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[2] This is the meaning of *pavīra*, though I do not know whether the use of this word is appropriate to the *alaṁkāra*. It might be a misreading.

[3] The reading *jaṭā-mukuṭa* in the printed text has perhaps to be changed to *jaṭā-makuṭa*.

[4] *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*, *op. cit.* The construing of the first two lines of this stanza as they are found in the printed text presents difficulties and the translation offered is only tentative.

beings. But these literary references, in themselves, are rather vague and do not show that the Sinhalese Buddhists of the fifteenth century had a clear notion of Nātha and the commanding position he occupied in Mahāyāna Buddhism, which as a separate school was then non-existent in Ceylon. The modern Buddhists of Ceylon think that Nātha is the same as Maitreya, but in the fifteenth century it was clearly understood that he was a different Bodhisattva. If, as is likely, Rāmacandra had no knowledge of Avalokiteśvara before he came to Ceylon, the references to that Bodhisattva in the *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā* show that the Bodhisattva was in the fifteenth century known in this island by his most familiar name and that much of the distinctive characteristics attached to him in the heyday of Mahāyānism were till then ascribed to him by the Sinhalese Buddhists of that period.

These references in the *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā* lend further support to my identification of the god Nātha with Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva.

THERAVĀDIN AND SARVĀSTIVĀDIN DATES OF THE NIRVĀṆA

By

DR. E. J. THOMAS, M.A., D.LITT.

The study of Buddhism, it has been said, is less than a century old, yet it is already paved with dogmas. One of these dogmas is the date of the death of the Founder, and this is supposed to be fairly certain. Charpentier in the *Cambridge History of India* says,

> 'There is now a general agreement among scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B.C.'

Charpentier himself preferred the date 478 or 477 B.C., and the calculation of F. W. Thomas in the same work results in 488 B.C., but these and other slight variations merely indicate some unimportant difference in reckoning. The kernel of the evidence, as is well known, depends on the number of years between Buddha's death and the coronation of Aśoka, and this is given by the Ceylon Chronicles as 218 years. To the editor of the *Cambridge History* this was so little of a problem that he assumed 483 B.C. without a qualm.

Yet in the same volume (p. 171) Rhys Davids was allowed to write:

> 'If the date for Asoka is placed too early in the Ceylon Chronicles, can we still trust the 218 years which they allege to have elapsed from the commencement of the Buddhist era down to the time of Asoka? If so, we have only to add that number to the correct date of Asoka, and thus fix the Buddhist era [the date of Buddha's death] at 483 B.C. or shortly after. Of the answer to this question, there can, I think, be no doubt. *We can not.*'

So little did Rhys Davids trust this date that at the time when he first made the statement he held 412 B.C. to be the most reliable. He referred to other

traditions, but merely declared that each of them was open to still more serious objection. If that is the case then we are left in the air with a date that can neither be tested nor verified, and it is a mere euphemism to call it a working hypothesis. Any of the other dates would be equally workable as long as there are no other contemporary dates to contradict them.

Yet there is one source of evidence which Rhys Davids and others have ignored, or of which they were unaware—that is, the testimony of the Buddhists and others *in India*. The Indian Buddhists were still in flourishing existence when the Ceylon Chronicles were composed, and they had suffered no such break as the transference of the religion to Ceylon may have caused. Perhaps the most important of these schools was the Sarvāstivādin, and their accounts put Aśoka one century, not two, after Nirvāṇa. Another striking fact not generally realized is that instances of this dating have also survived in Ceylon accounts. But it will be well if the treatment of the Ceylon evidence by modern scholars is first considered.

Rhys Davids was the first to examine the Chronicles in detail, and he drew his conclusions chiefly from the *Dīpavaṃsa*. He set aside the Ceylon calculation of 544 or 543 B.C. for the Nirvāṇa, for that date would put Aśoka's coronation in 326 B.C., the very time when Alexander was still in India, and when Chandragupta had not yet achieved his conquests. Rhys Davids' calculation of the series of theras in the *Dpv.* led him to the conclusion that only 150 years had elapsed between Buddha's death and Aśoka's coronation. But the series of kings is 58 years longer. This series of kings begins with *Bimbisāra*, *Ajātaśatru*, *Udāyin* and *Muṇḍa* (with *Anuruddha*), so far agreeing with the Sarvāstivādin list in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 369, and for the first three with the Jain list, which gives Ajātaśatru's name as Kūṇika. Then in the Chronicles follow *Nāgadāsaka*, *Susunāga*, *Kālāsoka* and his ten sons. There may be said to be agreement also for the last four kings, *Nanda* (or the *Nandas*), *Chandragupta*, *Bindusāra*, and *Aśoka*, except that *Divy.* omits Bindusāra. But none of the Indian lists include the Susunāgas, who, even in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, were a new dynasty. Yet they are not a Ceylon invention, for the Purāṇas recognize them, but put the whole Śiśunāga dynasty before Bimbisāra. The names are *Śiśunāga*, *Kākavarṇa*, *Kṣemadharman*, and *Kṣatraujas*. This change of order Rhys Davids accepted. The Śiśunāga dynasty he held was inserted in its present place in the Chronicles in order to fill up the 218 years. This seems likely enough. We know of contemporary dynasties in the Purāṇas that have been treated as successive. In any case the place of the dynasty in the Chronicles cannot be accepted without query, when all the other authorities, even the Indian Buddhist list, omit it.

Rhys Davids' calculations were attacked by Bühler, who in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1887 (reprinted as *Three new edicts of Aśoka. Second notice*, Bombay, 1878) accused him of misunderstanding the method of calculating the succession of theras in the *Dpv.* Bühler claimed to have made the list consistent, but he had to emend the text in several places and add twenty

years to the ages of the theras, so that the oldest was 106 and the youngest not less than 84. This hardly made the result more plausible.

Bühler's main purpose was to substantiate the figure 218, but his two main arguments have broken down entirely. One was the then recently discovered edicts of Sahasram and Rupnath. In both of them the figure 256 occurs. Bühler held that this was an era dating from the death of Buddha. There is no mention of an era, and the word *vivāsa*, which Bühler took to mean the 'departure' of Buddha from life, and Rhys Davids the departure from home at his Renunciation, is now interpreted as the absence on tour of Aśoka for 256 nights. Bühler's other argument depended on Burnouf's assertion that in a Northern Sanskrit text Aśoka is said to have come to the throne 200 years after the Nirvāṇa. This was the *Avadāna Śataka* (II, p. 200), but now that the text has been published it is possible to see that the word in question, *dvitīyam*, belongs to a previous verse, and then a new narrative in prose starts: *varṣaśataparinirvṛte Buddhe bhagavati Pāṭaliputre nagare rājāśoko rājyaṃ kārayati*. These are almost the same words as occur several times in the *Divyāvadāna*, and they show that the most important Buddhist sect in India, like other Indian authorities, knew nothing of the longer period.

But there is evidence also in Ceylon works for the shorter period. The *Dīpavaṃsa*, especially in its earlier chapters, is known to be made up of separate accounts taken from the *porāṇā* and other sources. Sometimes it gives an event two or three times over or quotes a passage in prose. One of these disjointed passages (I, 24, 25) is given as a prophecy by Buddha, where he is made to say that four months after the Nirvāṇa the first Council will take place; 118 years thereafter the third Council for the purpose of advancing the teaching:

> *parinibbute catumāse hessati paṭhamasaṃgaho,*
> *tato paraṃ vassasate vassān' aṭṭhārasāni ca*
> *tatiyo saṃgaho hoti pavattatthāya sāsanaṃ.*

That is the date given in four of the MSS.

Three, however, insert *dve* before *vassasate*. Which is the original reading? Oldenberg following the best MSS. accept 118 as correct, and this is made practically certain by the fact that two of the MSS. that read *dve* have had this word inserted later, no doubt to make the statement conform with the calculation finally adopted. Oldenberg supposed that a śloka had been omitted reférring to the second Council, but evidently none of the scribes knew of it when they attempted to improve the passage. This would not be the only instance in which the *Dīpavaṃsa* has not harmonized its statements, and in any case neither 118 nor 218 agrees with the final calculation that the third Council was held 236 years after Nirvāṇa.

There is another passage in the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 55–59) which harmonizes with this, though in itself it cannot be called conclusive evidence. Like the former it is in the form of a prophecy, and it begins with almost the same words as in I, 25:

> *anāgate vassasate vassān' aṭṭhārasāni ca*
> *upajissati so bhikkhu samaṇo paṭirūpako.*

It goes on to state that this bhikkhu is Tissa, who will destroy the heretics, and Aśoka will reign in Pāṭaliputta. The passage is quite disconnected, and no indication is given to indicate who is the prophet. The natural inference would be that as Buddha prophesied the third Council, so he prophesied this, and it would put Aśoka 100 years after the Nirvāṇa, a conclusion quite impossible to accept if the other dates in the Chronicles are correct. Accordingly Oldenberg in a note says that the prophecy was made by the theras of the second Council. But this appears to be entirely Oldenberg's own supposition. It is omitted by the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*.

Yet another instance has been pointed out by Kern (*Man.*, p. 108) in which the shorter reckoning seems to have survived. It is in the *Saddhammasaṃgaha*, a work which appears to have been compiled from the *porāṇā* much in the same way as the *Dīpavaṃsa*, but the distinction between the quoted passages and the author's own words is clearer, for the author adds his own matter in prose. In the prose of VI, 5 (P.T.S. ed., p. 47) he says that Duṭṭhagāmini became sole king in Laṅkādīpa in the 376th year after Nirvāṇa, but in the accompanying verse, which he distinctly attributes to the *porāṇā*, it is one century less:

> *Sambuddhaparinibbānā dvīsu vassasatesu ca*
> *chasattaty atikkantesu rājāhu Duṭṭhagāmini.*

Here too the author has been using *porāṇā* matter, such as existed before the schematization of the Chronicles came into play.

We thus have two clear cases where Ceylon authors are quoting other authorities, and where they appear to have preserved the Indian tradition of 100 years. In the Sarvāstivādin tradition 100 years is preserved in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Avadāna Śataka*, and the Sarvāstivādin list of kings agrees with the Purāṇas and Jains in omitting the Śiśunāgas. The 'agreement among scholars', of which Charpentier speaks, is one based on the Ceylon authorities alone, for the additional evidence that Bühler thought he had discovered is non-existent. But where are the scholars who are in agreement, except in the sense that others have accepted the statements of a few investigators? And of what value is that? We have seen what Rhys Davids' conclusion was, and his doubt about any positive decision is shown where he said:

> 'It is a long step from saying that the succession of Theras is not necessarily untrustworthy, or even that it is probably correct, to saying that it is entirely conclusive.'

Bühler's words were equally cautious and non-committal:

> 'I do not see that there is at present any possibility of saying whether the belief prevailing in Aśoka's time, that between the Nirvāṇa and the king's coronation upwards of 218 years had elapsed, deserves implicit credence or not.'

We can now say that there is no evidence for saying that the belief prevailed in Aśoka's time. We only know that it prevailed some five centuries later in Ceylon and in Ceylon alone.

These are the real conclusions of scholars who have devoted most study to the subject. Neither of them was willing to risk a positive statement, and their conclusions were certainly not those for which Charpentier claimed that there was a general agreement. Further than this it can be pointed out that even so no general agreement exists. In 1932 Dr. Tokumyo Matsumoto published a work on the Prajñāpāramitā literature,[1] in which he quoted and rejected Jacobi's view that the year of Buddha's death was 486 B.C., and his following words (rendered into English) are:

> 'I think that I must attach myself to Professor Ui, who on the basis of extensive and not one-sided material has calculated the year 386 for Buddha's death. It would take me too far to discuss his arguments here in full, but I hope in a not too far distant time to be able to set them before specialists and also the material that he has used.'

Dr. Matsumoto's actual words are 'in abschbarer Zeit,' and if this time at present is not easily discernible, we may at least hope for a discussion some day which will remove any tendency to dogmatic slumber.

ON THE HISTORY OF *ḷ* IN PĀLI

By

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Among the Middle Indo-Aryan languages Pāli is unique in adhering to the tradition of the Ṛgveda according to which every -*ḍ*(*h*)-[2] is pronounced without occlusion and represented in writing by a separate symbol for -*ḷ*(*h*)-. In non-Ṛgvedic and classical Sanskrit and in other MIA languages -*ḍ*(*h*)- reappears, in a large measure due to the influence of the morphological system, and to a smaller extent also because the speakers of these languages had -*ḍ*(*h*)- as an occlusive. On the other hand certain of these phonemes, not influenced by either of these conditions, subsist in classical Sanskrit and MIA as -*ḷ*-.[3] The written tradition on which we have to depend solely for this ancient period is not quite definite on the values of these phonemes in the different vocables where they appear. Although even from the most ancient Brāhmī separate characters exist for *ḷ* and *l* North Indian orthography loses these distinct signs after the fifth century A.D.[4] On the other hand the southern

[1] *Die Prajñāpāramitā-Literatur. Bonner Orientalistische Studien.* Stuttgart, 1932.

[2] This symbol will indicate both the aspirate and the simple stop in the subsequent discussion.

[3] Jules BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 54-55.

[4] LÜDER, *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 1081ff.; *Antidoron*, pp. 294ff.

orthography, influenced by the existence of *ḷ* in these regions, has preserved both symbols, and as we come down we notice the increasing use of *ḷ* in the place of *l*; in fact most South Indian MSS. of Prakrit passages invariably show this *ḷ*, and even with respect to Sanskrit vocabulary for which the oral tradition was never waning, this frequent supplanting is witnessed to a disconcerting degree.

The gradual disappearance of the characters for *ḷ* and *ḷh* may be best seen from the fact that while -*ḍh*- and -*ḍy*- are preserved in the palm-leaf MS. of Aśvaghoṣa's Kalpanāmaṇḍitika, -*ḍ*- is invariably represented by -*ḷ*-.[1] In the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, the only forms where -*ḍ*- is represented by -*ḷ*- are *ppranāḷī*(*bhir*), -*pāḷikatvāt* and *vyāḷa*- for which the classical forms already show *l*.[2] It is not possible to say with precision as to the time and locality of the complete disappearance of the phoneme *ḷ*, for even as late as 634-35 A.D. the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II shows *ḷ* in personal names like *Kāḷidāsa*, *Āḷupa*-, etc.[3] In other records both forms occur side by side. Moreover it is also not possible to say whether the orthography reflects the real conditions of speech in the particular locality when such forms occur.

In his very interesting paper 'Zur Geschichte des l im Altindischen' LÜDERS has shown some of the obvious mistakes of orthography so far as Pāli is concerned such as *daḷidda*-.[4] But it is fortunate that Pāli texts, written principally in Simhalese, Burmese and Siamese scripts, have preserved for us a much better state of affairs. In fact the number of vocables which show both *ḷ* and *l* are extremely limited; and of these one of the two can be shown to be a false form with the help of comparative philology; or if our material is sufficiently reliable we can see the influence of northern MIA forms with a *l* in the place of the normally expected *ḷ*. On the nature of the signs for *ḷ* and *ḷh* nothing further can be added to what LÜDERS has written in the above paper.

GEIGER has shown that Pāli -*ḷ*- goes back either to OIA -*ḍ*- or -*d*- which was certainly cerebralized in the pre-Pāli stage, and occasionally in a limited number of examples to -*ṇ*-.[5] Initially the *d*- of the bases √*dah*- and √*daṁś*- are cerebralized and become in Pāli √*ḍaha*- and √*ḍasa*- respectively. √*ḍaha*- when combined with prepositions gives us a base √-*ḷaha*- as we shall see below. Similarly -*ḷh*- results from -*ḍh*-.

In the sequel I am considering all the forms containing -*ḷ*- or -*ḷh*- as cited in the *Pāli-English Dictionary* (PED) of RHYS DAVIDS and STEDE published by the Pali Text Society, as supplemented by the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (CPD) of TRENCKNER of which as yet only ten fascicules have been published. In view of the present nature of the paper, with limited space, I have omitted a consideration of the personal names, as recorded now in MALALASEKERA's *Dictionary* with the large corrigenda and agenda which Dr. B. C. LAW has published in his excellent review of this work.[6] The treatment is divided

[1] *Antidoron*, p. 296. [2] *ib.* [3] *ib.*, p. 297. [4] *ib.*, p. 295.

[5] *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, §42 (pp. 58-9), §43 (p. 59). [6] *Indian Culture*

into two main sections: (1) definite instances of *-ḍ(h)-* : *-ḷ(h)-* correspondence, with a supplement of the correspondence *-ḷ-* < *-ṇ-* (and of *-l-* < *-n-*); (2) cases which do not fall within the above category according to our present state of knowledge. It has not been possible for the writer to verify all the citations from the principal sources utilized by him; the editing of Pāli texts, with a few exceptions, is still in an unsatisfactory state of affairs and the remarks of those critical scholars Dines ANDERSEN and Helmer SMITH, deploring that the list of their corrections and additions exceeds 500 entries for the first 234 pages of their Critical Pāli Dictionary, resulting from a retesting of the commentaries and a closer analysis of classical passages,[1] indicates the necessity of the comparative study of Pāli vocables linguistically as well as text-critically.

I. OIA *-ḍ-* > PĀLI *-ḷ-*

1. *aggaḷā* 'latch-pin, cross-bar'; 'gusset'; and cmpds °*-phalaka-*, °*-vaṭṭi*, °*-sūci*, etc. [< OIA **argaḍaḥ* seen in Śat. Br. *sārgaḍaḥ*; elsewhere Sk. Pk. *aggala-*.]

2. *aḷa-*, 'the claw of a crab'. [< **aḍa-* from **ṛda-*,[2] cf. Gk. *árdis* 'point' and Sk. *alam* 'sting in the tail of a scorpion (or a bee)'.]

3. *aḷāra-*, 'i.e. *visāla*, only with reference to eyelashes'; °*-akkhin* = *visāla-netta*; °*-pamha* = *bahala-saṁyata-pakhuma*; °*-bhamuka* = *visāla-akkhigaṇḍa-*; cf. also *āḷāra-* 'thick, massed', etc. KERN explains the word *aḷāra* as 'bent, crooked, arched'. [Connection with OIA *udāra-* : Pa. *uḷāra-* doubtful, but see *udārākṣa-*. Possibly < *arāḍa-* 'having high horns' : **arāḷa-* with metathesis of *r* and *ḷ*. If the reading is *uḷāra-* in the same significance, compare Vedic *urāṇá-* 'making broad or wide, extending, increasing', in which case we have *-ṇ-* > *-ḷ-*.]

4. *āḷakā* 'thorn, sting, dart, spike'; 'peg, stake, post'. [< **āḍaka-*, cf. **aḍa-* above.[3]]

5. *āḷi* 'dike, embankment'. [Cf. Sk. *āḍiḥ* Npr. of an aquatic bird: Pa. *āli*[1] 'a kind of fish'.]

6. *āḷavaka-*, *āḷavika-*, *āḷavī*[4] 'forest-dweller'. [< Sk. *āṭavika-* : MIA *āḍaviya-*.]

7. *uḷāra-* 'great, eminent, excellent, superb, lofty, noble'; °*-tta*, *-tā*; —*an-uḷāratā* 'insignificance', *anuḷāra-*, °*-ka*, °*-tta*; *anoḷārika-* 'subtle'; *suḷāra-* 'magnificent'. [GEIGER §43, 2 < Sk. *ud-ārá-*. PISCHEL §245 (p. 172) quotes Amg. *urāla-*, *orāliya-* as from Sk. *ud-ārá-* as an illustration of the change of *-d-* : *ḍ* : *-r-* (and in Mg. *-l-*); but it is evident that Amg. *urāla-* < **urāḷa-* < OIA **urāḍa-* which is probably this *udārá-* with metathesis and cerebralization of *d* after *ra* in **urāda-*.]

8. *uḷu* 'lunar mansion'. [Sk. *uḍu* fn. 'a star', n. 'lunar mansion' : Pk. *uḍu*, Deśī *ulu-khaṇḍa-*, 'meteor', 'fire-brand'.]

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[1] Page xxvii on Preface to *CPD*, vol. I, part 5.

[2] LÜDERS, Ali und Āla in *Festschrift Ernst Kühn*, pp. 313-4.

[3] *ib.*, pp. 317ff.

[4] Sylvain LÉVI, Observations sur une langue précanonique du Bouddhism, *JA*, dixième série, tome 20, 495–512, gives *āḷavaī*<*aṭavī*.

9. *uḷumpa* 'raft, boat'. [Sk. *uḍupa* mn. 'raft or float': Pk. *uḍupa-*, *uḍuva-*. For the nasal in Pāli see GEIGER §43.]

10. *eḷa-(ka)-* 'ram, wild goat'; °*-galā* 'the plant Cassia Tora' (cf. Sk. *eḍagajaḥ*). [Sk. *eḍa(ka)-* m.; Pk. *eḍa-*, *eḍakka-*, *eḍayā*, *ela-*, *elaga-*, *elaya-*.]

11. *eḷaka-* n. 'threshold' (?). [Cf. Sk. lex. *eḍūka-* mn., *eḍokam* 'a shrine'.]

12. *oḷumpika* 'belonging to a skiff'. [Cf. *uḷumpa-* above; BSk. *oḍumpika-*, *olumpika-*; < Sk. *auḍupa-*, *auḍupika-*, Pāṇini 4.2.75.]

13. *kakkhaḷa-* 'rough, hard, harsh'. °*-tā*, °*-ttam*, °*-iya-*. *a-kakkha-ḷa-*. [Sk. *kakkhaṭa-* 'hard, solid': Pk. *kakkhaḍa-*, *kakkhala-*. For the change *-ṭ-* > *-ḷ-* see GEIGER 38 (p. 56) through an intermediary **-ḍ-*. The examples cited are: *kheḷa-*, *cakkavāḷa-*, *phaḷika-*, *Āḷavī* and *Lāḷa-*.]

14. *kandaḷa-* 'Npr. of an esculent water-lily'. Cf. also the *l*-form *kandala-* 'Npr. of a plant with white flowers'. [Sk. lex. *kandaṭaḥ* 'a kind of esculent water-lily': Pk. *kandala-*.]

15. *kabaḷikā* 'a bandage, strip of cloth put over a sore or wound'. Cf. Sk. *kavalikā* ib. [On the form *kabaḷa-* generally seen in Pāli MSS. see LÜDERS, *Antidoron* 307-8 where the Central Asian MSS. of Prātimokṣa-sūtra show *kabaḍa-*, *kapaḍa-*, and the Mahāvyutpatti has *kavaḍa-* 'a mouthful of water' also known to Suśruta.]

16. *karaḷa-* 'a wisp of grass'. The form quoted by PED is *tiṇa-karaḷa* in this sense, so that *karaḷa-* should merely mean 'handful'. The graphy is not certain as under *karaḷa* both forms are shown, while under *tiṇa-* only the *l*-form is indicated, with the identical reference. [Cf. Sk. **kara-ṭa-*, **kara-la-* for the *-ḷ-* and *-l-* forms respectively; Sk. *kareṭaḥ* 'finger-nail', for extended forms. Cp. also *kāḍayati* 'removes the chaff', *kaḍaṁkaraḥ*, *kaḍaṁgaraḥ* 'straw'. Pāli *karaḷa-* must therefore go back to **kara-ḍa-*.]

17. *kaḷāra-* 'projecting (of teeth)', *kaḷārikā* 'kind of large (female) elephant'. [Usually connected with Sk. *karāla-*, but cf. Maitr. Saṁ. *karāṭaḥ* 'Npr. of Gaṇeśa', and *karaṭaḥ* 'elephant's temple'. Possibly < **kaḍāra-* for **karāḍa-*, *karāṭaḥ*.]

18. *kāḷārikā* 'kind of (she) elephant'. [Cf. *kaḷārikā* above.]

19. *kaḷimb(h)aka* 'a mark used to keep the interstices between the threads of the kaṭhina even, when being woven'; the v.l. is *kaḷimpaka-*. [Etymology is uncertain, but cp. Sk. *kaḍambaḥ* 'Convolvulus repens, the stalk of a pot-herb; and *kalamba(ka)ḥ*, *kalambukā* 'Convolvulus repens'.]

20. *kaḷebara-* 'body, corpse, dead body, carcass; the step in a flight of stairs'. [BSk. *kaḍebara-*: Sk. *kalevara* mn., Pk. *kalevara* n.]

21. *kāḷa(ka)-* 'dark, black': also indiscriminately *kāla*; fem. *kāḷikā*. [< **kāḍa-*.[1]]

22. *kīḷati* 'enjoys, plays, sports, dallies'; *abhi-*° 'plays a game'; *sam-*° 'plays, sports'; *kīḷita-* (and *vik-*°, *ni-*°); *kīḷanaka* 'toy' (and *vi-*°); *kīḷanā* 'sport, amusement'; *kīḷā* ib.; *kīḷāpanaka-* 'toy', 'player'; *kīḷikā* 'sport'; *ni-kīḷitāvin* 'playful'. [Sk. *krīḍati*, *krīḷati* in Ṛv.: Pk. *kiḍḍai*, *kīlai*.]

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[1] LÜDERS, *Antidoron*, p. 300; SCHRADER, *Brahmavidyā* I, i, 21, f.n. 1.

23. *upa-kūḷita-* 'singed, boiled'. [Sk. *kūḍayati* (Ṛv. *kūḷayatās*) 'burns, scorches'; cf. *kruḍati, krūḍayati* 'becomes thick, makes thick'; whence perhaps 'boils, thickens by boiling'.]

24. *keḷanā* 'desire, greed'; *paṭi-°, pari-°*; *keḷāyati* 'fondles': *keḷāyana* 'playfulness'; *keḷāyita-* 'desired, fondled'; *keḷi* 'play, sport, amusement; attachment, lust, desire, greed'. [Der. from *kīḷa-* (No. 22 above).]

25. *kheḷa* 'phlegm, saliva, exudation from the skin'; *kheḷākapa-, kheḷāsika-* 'eating phlegm'; *vik-kheḷi-kā* 'slobbering'. [Sk. *kheṭaḥ* 'phlegm', *kṣveḍaḥ* 'poison', *kṣveḍate* 'emits sap, exudes': Pk. *kheḍaya* m. 'poison', *khela* m. 'phlegm', *khelosahi* 'medicine for poison'.]

26. *gaḷati* 'drips, rains, drops'; *gaḷayati* 'drips, drops'; *gaḷita-* 'rough', *a-gaḷita-* 'soft'; *gaḷa-* 'drop', 'swelling', '(fish)hook'; *gaḷāgaḷam gacchati* 'goes from drop to drop'. [Sk. *gaḍati* 'distils, drops', *gaḍaḥ* 'goitre', whence *galati* 'trickles, oozes': Pk. *galai*.]

27. *ati-gāḷeti* (according to PED), *ati-gāḷayati* (according to CPD) with identical quotation; the reading is uncertain here: 'causes to perish'; *upagaḷita-* 'flowing out'; *vi-gaḷita-* 'dripping'; *vini-gaḷati* 'drops down'. [Cf. prec.]

28. *nigaḷa* '(iron) chain for the feet, a fetter'. [< Sk. *nigaḍa-* mn. 'shackle, fetter'; *nigaḍita-* 'chained, fettered'; Pk. *ṇiala-, ṇi-aḍia-, ṇialia-*.]

29. *gaḷagaḷāyati* 'roars, crashes, thunders'. [Cf. Sk. *gard-, garj-*; Pk. *gaḍayaḍaï*.]

30. *gaḷocī* 'a kind of shrub'; *°-latā* 'kind of creeper'. [Cf. Sk. *guḍaci, guḍucī, guḍūcī, guḍūcikā* 'Cocculus cordifolius'.]

31. *guḷa* 'ball; sugar, molasses'; *sa-°* 'cake'; *guḷā* 'swelling, blight pimple, pustule'; *guḷikā* 'a little ball, globule'; *sam-guḷikā* 'cake'. [Sk. *guḍaḥ* 'pill, sugar, molasses'; *guḍā* 'pill'; *guḍikā* 'pill'; in this latter sense cp. *guṭikā* which has besides the meaning of 'small pustule'. *guḍaka-* (f. *guḍikā*) 'prepared with treacle'. For *l*-forms see *gulaḥ, gulikā, gulā*.]

32. *goḷaka* 'a ball'. [Sk. *goḍaḥ* 'a fleshy navel', *golaḥ* 'ball', *golakaḥ*: Pk. *golaga-, golaya-*.]

33. *cakkavāḷa-* 'circle, sphere'. [Sk. lex. *cakravāṭaḥ* 'limit, boundary', *°-vāḍaḥ* 'circle', *°-vālaḥ* ib.: Pk. *cakkavāla-*.]

34. *cīriḷikā* 'cricket'. [PED suggests the origin as a contamination of Sk. *cīrī* and *jhillikā, cīrilli*; but cp. Sk. *cirīṭikaḥ* 'a kind of bird' and the following variant forms for 'cricket': *cīrīvākaḥ, cīrikā, cīrukā, cīlikā, cīllikā, cillakaḥ, cillaṭaḥ, cillaḍaḥ*: all these point out to the onomatopoetic form *cīri-*, leading to PMIA **cīriḍa(ka)-, *cīriḍikā*, from a possibly earlier **cīriṭa(ka)-* or **cīriṭikā*.]

35. *cūḷa* 'swelling, protuberance, knot, crest'; *aḍḍha-°, kaṇṇa-°*; *cūḷaka-* 'having a top-knot', *pañca-°*. [Sk. *cūḍaḥ* 'protuberance', *cūlaka-* 'crested'.]

36. *cūḷanikā* (from **cūḷanika-* 'lesser'). [PED suggests derivation from *culla-* 'small', but *-ḷ-* indicates **cūḍanika-* < **cūḍa-na-ka-*, with **cūḍa-* < **cuḍḍa-* (?) < *kṣudra-*. Cf. Sk. *cuṭṭayati, cuḍḍayati* 'becomes small'.]

37. *chiggaḷa-* 'a hole'; *tāḷa-°* 'a key-hole'. [< **chiggaḍa-* from an earlier **chiggaṭa-* (?) < Sk. **chid-ga-ṭa-*; cp. Koṅkaṇī *śiglā* 'small pieces, parings'; *śigara* 'a thin paring of bamboo used as a pin'.]

38. *jaḷa* 'dull, stupid, slow'. [Sk. *jaḍa-*, Pk. *jaḍa-*.]

39. *takkaḷa* 'tuberose'; *biḷālli-°*. [< **takka-ḍa-*, cf. Sk. *takrāhvā, takrabhaktā* 'a kind of shrub' whence **takra-ṭa-*.]

40. *tāḷeti* 'strikes, beats, flogs'; *anu-°*; *nit-°*; *sam-ni-*; *abhitāḷita-*; *tāḷa-* 'beating, clapping of hands; key'; *tāḷī* 'strike, blow'. [Sk. *tāḍayati* 'beats, strikes'; *tāḍaḥ* 'blow'; *tāḍakaḥ* 'a kind of key'; *tāḍī* 'a kind of ornament'; *tālaḥ* 'musical time'; *tālakam*, 'lock'; Pk. *tāḍei, tāḍa-, tālei, tāla-*.]

41. *daddaḷhati* 'blazes, shines brilliantly', *daddaḷhamāna* (with v.l. *daddhalamāna*). [Geiger §185 gives *daddallati*, and §191 *daddallamāna-* < Sk. *jājvalyate* as intensive forms. The readings are less than certain and may perhaps go back to a **daddhaḷa-* represented by the MSS. in either of these two varying forms. The uncertainty of the orthography may also be seen from a parallel difference where Geiger shows the *ḷ* form in opposition to PED *l*-form in *bhindivāḷa* §38.5. If the reconstruction is accepted as *daddhaḷati*, the form goes back to a **dagdha-ṭa*; **dagdha-ḍa-*.]

42. *dohaḷa* 'craving, longing (of a pregnant woman)'; *dohaḷāyati* 'has cravings'; *dohaḷinī* 'a pregnant woman having longings'. [Sk. *daurhṛda-*: PMIA **dohaḍa-*, later Sanskritized as *dohada-*: Pk. *dohala-*.]

43. *un-naḷa-* (also v.l. *unnala-*) 'insolent, proud, arrogant'. [Perh. < Sk. **un-naṭa-*, cf. *unnāṭayati* 'jumps up' and Pk. *unnāmia-, unnālia-* 'lifted, elevated'. With these forms Sk. *un-natá-* and *un-namati* may be compared.]

44. *naḷa-* (and *nala-* also) 'a species of reed'; *naḷa-pin* 'a kind of aquatic animal'. The reading *naḷa* is given secondary importance by PED which also records *nalinī* 'a pond'; but Lüders cites the following *ḷ*-forms in Pāli: *naḷa-, nāḷī, Naḷinikā, Naḷinī*. [Sk. *naḍáḥ* (Ṛv. *naḷáḥ*) 'reed', *naḍinī* 'reed bed', *nalaḥ, nalinī* 'lotus flower': Pk. *ṇala-, ṇalinī*.]

45. *añjana-nāḷi* 'collyrium box'; *nāḷikā* 'stalk, shaft, tube, pipe', *pa-°*; *nāḷī* 'hollow stock, tube', *pa-°*. [Sk. *nāḍī* 'tubular stock', 'the box of a wheel', *nāḍikā* 'hollow stalk'; later Sk. *nāla-, nālaka-*, etc.: Pk. *ṇāḍī, ṇālā, ṇālī*. See No. 44 above.]

46. *nāḷikera* 'cocoanut', 'cocoanut tree'; *°-ika-* 'belonging to the c. tree'. [Sk. lex. *nāḍīkelaḥ, nārīkelaḥ*; Suśruta *nārikeraḥ, nālikeraḥ*, Mbh. *nālikeraḥ*, *°-kelaḥ*: Pk. *ṇāriera-, °-ela-, ṇāliara-, °-era-*.]

47. *nīḷa* 'nest'. [Sk. *nīḍá-* (Ṛv. *nīḷá-*) mn. 'nest': Pk. *ṇiḍḍa-, ṇīḍa-*.]

48. *pāḷi* (also *pāli*)[1] 'line, row, norm'. [< **pāḍi-*: Sk. *pāliḥ* f., but cf. *pari-pāṭī* 'order, arrangement, succession' whence **pāṭi-*: **pāḍi-*.]

49. *vi-pāḷiyati* 'destroys', 'is destroyed', passive from *vi-pāṭeti* 'rips open, destroys': Sk. *vipāṭayati* 'destroys'. [< **vi-pāḍiyati* from a **pāḍeti, *pāḷeti*.]

50. *pāsuḷa-, phāsuḷā, phāsuḷī* 'rib'. [Sk. *párśuḥ* 'rib' whence **parśu-ṭa-, *pāsu-ḍa-*; the aspiration may be due to analogy with other forms for which see Geiger §40.1 (p. 57 f.).]

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[1] Lüders, o.c. 302.

51. *piḷakā* 'a small boil, pustule, pimple'; 'a knob'. [Sk. *piḍakaḥ, piḍakā* 'pimple'.]

52. *piḷeti* 'presses', *ati-°, abhi-°, abhini-°, o-°, nip-°, sam-°*; *piḷita-, ajjhā-°, abhi-°, up-°, pa-°, paṭi-°, pari-°, sam-°*; *piḷa-* with *upa-°, up-°, sam-°*; *paṭi-piḷana-, abhinippiḷanā*; *piḷaka-, piḷanā, piḷā*. [Sk. *pīḍayati* 'presses, squeezes', *pīḍā* 'pain, suffering': Pk. *pīḍai, pīḍita-, pīḍā*; *pīlaï, pīlei, pīlaṇa-, pīlā*, etc.]

53. *pūraḷāsa-* 'sacrificial offering'. [Sk. *puroḍā́śáḥ.*]

54. *peḷa* in *yaka-peḷa-* 'liver- (lump)'; *peḷā* 'large basket'; *peḷikā* 'basket'; on the first form PED suggests connection with *piṇḍa-* on the authority of PISCHEL §122 (p. 98), which is extremely doubtful. The form quoted by Deśīnāmamālā *peḍhāla* 'round' does not throw any light on the present form *-peḷa-* which shows *-ḷ-* instead of the expected *-ḷh-* if the connection suggested was based on facts. For the forms see Sk. *peṭaḥ, peṭakaḥ* (from *piṭaka-*, etc.). BSk. already shows the form *peḍā* by the side of *peṭā*.

55. *baḷavā* 'mare'; *°-mukha* 'mare's mouth'. [Sk. *váḍavā* (also written *váḍabā, báḍavā, báḍabā*): Pk. *vaḍavā, valavā.*]

56. *baḷiyakkha-* 'a species of bird'. [Etym. uncertain, but cp. Sk. *vaḍabhā* 'a kind of bird' and *valāhaká-* or *balāhaká-*, *balākaḥ* 'kind of crane'.]

57. *biḷāra-, biḷārikā, biḷāla-, biḷālikā, biḷālī* '(he- or she-) cat' [Sk. *biḍālaḥ, viḍālaḥ, birālaḥ, bilālaḥ*: Pk. *biḍāla-, biḍāliā, biḍālī, birāla-, °liā, °lī*; *bilāḍa-, bilāla-, °lī.*]

58. *biḷibiḷikā* 'tittle-tattle'. [Cf. Sk. *beṭati, beḍati* 'swears'.]

59. *bubbuḷa* (besides *bubbula*) 'bubble'; *°-ka-* 'bubble; iris of the eye'. [Cf. Sk. *buḍabuḍa* 'bubbling sound' and *budbudaḥ* 'bubble'; *budbudā-* 'a particular disease of the eye'. Pk. *buḍabuḍei* 'makes a bubbling sound', Deśi *bulaṁbulā* f., *bulabula-* 'bubble'.]

60. *kandala-makuḷa* 'knob (?) of a kind of plant'. [For the first member of the compound see under *kandaḷa-*. For the second member, cf. Sk. *makuṭam* 'crest', Pk. *maüḍa-* (< **makuḍa-*).]

61. *māḷa* (besides *māla*) 'a sort of pavilion, hall'; *māḷaka-* 'a stand (for alms bowl)'. [< **māḍa-* from Dravidian.]

61A. *mutoḷī* (vv. ll, *putoḷi, mūtoḷi*) 'a kind of bag, sack'. [Cf. Sk. *puṭa-* mn. 'fold, pocket', *mūṭa-* mn. 'basket, bundle', *mūṭaka-/mūḍaka-* mn. ib.]

62. *rūḷa-* 'awful terrible' com. = *bhīma-*. [Sk. *rūrá-* 'hot, burning'; *roḍaḥ* 'crushing, pounding'; possibly < *rudrá-*: **rudḍa-, *rūḍa-.*]

63. *laguḷa-* 'club, cudgel'. [Sk. *laguḍaḥ* 'stick, staff, club': Pk. *laüḍa-, laüla-.*]

64. *lāḷeti* 'fosters, cherishes', *nil-°*; *apa-°* 'draws away'; *upa-lāḷita-* 'fondled, cherished'; *lāḷana* 'dalliance'; *pa-laḷita-*; *laḷati* 'sports, plays, dallies'. [Sk. *laḍati, laḍayati* 'licks' and *lāḍayati* 'cherishes, fosters': *lalati, lālayati*: Pk. *lalaï, lalei, lālanti.*]

65. *luḷati* (and *luṭati*) 'stirs, shakes, agitates', *ā-°*; *aluḷita-* 'unmoved'; *ā-luḷita-* 'agitated'; *a-luḷa-* 'disturbed', *vi-°*; *a-loḷeti, nil-°, vi-°*; *āloḷī* 'mud'; *āloḷa-* 'confusion, uproar'; *vi-loḷana-*. [Sk. *loḍati* 'agitates', *luḍati* 'covers', *loḍayati* 'sets in motion': Pk. *lulia-, lulaï, lolaï.*]

66. *ā-ḷamba(ra)-* 'a kind of drum'. [Sk. *ā-ḍámbaraḥ*: Pk. *āḍambara-.*]

67. *vi-ḷayhati* 'burns'. [< Sk. *pi-dahyati*: Pk. *viḍajjhamāna-*, and Pā. *ḍahati* < Sk. *dahati.*]

68. *apaḷāsin* 'freedom from spite' whence **apaḷāsa-* 'spite' construed by TRENCKNER as *a-pa-ḷāsa-*. [< Sk. *ras-*, but cf. BSk. *pradāsa-* and Sk. *pra-dasyati* 'dries up, becomes dry', whence **pra-ḍāsa-, *paḍāsa-*; cf. Pk. *paḍāsa* and *palāsa-.*]

69. *pari-ḷāha-* 'burning, fever; distress, pain'. [Sk. *pari-dāhaḥ*, Pa. **pari-ḍāha-*: cf. *vi-ḷahati* above.]

70. *vaḷa-* 'snake'. [PED reads *vāḷa-* which, if correct, shows derivation from OIA *vyā̆ḍaḥ* 'snake, a beast of prey', *vyāla-*[1]: Pk. *vāla-.*]

71. *vaḷabhā-mukha-* 'submarine fire'. [Sk. *vaḍavā-mukham, vaḍavāgniḥ*; Pk. *vaḍavāmuha-.*]

72. *vaḷabhī* 'roof'. [Cf. Sk. *vaḍabhī, valabhī* 'ridge of a roof': Pk. *valahī.*]

73. *vaḷavā* 'mare'. [Cf. *baḷavā* above.]

74. *vāḷa-* 'snake, music'. [Cf. *vaḷa-* above.]

75. *ā-veḷa-* 'turning round'; *āveḷā* 'garland'; *āveḷin-* 'wearing garlands'. [Cf. Pk. *āmela-ga-, °-ya-, āveḍa-(ya)-, āmellia-* 'garlanded' < Sk. *āpīḍaḥ* 'chaplet tied on the crown of the head'.]

76. *veḷuriya-* 'lapis lazuli'. [Sk. *vaiḍūryam*: Pk. *veḍujja-, veḍuria-, verulia-, veluria-, velulia-.*[2]]

77. *salaḷa-* 'a kind of sweet-scented tree'. [Cf. Sk. *śalāṭu, śalālu* 'a kind of fragrant substance'.]

78. *saḷ-āyatana-* 'the six organs of sense'. [Sk. *ṣaḍ-āyatanam.*]

79. *sāḷava-* 'a kind of salad dish'. [Sk. *ṣāḍavaḥ* 'confectionery, sweet-meats'.]

80. *sāhuḷa-cīvara-* 'coarse cloth'. [Cf. Deśī *sāhulī, °liā* ib.; < Sk. **sādhu-ṭa/ḍa-* (?).]

81. *sīhaḷa(ka)* 'Ceylonese'. [< **siṁha-ḍa-*. Sk. *siṁhala-*: Pk. *siṁhala-, sīhala-.*[3]]

82. *soḷasa* 'sixteen'; *°-kkhatum, °-ma*. [Sk. *ṣoḍaśá*: Pk. *solasa, solaha.*]

83. *hīḷeti* 'is vexed, grieves, vexes, scorns, disclaims', *ati-°*; *hīḷita-* 'despised'; *hīḷana-, °-nā* 'disdain, contempt'; *o-hīḷanā* 'scorn'. [Sk. *hīḍati, hīḍa-* 'instigator', *hīḍitá-* 'angry'; *heḍate* 'makes angry', *heḷā* 'disrespect': Pk. *hīlaï.*]

II. OIA *-ḍh-* > PĀ. *-ḷh-*

1. *āḷha(ka)-* 'a kind of measure'. [Sk. *āḍhaka-* mn.: Pk. *āḍhaga-, āḍhaya-.*]

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[1] LÉVI, *o.c.* compares Pa. *Anāthapiṇḍika-* or *°-piṇḍada-* with BSk. *Anāthapeḍika*, equating *peḍi-* with *piṇḍi-*. On the etymology of *piṇḍa-* see LIDEN, *Altindisch. und verg. Sprachgeschicte*, pp. 87-8; on an improbable etymology see THIEME, *ZDMG* 93. Both *peḍha-, peḍhāla-* may be ultimately connected with *plīhán* 'spleen' through the base *plih-* (*plehate*) giving us **pliẓ-da-, *pliẓ-dha-*, the first giving us the prototype for *peḷa-* of Pāli meaning 'spleen' and the second *peḍha-* of Pk. If this etymology is accepted, we have in *yaka-peḷa-* a double compound each member of which indicates the same idea.

[2] LÜDERS, *Fest. E. Kuhn*, p. 307.

[3] *ib.*, 304.

2. *āḷhika-*, °*-iya-* 'rich, happy, fortunate'; *anāḷhi-ka- ya-* 'poor, miserable, destitute'. [Sk. *āḍhyá-* 'opulent, wealthy': Pk. *āḍhia-*.]

3. *urūḷhava-* 'large, bulky, immense, great, big, strong'; v.l. is *ub-būḷha-* q.v.

4. *gāḷha-* 'strong, tight, close, thick', *acc-o-*°, *pa-*°, *ajjh-o-*°, *ati-*°, *ā-*°, *pariy-o-*°; *ni-gāḷhika-* 'immersed'. [Sk. *gāḍhá-*: Pk. *gāḍha-*.]

5. *gūḷha-* 'hidden, secret', ni-°. [Sk. *gūḍhá-* (Ṛv. *gūḷhá-*): Pk. *gūḍha-*.]

6. *daḷha-* 'firm, strong, solid, steady, fast'; *daḷhī* f. [Sk. *dṛḍha-*, Ṛv. *dṛḷhá-*: Pk. *daḍha-*, *diḍha-*.]

7. *dveḷhaka-* 'doubt', *adveḷhaka-* 'certain, without doubt'. [Sk. **dvaiẓ-dhaka-*.[1]]

8. *piḷhaka-* (v.l. *miḷhaka-*) 'cess-pool', 'dung-beetle'. [PED corrects the reading to *miḷhaka-* < Sk. *mīḍhám*, *mīḷhám* 'excrement' whence *mīḍhaka*. For the variant *piḷhaka-* is to be explained by the parallelism of *méhati* 'voids urine': *parṣate* 'becomes wet', *pṛṣat* n. 'a drop of water', etc.]

9. *bāḷha-* 'strong', °*-tara*, °*-gilāna-*; *ati-*°, *ub-*°, *pa-*°, *paṭi-*°; *bāḷhika-* 'prosperous', *su-*°. [Sk. *bāḍhá-*: Pk. *bāḍha-*, *bāha-*.]

10. *abbuḷhati* 'pulls out, draws out', *abbuḷhana* 'pulling out, extracting'; cf. *abbūḷha-* below.

11. *ab-būḷha-* 'drawn out', *parib-*°, *sam-upab-*°; *ab-būḷhita-* 'pulled out, removed'; *ub-būḷhavant-* 'large, bulky, etc.'. [Cf. Pk. *uvvūḍha-*, *uvvīḍha-*, the form *-vūḍha-* < **vṛẓḍha-* from the base *vṛh-*.[2]]

12. *mīḷha-* 'excrement'; °*-kūpa-*, °*-kā* 'cess-pool'. [Sk. *mīḍhám*, *mīḷhám*. Cf. *piḷhaka* above.]

13. *mūḷha-* 'erring, straying, confused, infatuated'; *a-*°*-vinaya-*; *pa-*°; *sam-*°, *sam-pa-*°. [Sk. *mūḍhá-*: Pk. *mūḍha-*.]

14. *vi-yūḷha-* (read as *vi-y-ūḷha-*) 'massed, heaped, thick, dense'; *saṁ-*° 'collected, composed, gathered'. [Sk. *ūḍha-*.]

15. *rūḷha-* 'grown', *ajjh-ā-*°, *abhi-*°, *ā-*°, *upa-*°, *pa-*°, *vi-*°, *samupa-*°, *saṁ-*°, *saṁvi-*°; *rūḷhi* 'ascent, growth', *avi-*°. [Sk. *rūḍhá-*.]

16. *līḷhā* 'grace, ease, charm, adroitness'. [Sk. *līḍha-* 'licked' and *līlā*.]

17. *pa-vāḷha-* 'carried away, turned away, distracted, dismissed' with v.l. *pabbāḷha-* q.v.

18. *vūḷha-* 'carried away'; *saṁ-*°. [Cf. *ūḷha-* (No. 14 above).]

19. *āsāḷhā*, °*-ī* 'Npr. of a month'. [Sk. *āṣāḍhā* 'a lunar mansion', *āṣāḍhī* 'the day of full moon in the month so named'.]

20. *usseḷheti*; cf. next.

21. *ussoḷhi*(*kā*) 'exertion, belonging to exertion'. [Sk. *soḍha-*.]

III. OIA *-ṇ-* > Pa. *-ḷ-*

1. *n-eḷa-* 'blameless, faultless', *aneḷā-* ib., *aneḷaka-* ib. [Cf. Sk. *énas* 'sin, offence, fault, crime'; Geiger §43 reads *eḷa*, *anelaka-* here.]

[1] Helmer Smith, *BSOS* 30 < **dviẓ-dhā*; Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr.* III, p. 598.

[2] *BSOS* 8.832–4, Wackernagel, Altindische und Mittelindische Miszellen.

2. *khiḷa-* 'hard skin, callosity'. [v.l. is *kiṇa-*, corresponding to Sk. *kiṇaḥ* 'corn, scar, cicatrix, callosity'.]

3. *muḷāla-* 'stalk of a lotus', *bhisa-*°; *muḷālī* ib., °*-puppha-* 'lotus'; *muḷālikā* ib. [Sk. *mṛṇālam*: Pk. *muṇāla-*.]

4. *api-ḷandha-* 'adorned with', *apiḷandhana-* 'that which is tied on', *apiḷahati*, °*-ḷandhati* 'fastens on', *piḷayhati* 'fastens on, puts on, covers, adorns'. [Geiger §43 gives only the *l*-forms. Sk. *nahyati*.]

5. *veḷu* 'bamboo', *veḷuka-* 'a kind of tree', *veḷuva-* 'made of bamboos'. [Sk. *vēṇúḥ*, *vénuḥ*: Pk. *veṇu-*, *velu-*.]

IV. Miscellaneous Group

In this group we have to consider a number of examples where Pāli *ḷ* seems to correspond to OIA *l*, *r* or to certain nexi, and whose exact etymologies cannot be reconstructed on the present evidence. On further investigation it may be possible to demonstrate that even these vocables show the existence of a pre-Pāli *-ḍ-* corresponding to Pāli *-ḷ-*.

1. *Apaḷāla* 'Npr. of a nāgarāja' CPD. [Cf. *Apalālaḥ* 'Npr. of a rākṣasa' in Sk. Possibly **a-patāla-* 'not falling': **a-paḍāla-*.]

2. *āḷādvārakā-* at J.v. 81, 82 (v. 81 has *āḷāraka*) which PED emends to *advāraka* 'doorless'; possibly Pk. *aṇa-* for *a-* (priv.).

3. *āḷāna-* 'peg, post, etc. to which an elephant is tied' with v.l. *ālāna-*. [Sk. *ālānam*: Pk. *āṇāla-*, *āḷāṇa-*. The *ḷ*-reading is found at DhA where all the MSS. agree. Cp. Sk. *ā́-dyati* 'binds', *ā-dā́nam* 'fettering'. The existence of *d-* and *l*-forms in OIA, though at different stages, indicates the intermediate stage *ā-*ḍāna-* with a possible cerebralization of the base *dā-*.]

4. *āḷārika-*, °*-riya-* 'cook', the comm. giving the synonyms *bhattakāraka-* and *sūpika-*. [Cf. Mbh. *ārālikaḥ* 'cook'.]

5. *āḷinda-* 'terrace or verandah before the house door' with v.l. *ālinda*. [Sk. *alindaḥ*, *ālindah*.]

6. *uḷuṅka-* 'ladle, spoon'. [Geiger §17.2a and §42.3 connects this with Sk. *udaṅkáḥ* 'pail, bucket': Pk. *udaṅka-*, with *a*>*u* in Pāli.]

7. *eḷāluka* (or *elāluka*) 'a kind of cucumber'. [Cf. Sk. *elvālukam* 'a kind of fragrant substance'.]

8. *kaḷāya-* (and *kalāya-*) 'a kind of pea'. [Sk. *kalāyaḥ*, but cf. *kaṭāyanam* 'Andropogon Muricatus'.]

9. *kaḷiṅgara-* (and *kaliṅgara-*) 'log, piece of wood, plank'. [Cf. Sk. *kaliṅgaḥ* 'kinds of trees: Caesalpina Bonducella, Wrightia antidysenteria, Acassia Sirissa, Ficus infectoria' and *kadaṁkaraḥ*, *kadaṁgaraḥ* 'straw'.]

10. *kaḷīra-* 'top sprout of a plant'; *vaṁsa-*°; *veḷugulma*. [Cf. Sk. *kaṭīra-* mn. 'iliac region', 'cave, indentation'; < Sk. *karīra-* mn. 'shoot of a bamboo'. Compare also *kalikā* 'the bottom or peg of the Indian lute (made of a cane)'.]

11. *kaḷopī* 'vessel, basin, pot', 'basket, crate'; °*-mukha-*, °*-hattha-* and *khaḷopī* 'pot'. The variants are *khalopi*, *kalopī*. [Cf. Sk. *kaṭoraḥ*, *kaṭorā* 'a kind of cup', *kaṭāha*(*ka*) 'pan, pot', *kaḍacchakaḥ* 'a kind of spoon, ladle',

kaḍatram 'a kind of vessel', *kalásaḥ* 'pitcher', all of which indicate a possible **kaṭa-*, **kaḍa-*, as the basis for these forms.]

12. *kākoḷa-* 'raven'; °*-gaṇā*; v.l. *kākola-*. [Sk. *kākolaḥ* 'raven' but in the sense of 'snake' comp. *karkoṭaḥ.*]

13. *kukkuḷa-* 'embers, hot ashes', °*-vassa-* 'shower of embers'. [Cf. Sk. *kukūla-* mn. 'conflagration made of chaff'.]

14. *keḷāsa-* 'Npr. of a mountain'. [< Sk. *kailāsaḥ.*]

15. *pari-keḷanā* 'adornment'; variants are °*lepanā*, *-kelāsanā*, *paṭi-kelanā*. [If not connected with the base *krīḍ-*, Pa. *kīḷ-*, comp. Sk. *ketanam* 'ensign, flag'.]

16. *keḷi-* 'play, sport, attachment, lust': Sk. *keliḥ* goes back to Sk. *krīḍ-*, Pa. *kīḷ-*, already noted under I. 24 above.

17. *koḷamba-* (variant *kolamba-*) 'pitcher'; cf. *kaḷopī* above. [Cf. Sk. *kolambakaḥ* 'the body of a lute'.)

18. *koḷāpa-* (and *kolāpa-*) 'dry, sapless', 'hollow tree'. [Cf. *kroḍá-* 'hollow'.]

19. *koḷikā* in *pīḷi-*° 'having boils of the size of a jujube'. [Cf. Sk. *kolam*, *koliḥ*; but cf. *kroḍá-*.]

20. *koviḷāra-* 'sort of ebony'. [Sk.Pk. *kovidāra-*.]

21. *khīḷana-* 'scorn'. *khīḷeti* 'derides'. [Perhaps < *kṣveḍ-*.]

22. *paccaggaḷa-* in °*-e aṭṭhāsi* 'struck in his gullet'. [< *pratyakgaḷa-* < Sk, *gala-* 'throat'.]

23. *cūḷāsīti* (besides *cullāsīti*) 'eighty-four'. [Cf. JM *culāsīi.*]

24. *daḷidda-* 'poor', °*-tā* 'poverty'; *dāḷiddiya-* ib.; as LÜDERS has pointed out these *ḷ*-forms are scribal errors for the correct *dalidda-*. [Sk. *dáridra-*: Pk. *daridda-*, *dalidda-*.]

25. *pacchāḷiyam khipati* 'throws into the lap (?)'. [Cf. *pakṣáḥ* 'flank': **pakṣāli-*, **pakṣāḍi-*.]

26. *pavāḷa* (besides *pavāla-*) 'coral, shoot, sprout'; *kāḷavalli-*°; *pāvāḷa-* 'hair', °*-nipphoṭanā* 'pulling out one's hair'. [BSk. *pravāḍaḥ*, Epic Sk. *pravālaḥ*: Pk. *pavāla.*]

27. *puḷava-* 'worm, maggot'; °*-ka-* ib. [Cf. Sk. *pulakaḥ* 'kind of vermin': Pk. *pulaa-*.]

28. *puḷina-* (besides *pulina-*) 'sandy bank or mound in the middle of a river; a grain of sand'. [Sk. *pulina-* mn.]

29. *maḷorikā* 'a stand or tripod for a bowl, formed of sticks'. [PED suggests the emendation *māḷaka* for *mallaka*. For the form cf. Sk. *marolikā* 'a sea monster' and for meaning *mallakaḥ* 'lamp-stand'.]

30. *upa-ḷāseti* 'sounds forth', *uppa-ḷāseti* ib. for which it is a variant. [< Sk. *upa-rāsayati* 'yells, roars'.]

31. *vaḷina-* for which the comm. reads *valina-*, synonymous with *ākula-*. [Sk. *valina-* 'shrivelled, wrinkled, flaccid.']

32. *viraḷa* (besides *virala-*) 'sparse, rare': *viraḷita-* ib. [Sk. *vira-la-*: Pk. *virāi* 'is destroyed' as a dhātvādeśa for *vi-līyate*, *virai* 'shatters, splits' (as dhv. for *bhañj-*) or 'becomes perplexed' (as dhv. for *gup-*): M. *vir-ṇē* 'to melt' whence we can posit a **vira-* seen in all these forms. Pa. shows the presence of *-ḍ-* so that both Pa. and Sk. forms can be traced to a *vira-ḍa-* (from an earlier **viraṭa-* ?).]

33. *vellāḷin-* 'flashing (of swords)'. [Cf. Sk. *vella-* 'shaking'.]

34. *sāḷikā* 'a bird; the mainā', spelt *sāḷiyā* at J. vi. 425; the other spellings are *sālikā*, *sāliyā*, etc. [Cf. Sk. *śārikā*, *sārikā*, *śāriḥ* f., *śārikaḥ* 'the maina bird, Gracula Religiosa or Tardus Salica'.]

It will thus be seen from a survey of the principal vocables of Pāli containing the lingual *ḷ* that this *ḷ* must go back to an earlier *ḍ*; even of this last category and the few exceptional changes of *-ṇ-* > *-ḷ-*, a little consideration shows that there is still a possibility of discovering or reconstructing a form containing the *-ḍ-* in the primitive MIA stage. The other interesting fact which emerges from the preceding analysis is the apparent correspondence between Pāli *ḷ* and Sanskrit *r* or *l* in the majority of cases, where the reconstruction shows either the presence or absence of the *-ḍ-*.

Our present knowledge of MIA linguistics is not sufficient to show us all the stages of this wide change over the whole length of the country and to distinguish clearly the inherited elements from the elements loaned from cognate groups. Fortunately as far as Pāli is concerned, the presence of *ḷ* where the orthography is not uncertain, or where Pāli has not *palicized* [1] the vocables borrowed from other MIA languages, definitely indicates a derivation from an earlier *ḷ*. While one could understand the correspondence existing between *ḍ* and *l* (in such periods and dialects where the orthography shows but one *l*) the correspondence existing between *d* and *l* or *r* makes it at least probable that the earlier form must have contained an original *ḍ* or a *d* cerebralized by the presence of certain cerebralizing phonemes. On the whole it appears to be almost certain that in cases where Pāli shows a *l* in opposition to Prakrit *ḍ*, an earlier *ḍ* has to be assumed for both forms, and the Pāli vocable has to be considered to be a loan from some MIA dialect which has not preserved the *ḷ* if the graphy is not at fault. Similarly the Sanskrit vocables showing a *ḷ* to Pk. *ḍ* come under the same category.

With reference to the correspondence postulated by PISCHEL [2] between *ḷ* and *r* (as shown by Sk. *vaiḍūrya-* and Pk. *verulia*) LÜDERS has correctly remarked that it is not so much a change from *ḍ* to *r* as from *ḷ* to *r*.[3] The other examples for this correspondence quoted by LÜDERS are *Āḷāra*: *Ārāḍa* and the Sanskrit *birāḷa-*: Pa. *biḷāra-*. LÜDERS has rightly suspected the influence of New Indo-Aryan dialects on the multiplicity of forms indicated by the vocables for 'cat' in the variants of *birāla-* etc.

In his excellent paper on Middle Indian *-ḍ-* and *-ḍḍ-* [4] TURNER has fully considered the question of New Indian treatment of these phonemes and his findings are as follows:

Group I consists of NIA languages which obliterate the distinction between MIA *-ḍ-* and *-ḍḍ-*. In the case of Kumaonī, Central and West Himalayan

[1] LÜDERS, *Antidoron*.
[2] *Gr. Pr. Spr.*, §241.
[3] LÜDERS, *o.c.*, 307.
[4] *Festgabe Jacobi*, 34–45.

dialects and Hindi both are reduced to -ṛ-. Gujarātī and Marāṭhī reduce them to -ḍ-, while Rajasthani dialects and Oṛiyā with its dialects have either ḍ or ṛ according to the particular dialect concerned for both -ḍ and -ḍḍ-. Bengali and Assamese belong to the group of -ṛ- dialects observed above. Gypsy reduce both to -ṛ-.

Group II consist of dialects where the distinction between -ḍ- and -ḍḍ- is maintained. They are:

1. Ṣiṇā: -ḍ- is lost, -ḍḍ- > -ṛ-.
2. Kaśmīrī: -ḍ- > -r- (or ṛ)-, -ḍḍ- > -ḍ-.
3. West Himalayan: -ḍ- > -ṛ-, -ḍḍ- > -ḍḍ- or -ḍ-.
4. Lahndī: -ḍ- > -ṛ-, -ḍḍ- > -ḍḍ- (and -ḍ- after long vowels).
5. Panjabi: ib.
6. Sindhi: -ḍ- > -ṛ-, -ḍḍ- > -ḍ-.
7. Nepali: -ḍ- > -r-, -ḍḍ- > -ṛ-.
8. West Hindi }
9. East Hindi } -ḍ- > -ṛ-, -ḍḍ- > -ṛ-.
10. Bihārī: -ḍ- > -r-, -ḍḍ- > -ṛ-.
11. Singhalese: -ḍ- > -ḷ-, -ḍḍ- > -ḷ.

If we observe the nature of the changes which have affected -ḍ- and -ḍḍ- we notice the following correspondences:

1. -*zero*-: -ṛ-.
2. -r- or -ṛ-: -ḍ- (or -ḍḍ-).
3. -r-: -ṛ-.
4. -ḍ-: -ḍ-.

These may now be grouped together in a linguistic series, showing the possible continuous evolution of the change as follows: complete loss of occlusion: r : ṛ : ḍ : ḍḍ on the one hand, and to ḷ : ḍ on the other. The complete loss of occlusion is seen, however, in only one dialect, and if it is excepted, we have the following series, in the increasing order of phonetic effort required to pronounce these phonemes: r : ṛ or ḷ : ḍ : ḍḍ. This shows that in dialects of MIA which possess both ḷ and r, the ḷ-forms should be phonetically speaking earlier than the r-forms. The only question which requires further investigation is of l and r forms: whether l-forms are derived from r-forms or directly from ḷ-forms. It is not, however, the object of the present paper to deal with this question.

MĀDHAVA, SON OF ŚRĪ VEṄKAṬĀRYA, AND SĀYAṆĀCĀRYA

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The only hitherto available commentary on the whole of the Ṛgveda is the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, who mentions several predecessors by name, e.g. Udgītha, Mādhavabhaṭṭa, etc. But the commentaries of Sāyaṇa's predecessors were lost. The recent discovery of the work of Sāyaṇa's predecessors, Udgītha, Skandasvāmin, and Mādhavabhaṭṭa is therefore an important event in the history of Vedic exegesis. The hitherto discovered commentaries of Udgītha and Skandasvāmin are on a part of the Ṛgveda only.

But the commentary of Mādhavabhaṭṭa, whom I have identified with Mādhava, son of Śrī Veṅkaṭārya, is on the whole of the Ṛgveda. I am preparing a critical edition of this Mādhava's commentary on the Ṛgveda. Three volumes, bringing the commentary up to the end of the fourth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda, are already published by Messrs. Motilal Banarsidas of Lahore. The rest is in the press and is expected to cover six or seven volumes. The discovery and publication of a pre-Sāyaṇa commentary on the whole of the Ṛgveda will therefore be welcome by Vedic scholars, as it will enable us to make a comparative study of Sāyaṇa's commentary with that of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava and to see to what extent the former is indebted to the latter.

There is a belief among European scholars that Sāyaṇa's commentary is his own individual interpretation and that he did not inherit any unbroken, uniform tradition of Vedic interpretation. There was some plausibility to support this view as long as the work of Sāyaṇa's predecessors had not been discovered. This view becomes untenable after the discovery of the work of Sāyaṇa's predecessors.

In this short paper, I wish to adduce evidence to show that Sāyaṇa's commentary is not his own individual interpretation and that he did inherit a tradition of Vedic interpretation. A comparison of Sāyaṇa's commentary with that of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava cannot but lead one to this conclusion. I have put both commentaries side by side on the same Ṛgvedic stanzas and scholars will be able to see for themselves that Sāyaṇa's interpretation is traditional and not individualistic.

In explaining RV. X. 31. 11, both Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭa Mādhava paraphrase *atra* by *ittham*.

In commenting on RV. IX. 5. 3, VM. explains *rayi* as *dātā* and S. as *abhi'ṣṭasya dātā*. In most other passages of the RV., *rayi* is generally explained as 'wealth'.

In RV. X. 11. 8, both explain *atra* as *tadānīm*.

In RV. X. 149. 1, both use the term *yamana-sādhanaiḥ* to explain *yantraiḥ*.

In the following cases, the explanation is almost identical. VM. does not repeat the words of the original Vedic stanza. I have put the original Vedic words within brackets in the commentary of Sāyaṇa in order to facilitate comparison of interpretation.

ऋ० १०।९४।१२.

वे. मा.

निश्चला एव युष्माकं पितरः पर्वताः सर्वेषु युगेषु तथात्मानः क्षेमकामाः सदांसि नात्मना संयोजयन्ति जरावर्जिताः सोमस्य संभक्तारः हरणशीला हरितवर्णा द्यावापृथिव्यौ रवेण आश्रावयन्ति ।

सायण.

हे ग्रावाणः [युगे युगे] सर्वेषु युगेषु [ध्रुवा एव] निश्चला एव [वो] युष्माकं पितरः पितृभूताः पर्वताः [क्षेमकामासः] क्षेमकामाः [सदसो न युंजते] सदांस्यात्मना न संयोजयन्ति [अजुर्यासो] जरारहिता [हरिषाचः] सोमस्य संभक्तारो [हरिद्रवः] सोमसंसर्गात् हरितवर्णा [द्यां] दिवं पृथिवीं च रवेणाभिषवशब्देन [अशुश्रवुः] श्रावयंति ।

ऋ० १०।९४।११.

वे. मा.

अन्येषां भेदकाः। स्वयमन्येनाभिन्नाः। ग्रावाणः। श्रमवर्जिताः सोमस्य संभक्तारः। अन्यैरशिथिलीकृताः। अमारिताः। अरोगाः। जरारहिताः। अहिंसकाः। भवथ। अत्यन्तं मेदुराः। अपिपासवः। असंजाततृष्णाः।

सायण.

[तृदिलाः] अन्येषां भेदकाः। [अतृदिलासः] स्वयमन्येनाभिन्नाः। [अद्रयः] हे ग्रावाणः [अश्रमणाः] श्रमणवर्जिताः [अशृथिताः] अन्यैरशिथिलीकृताः [अमृत्यवः] अमारिताः [अनातुराः] अरोगाः [अजराः] जरारहिताः [स्थ] भवथ [अमविष्णवः] उत्क्षेपणावक्षेपणगत्युपेताः [सुपीवसः] सुबलाः [अतृषिताः] तृष्णारहिताः [अतृष्णजः] निःस्पृहाः।

ऋ० १०।९४।५.

वे. मा.

सुपतना ग्रावाणः। उपकुर्वन्ति। शब्दम्। अन्तरिक्षे। मृगाणां व्रज आखरः कस्मिंश्चिदाखरे। कृष्णा मृगाः। गमनशीलाः। नृत्यन्तीत्यभिषवप्रवृत्ताखरस्था ग्रावाण उच्यन्ते ते। अभिमुखम्। गच्छन्ति। उपरस्य मध्यस्थस्य ग्राव्णः। निष्कृतमभिषवयोग्यमुखम्। पुरु च। सोमलक्षणमुदकम्। धारयन्ति। सूर्यवच्छ्वेतवर्णाः।

सायण.

[सुपर्णाः] सुपतना ग्रावाणः [उप] उपलक्ष्य समीपे [अक्रत] कुर्वन्ति [वाचं] अभिषवशब्दम् [दिवि] अन्तरिक्षे [आखरे] मृगाणां व्रज आखरस्तस्मिन् [कृष्णाः] कृष्णमृगा इव [इषिराः] गमनशीलाः [अनर्तिषुः] नृत्यन्ति [न्यक्] अधोमुखम् [नियन्ति] निगमयन्ति [उपरस्य] उपलस्य [निष्कृतं] ग्रावभिः पीडितं सत् पुरु बहु [रेतः] सोमलक्षणमुदकम् [दधिरे] धारयंति [सूर्यश्वितः] सूर्यवच्छ्वेतवर्णाः।

ऋ० १०।९४।४

वे. मा.

अत्यन्तम्। शब्दायन्ते। मदकरेण। सोमेनाभिषूयमाणेन। इन्द्रम्। क्रोशन्तः। अलभन्त। आस्येन। सोमं तेऽस्मै। संरब्धा भूत्वा। हृष्टाः। अंगुलीभिः सह। नृत्यन्ति। स्वशब्दैः। पृथिवीम्। आघोषयन्तोऽभिषूयमाणे हि सोम उपरेषु शब्दा जायन्ते।

सायण.

[बृहत्] अत्यन्तं [वदन्ति] शब्दं कुर्वन्ति [मदिरेण] मदकरेण [मंदिना] अभिषूयमाणेन सोमेन इन्द्रं क्रोशन्त आह्वयन्तः [अविदन्] अलभन्त [अना] आस्येन [मधु] मदकरं सोमं [संरभ्य] संरब्धा भूत्वा [धीराः] हृष्टाः सन्तः [स्वसृभिः] अंगुलिभिः सह [अनर्तिषुः] नृत्यंति [उपब्दिभिः] शब्दैः पृथिवीं आघोषयन्तः पूरयन्तः।

ऋ० १०।८२।५

वे. मा.

समपश्यन्त सर्वे संगता इतरेतरं पश्यन्तीति जानत एव कस्यचित् प्रश्नः।

सायण.

सर्वेऽपि समपश्यन्त संगताः परस्परं पश्यन्ति। एवं जानन्नेव कश्चित्तत्त्ववित् प्रश्नं करोति।

ऋ० १०।६१।२४

वे. मा.

पृथक्कृत्य वरुणं स्तौति अथ। क्षिप्रम्। अस्य वरुणस्य। पुष्ट्यर्थं स्तुतिभिः। जेतव्यस्य। तत्स्वभूतं गोधनम्। अनायासेन तम्। स्तुवन्तः। याचामहे। सरणशीलः। अस्य। पुत्रः। अश्वो वरुणाद्ध्यश्वो जातः। अथ प्रत्यक्षः—स त्वं वरुण मेधावी। च। भवसि स्तोतॄणाम्। अन्नस्य। सातौ च प्रवृत्तः।

सायण.

अनया वरुणं पृथक् स्तौति। [अध] अथ [नु] क्षिप्रं अस्य [पुष्टौ] पोषे निमित्ते सति तस्य पुष्ट्यर्थं वा [जेन्यस्य] जयशीलस्य स्तुत्या जेतव्यस्य वा तत्स्वभूतं गवादिधनं [वृथा] अनायासेन [रेभन्तः] स्तुवन्तः [ईमहे] याचामहे [सरण्युः] शीघ्रसरणशीलः [अस्य] वरुणस्य [सूनुः] पुत्रः अश्वः वरुणाद्ध्यश्व उत्पन्नः। अथ प्रत्यक्षकृतः। हे वरुण त्वं विप्रश्चासि। विप्रवत्पूज्यः शुद्धो वा भवसि [श्रवसः] अन्नस्य सातौ लाभेऽस्माकमन्नलाभाय प्रवृत्तश्च भवसि।

ऋ० १०।४९।११.

वे. मा.

अथेन्द्रभावमपहायेन्द्रं स्तौति एवम्। देवान्। मनुष्यांश्च। इन्द्रः। प्रविश्वे स्वेषु कार्येषु प्रगमयति 'तस्मात् पराचीः प्रजाः प्र वीयन्ते प्रतीचीर्जायन्ते' इति ब्राह्मणम्।

सायण.

अथानयेन्द्र इन्द्रभावं परित्यज्य ऋषिभावेनाह। [एव] एवमुक्तप्रकारेण देवान् नॄंश्च इन्द्रोदेवः प्रविश्वे प्रकर्षेण गमयति 'तस्मात् पराचीः प्रजाः प्र वीयंते प्रतीचीर्जायंते' इति ब्राह्मणम्।

ऋ० १०।३२।७.

वे. मा.

सेयमनुप्रासनस्तुतिः प्रासंगिकी।

सायण.

सेयमनुप्रासनस्तुतिः प्रासंगिकी।

ऋ० १०।३२।६.

वे. मा.

कुरुश्रवणस्य यज्ञे निधीयमानमग्निमाहेति।

सायण.

कुरुश्रवणस्य यज्ञे निधीयमानोऽग्निरभिधीयते।

ऋ० १०।३२।३.

वे. मा.

वपुष्मतः। वपुष्मत्तरमत्यंतं सुरूपम्।

सायण.

[वपुषः] वपूरूपं। तद्वांश्चोच्यते। वपुष्मतः [वपुष्टरं] रूपवत्तरमत्यंतं सुरूपम्।

THE NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA CONCEPTION OF MIND

By

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1. *The mind as a distinct sense-organ*

In the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system, as in other orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy, the mind (*manas* or *antaḥkaraṇa*) has been recognized as a distinct substance. It is only the Buddhist and Jaina schools which do not admit the independent existence of the mind apart from the self or consciousness. There is uniformity of tradition among the philosophers of most of the orthodox schools that the mind is an internal sense-organ (*antarindriya*) which stands apart from the five well-known external organs of sense.[1] The problem of the existence of the mind is, therefore, just on a par with that of the sense-organs.

The self is ubiquitous and eternal; it is always connected with everything that may become an object of knowledge. Theoretically, therefore, the condition of the knowledge of every possible object is present for the self at every moment of its existence. But it is a matter of common experience that one does not have all possible cognitions at the same time; these cognitions are found to arise only in succession. The self's incompetence to cognize all possible objects simultaneously in spite of contact with them makes the presupposition of other conditions of such cognition a matter of logical necessity. Apart from the problem whether the self is a conscious principle having consciousness for its very essence and being, or is a substratum or condition of consciousness, the existence of the self is not the sufficient condition of cognition. The existence and activity of the sense-organs are to be posited as further conditions. The sense-organs may be looked upon as so many limitations or fetters obstructing the free activity of the self in regard to the external reality. The self, situated as it is, is therefore dependent upon the good offices of the sense-organs for the realization of its activity in the shape of cognition, feeling or conation. It is only those objects which come through the channel of the sense-organs that can be perceived by the self. But, for the emergence of the psychical phenomena the existence of the self and the external sense-organs are not sufficient conditions. This is proved by the fact that though all the external sense-organs may be on the alert and the objective conditions of perception may be present in full, and the connection of the self both with the sense-organs and with the objects concerned is an undisputed fact, the cognition that takes place is related to a particular object and a particular sense-organ. It is often found that when a man sees a thing which interests him, he does not perceive a sound or any other perceptible object. Although it may be contended, as it has actually been done by the

[1] The Advaita-Vedānta, however, regards *manas* not as an independent sense-organ but only as a particular aspect of *antaḥkaraṇa* (mind); *manas*, according to it, is the mind in a state of indecision (*saṃśaya*). But this is a view with which other orthodox philosophers do not agree.

Mīmāṃsakas, that a person can have simultaneous cognitions of various sense-data, such as colour, taste, etc., it is still a problem why all possible perceivable objects are not perceived. Moreover, it happens not infrequently that when a person is preoccupied with the perception or thought of a particular thing, many things escape his observation. What is it that makes such preoccupation and the consequent failure of cognition of perceivable data possible? It is certainly neither the self, nor the senses severally or jointly, nor even any defection on the part of the latter, that can account for this usual though epistemologically unexpected phenomenon. Certainly, then, the offices of some other organ have got to be requisitioned for the realization of a particular cognition. If some additional condition is postulated to complete the apparatus of cognition, and if the function of this condition be a contingent fact, the non-emergence of simultaneous cognitions will find its explanation. This additional condition is called the mind.[1] Thus if we suppose that a sense-organ can successfully produce a cognition when it is associated with the mind and not when this association is absent, we can explain why the other organs, though they are competent and actively employed upon their relevant objects, do not succeed in producing the cognitions of the latter. The point at issue is this that a sense-organ can produce its relevant cognition only if it is in relation with the mind, and it follows that the mind cannot be in relation with all the sense-organs at the same time. The intermittent character of the mind's activity is thus easily deduced from the fact that we do not have more than one sense-perception at any particular moment.

It is apparent from what has been stated that the mind serves as a sort of post-office between the sense-organs on the one hand and the self on the other. It works, moreover, as a regulator of the sense-organs in their activity. The proof of the mind in this regard is more or less of a negative character, which is furnished by a *reductio ad absurdum*. But there is positive evidence also. Memory is a purely psychical fact which cannot be accounted for by the activity of any external sense-organ, as the former emerges only on the cessation of the latter. It may be asked: How does the mind come in so far as the emergence of memory is concerned? The answer is that memory being a positive effect and a quality of the self at that, it must be effectuated by a combination of three causes, *viz.*, the material, the non-material and the accessory. The self is the material cause (*samavāyikāraṇa*); the latent impression (*saṃskāra*) and its stimulation by a stimulus constitute the accessory cause (*nimittakāraṇa*). But what is the non-material cause (*asamavāyikāraṇa*)? It must only be the conjunction of the self with some other substance. As the bearing of the external sense-organs upon memory has been ruled out, an additional substance has got to be posited for this purpose, and this is the mind.[2] But though this argument proves the necessity of the mind as a separate entity, its independence of the external sense-organ is not established

[1] Vaiśeṣikasūtra, III. ii. 1; Nyāyabhāṣya and Nyāyavārttika under sūtra I. i. 16.

[2] Nyāyakandalī (Vizianagram Sanskrit Series), p. 90; Kiraṇāvalī (Benares Sanskrit Series), p. 153.

beyond doubt. Memory is but a reproduction of sense-experience, and though the external sense-organ may have ceased to function when memory is produced, its bearing upon the latter can by no means be denied. The mind, it is true, is a necessary condition of memory, but it is not proved to be absolutely independent of the sense-organ, inasmuch as it comes into play only in the wake of a sense-organ. Thus the mind seems to be a sort of appendix to the external organ. In point of reality, however, the mind is an independent organ and has got an independent scope and function of its own, which cannot be usurped by any other sense-organ. It is the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*); and even when it acts in association with an external organ, it functions not as an appendix but rather as a regulative principle. The independence of the mind *qua* an organ is attested by the direct perception of such psychical phenomena as cognition, pleasure, pain, etc. These purely subjective experiences being perceptual in character presuppose the activity of an organ, just like the perceptual cognition of external objects. Whatever is perceptual is conditioned by an organ. The psychical experiences noted above are perceptual in character. Therefore they are conditioned by an organ. As external organs can obviously have no jurisdiction over these internal experiences, we have got to posit an internal organ for their realization. This is nothing but the mind.[1]

A problem has been raised to the effect that though the mind may have been proved to be an internal organ, it does not necessarily follow that it is anything different from an external organ in its structure and constitution. Each external organ, in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view, is a subtle material product: it is composed of the physical element (*bhūta*) whose specific quality (*viśeṣaguṇa*) it apprehends. The smelling organ, for instance, cognizing odour alone which is the specific quality of earth, must be earthy in its constitution; and similarly for the other organs. What, then, is the harm if the mind also is conceived to be a form of matter, say a special type of earthy substance? That it is cognizant of internal psychical phenomena is no proof of its being other than earthy. It may well be composed of earth, just like the organ of smell. Nor can it be contended that the mind being devoid of a tactile attribute is not of the nature of earth. The absence of tactility in the mind is an unproved assumption. One cannot argue that being unproductive of a substance (*dravyānārambhaka*) it must be accounted as devoid of tactility, because this argument is a case of plain *non sequitur*. What can be the possible product of the mind? A material product must be either a cognizable object (*viṣaya*) or a physical organism (*śarīra*) or a sense-organ (*indriya*). But none of these can be said to be the product of the mind, as they are all composites produced from their own constitutive causes, *viz.*, atoms. Nor can the mind be supposed to be productive of any other special sense-organ. The recognized sense-organs have got their distinctive causes, and the mind as the sixth organ being competent to cognize internal phenomena, there is absolutely

[1] Nyāyakandalī (Vizianagram Sanskrit Series), p. 90; Kiraṇāvalī (Benares Sanskrit Series), p. 153.

no necessity for another extra organ that may be supposed to be produced by the mind. If an additional organ were produced, it would have no scope and distinctive function of its own. Thus the mind's failure to produce any substance is due to the absence of any necessity for the possible results, and so this cannot be made the ground for inferring the unearthy constitution of the mind. That the mind is an earthy substance is supported by the further consideration that it cognizes also smell, the specific object of the earthly organ. If in spite of its functional community with the organ of smell it is regarded as unearthy, the smelling organ may also be regarded as having an unearthy constitution. The argument that the mind cannot be distinguished from the organ of smell is only by way of illustration. It may be proved by employing similar lines of argument that the mind does not differ from other organs also. The upshot of the contention is that though the mind be an additional organ, it need not be structurally and constitutionally different from any one of the four material substances. An atom of earth or water or light or air can without any logical incongruity be credited with the function of the mind. By the same logic it may be shown that the mind cannot be distinguished from *ākāśa* too.

The Vaiśeṣika argues that the argument is suicidal in its results. The respective functions of the different sense-organs must be regarded as mutually exclusive. The denial of this rule will render the postulation of different organs superfluous. Thus the earthly organ must be restricted to the cognition of smell. If it were competent to cognize taste also, there would be no necessity for positing the gustatory organ over and above the organ of smell. In short, one organ would do the duty of all the organs taken together. But this is an impossibility, as the loss of the organ of smell does not entail incompetency for the perception of taste. So the postulation of different sense-organs is an epistemological necessity. Though the mind is competent to perceive smell or taste or colour or touch, it cannot be subsumed under any one of the recognized sense-organs. The reason for differentiating the mind from other organs lies in the fact that the different sense-organs have got their provinces sharply demarcated, one from the other. The organ of smell, for instance, is competent to perceive smell alone in the midst of an assemblage of various sensible qualities, to wit, smell, taste, colour, touch and sound. But the mind is not restricted to any one of them like the external sense-organs. It is a common organ for all of them, though in external perception it is effective only in association with a particular sense-organ and not in its unaided capacity. It has already been shown that the external sense-organs are absolutely ineffective without the co-operation of the mind. The universal jurisdiction of the mind as a regulative principle of the different sense-organs is proof of its distinctive individuality. The difference of the mind from the four materially constituted sense-organs, *viz.*, the organs of smell, taste, vision and touch, is further proved by its competency for the perception of the specific qualities of a ubiquitous substance. It is thus on a par with the auditory organ which also is cognizant of the specific quality of a ubiquitous substance.

The mind is cognizant of the specific qualities of the soul; and the auditory organ, of that of *ākāśa*. The mind, again, is differentiated from the auditory organ on the ground that it is not marked by the possession of any specific quality, whereas the auditory organ is only an adaptation of *ākāśa* in which its specific quality, *viz.*, sound, inheres. Moreover, *ākāśa* and for the matter of that the auditory organ are held to be possessed of unlimited extension, while the mind, as we shall presently see, is believed by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosopher to be of atomic magnitude. The intactility of the mind is also capable of being proved by inference, and so it cannot be confounded with an atom of any one of the four material substances. The mind is the substratum of the conjunction which is the non-material cause (*asamavāyikāraṇa*) of cognition and the like, the other such substratum being the self; and since the self is devoid of touch, the mind also cannot be otherwise. Besides, any eternal substance possessed of touch, e.g., an atom, is invariably the cause of a tactile substance. But the mind is not known to have any tactile substance as its product. This functional divergence of the mind from all recognized tactile substances is also proof of its intactility. All these considerations go to show that the mind is a separate organ, particularly when an attempt at its identification with the other organs leads to a series of absurd consequences.[1]

2. *The magnitude of the mind*

The problem of the magnitude of the mind has received elaborate attention at the hands of the exponents of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school and of the Mīmāṃsakas, whose views are diametrically opposed to each other. The sharp difference of opinion and the vigorous advocacy of the respective positions have given the problem a prominence which appears to be out of all proportion to its intrinsic philosophical importance. After all, it is a side-issue between the Vaiśeṣikas and the Mīmāṃsakas, as they are equally agreed upon the independent existence of the mind as a separate organ. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school holds the view that the mind is possessed of atomic magnitude, while the Mīmāṃsakas maintain that it is of unlimited magnitude like the self. Although the problem primarily arises from the necessity of accounting for the temporal order of the data of experience, in its final development it assumes the character of a metaphysical problem, the psychological issues being explained with more or less equal plausibility in conformity with the metaphysical conclusion maintained by each of them.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophers infer from the regular succession of psychical events that the mind is atomic in its magnitude. If the mind were not atomic, it would have to be maintained as of unlimited magnitude, as these two kinds of magnitude alone are predicable of an eternal entity, which the mind must be held to be. If the mind were a perishable entity, the unbroken continuity of the career of the soul through numberless incarnations would be unaccountable. In fact, it is the mind which is responsible for the possibility of experiences of pleasure and pain that are the invariable concomitants of worldly career. Both atomicity and ubiquity are psychologically incapable of being proved. They are rather presuppositions, and as such, of a hypothetical character. According to the Naiyāyikas, the successive emergence of psychical phenomena can be satisfactorily explained only if the intermittent activity of the mind is postulated, which, again, is possible only if the mind be of atomic magnitude and thus capable of being connected with only one sense-organ at a time. If the mind were other than atomic in magnitude, it would be connected with all the organs, and so there would be left no reason why all possible cognitions should not take place at once. Moreover, if the mind were ubiquitous like the auditory organ, it must have a medium of limited magnitude for its apparatus. If a part of the body be supposed to function as such an apparatus, just as the ear-cavity does for the auditory organ, then its activity would be confined to that portion only and be neutralized if there be a defect in the apparatus. So the Mīmāṃsakas must admit that the whole physical organism must serve as its apparatus. But in that case the localization of psychical experiences in the different parts of the body will become an impossibility. Thus experiences embodied in such propositions as 'One has got pain in the head and pleasure in the foot' will be left unaccounted for. The localization of experiences is conditioned by the non-material cause (*asamavāyikāraṇa*), i.e., by the localized conjunction of the mind and the self. But here the mind and the self being both ubiquitous, and their conjunction being unspecifiable in respect of the location of its incidence, the sensations in question should be felt all over the body and not in a specified area. If a supersensible subtle medium is requisitioned to explain the phenomenon, it would be logically more economical and consistent to regard that medium itself as the internal organ. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika position, however, is free from these difficulties, as it admits the mind to be atomic in magnitude.[1]

The Mīmāṃsakas have sought to explain the successive occurrence of psychical phenomena by having recourse to the theory of metempirical moral force (*adṛṣṭa*), which is supposed to work as a regulative factor. So the ubiquity of the mind does not make the graduated emergence of cognitions an impossibility. But this appeal to the metempirical moral force as a sort of *deus ex machina* whenever one is confronted with an apparently insurmountable difficulty is considered by the Naiyāyikas as tantamount to a confession of defeat. Udayana in his *Nyāyakusumāñjali* propounds a twofold law relating to the function of the moral power, which makes appeal to such power in season and out of season a discreditable procedure. In case where the metempirical power is effective only by bringing about a combination of all the empirical conditions necessary for the production of the effect, there the effect invariably materializes on the completion of such combination. So the metempirical power fulfils itself as soon as the totality of empirical conditions is realized, and it has

[1] Nyāyalīlāvatī with Kaṇṭhābharaṇa and Prakāśa (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series), pp. 328–333.

[1] Nyāyakusumāñjali (Bibliotheca Indica), part I, p. 348.

no other effect to produce. The second law is this that where there is no positive medium such as the combination of empirical conditions noted above, the metempirical force works out its effect independently and directly. The first motion of an atom on the eve of creation is the outcome purely of such moral force. The truth of the first law is illustrated in all cases of causal operation open to observation. Thus it is never seen that though the last yarn is woven on to the warp, the cloth is not produced, or that if it is produced it is devoid of its qualities for the default of moral force. The fact of the matter is that if in such cases there be any defection on the part of the moral force, the conditions of the production of the effect would fail to be realized. But when the empirical conditions of production are present, it must be presumed that there is no default of metempirical power. Applying the law to the present case, we find that the condition itself of the production of cognition, *viz.*, the combination of the object, the organ and the self, will not be produced if there is a drawback to suspend the activity of the moral force. But if such a combination is present, the effect must materialize; and if the effect is not seen to eventuate in such a case, no appeal to the moral force can be considered as a legitimate way of explaining the phenomenon. Thus though the self and the sense-organs and the objects of cognition are in relation, the simultaneous emergence of cognitions is seen not to take place. So something else is to be postulated as an additional condition, and this must be the mind. If the mind be ubiquitous, it will be in connection with all the organs; and thus the conditions of all sense-perceptions being present in full, there is no reason why such cognitions should not take place, all at the same time. If the mind be regarded as atomic in magnitude, the difficulty vanishes at once.[1]

The Mīmāṃsakas contend that the arguments of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophers in support of the atomicity of the mind and also against the possibility of its unlimited magnitude are inconclusive. If definite analogy be any guide to the determination of the nature of things, it is in favour of the Mīmāṃsā position. To put the argument syllogistically: Whatever is an intactile substance is of unlimited magnitude, e.g., the self; the mind is such a substance; therefore the mind is of unlimited magnitude. The same result is obtained from a different line of argument. Thus the sense-organs that are eternal are of unlimited magnitude, e.g., the auditory organ; the mind is such an organ; therefore the mind is of unlimited magnitude. Moreover, the mind being a substance devoid of any specific quality (*viśeṣaguṇa*), and also being an eternal substance unproductive of any other substance, like time and space, should have the quality of unlimited magnitude like its analogues. Again, being the substratum of the conjunction which is the non-material cause of cognition, like the self, the mind should have the same magnitude as the self. It is no use multiplying the logical grounds for establishing the ubiquity of the mind, because each one of these arguments is believed by the Mīmāṃsakas to be sufficient to support the conclusion.[2] It may,

[1] Nyāyakusumāñjali (Bibliotheca Indica), part I, pp. 350–352. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 346-347.

however, be said in reply on behalf of the Naiyāyikas that these arguments are mostly cases of *non sequitur*. They are all inspired by mere analogy, and as such, lack independent cogency. Besides, they render the contact of the mind with the soul impossible, for it is inconceivable that two eternal and ubiquitous substances should have between them a relation which is contingent. And even if the possibility of eternal conjunction (*ajasaṃyoga*) between them be admitted, as is done by the Mīmāṃsakas, such conjunction will have no causal efficiency with regard to the contingent emergence of psychical phenomena.

As for the argument that the simultaneous connection of the mind with the sense-organs should make the simultaneous emergence of all possible cognitions a necessity, the Mīmāṃsakas point out that it is not capable of invalidating the position maintained by them. The phenomenon can be explained by the very circumstance of the mind being an organ. It is a law that an organ can produce only one cognition at a time. The validity of the law is attested by the phenomenon called collective perception (*samūhālambanajñāna*). Thus when there are several objects, a chair, a table, a pen and a clock, all connected with the visual organ, the result is one single cognition having for its object the whole group of substances, and not a plurality of cognitions corresponding to the plurality of objects. How can it be explained unless you posit the characteristic of sense-organs as formulated in the abovementioned law? The Naiyāyikas retort that if in spite of the contact of the mind with all the organs the different sense-perceptions do not take place, then what is the warrant of supposing the mind to be possessed of unlimited magnitude? If the hypothesis is resorted to to account for the simultaneous perception of pleasure and pain in different parts of the body, then there is no reason for denying the possibility of a single cognition apprehending even the objects of different senses, although the simultaneous emergence of diverse cognitions of different sense-data is sought to be avoided by the above law, *viz.*, the emergence of one sense-perception at one time. The Mīmāṃsakas, however, maintain the possibility of one cognition comprising different sense-data and cite the example of 'eating a big cake', in which the taste, odour, touch, sound and colour are simultaneously apprehended in one act of cognition. The Naiyāyikas are not convinced of the necessity of the hypothesis of the unlimited magnitude of the mind even on the evidence of the particular experience adduced as proof. It is not capable of being definitely decided on the evidence of our experience, whether the cognition is one, or even a case of synchronism of multiple cognitions. The verdict of experience in this case as in many other cases is absolutely non-committal. The point at issue, therefore, can be determined by consideration of the logical possibility. If the synchronism of different sense-cognitions is admitted, the law of one cognition for one organ has to be thrown overboard. And if, alternatively, the cognition in question is regarded as one with a fivefold content, it will be very difficult to assign the cognition to the class-category of any one of the sense-perceptions. To be explicit, the cognition cannot be

characterized either as visual or as tactual or as auditory or as olfactory or as gustatory. Nor can it be regarded as a mongrel cognition participating in the characteristics of all of them, because being mutually exclusive, these characteristics cannot coalesce in one substratum. So there appears to be no logical necessity for postulating the existence of a ubiquitous mind. At any event, it does not give any advantage over the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika position. The only case for supposing the extensive magnitude of the mind is, in the Mīmāṃsā contention, the simultaneous cognition of pleasure and pain in the different parts of the body. But whether it is a case of one cognition or of two different cognitions happening in quick succession is a matter of dispute. There is good reason for believing it to be a case of two successive cognitions and for regarding the notion of simultaneity as due to extreme shortness of the interval between them.[1]

It is a matter of common experience that when a man is preoccupied with something he does not perceive anything else, though the sense-organs are in contact with their relevant objects and are in a state of perfect fitness. When charged with inattentiveness, the man simply pleads that his mind was fixed on something else, and so the sense-data escaped his focus of attention. In other words, only those things are perceived which come within the focus of the mind. But if the mind be in contact with all the sense-organs and thus is supposed to be ubiquitous, there is no sense in the assertion that the mind is focussed on a particular sense-organ and through it on a particular object. It may be argued by the Mīmāṃsakas that it is not the actual contact of the mind but rather the desire to know (*bubhūtsā*) that is the deciding factor in the emergence of successive cognitions. But such desire, reply the Naiyāyikas, cannot be the condition of the cognition of a particular object; nor does the desire to cognize an object obstruct the emergence of the cognition of another object. If the conditions of perception are present, the absence of the desire for a cognition does not operate as an obstacle. If it were an obstacle, one would not perceive a piece of cloth when one opens one's eyes in the expectation of perceiving a jar. Desire or no desire for a cognition, the latter takes place if the object is there and the sense-organ in association with the mind is in operation upon the object. Such desire may be the condition of a vigorous cognition which leaves behind an effective impression of it, so that a revival of it in the shape of memory becomes possible. But the desire to know and also attention (*praṇidhāna*) do certainly play an important part in cases where many things are simultaneously presented before the senses and only one is cognized. This is possible because the desire and attention only serve to connect the mind with one object (through the relevant sense-organ) and detach it from all others. Thus when many sounds are presented, even a faint sound is perceived if the desire to know and attention are directed towards it. So this only furnishes a corroboration of the transferability of the mind from one organ or one object to another organ or another object, and this is incompatible with the unlimited magnitude which is predicted of the mind by the Mīmāṃsakas.[1]

[1] Nyāyakusumāñjali with Prakāśa, part I, pp. 351–353; Kusumāñjalibodhanī (Saraswati-Bhavana Texts), p. 98.

The Mīmāṃsakas have, however, contended that though the mind is ubiquitous, its functional activity (*vyāpāra*) is subject to succession in time, and this accounts for the successive emergence of different cognitions. But the contention lacks cogency. If the function be anything different and distinct from its contact, it is not capable of being affiliated to any known category; and if capable of subsumption under any one of the categories, it will run counter to the Mīmāṃsā position. Thus if the function of the mind be of the nature of movement, that will be incompatible with its ubiquity. A ubiquitous substance is incapable of movement. If it be a quality and eternal at that, no succession can be predicted of it. And if the quality is supposed to be a non-eternal event, it cannot possibly be brought into existence unless a limited substance operates for its production. If such a limited substance be postulated, it is better to regard this substance as the mind, particularly in consideration of the fact that the mind of unlimited magnitude does not contribute to a better explanation of the psychical activity of the soul.[2]

The same result is obtained from the consideration of the possibility of dreamless sleep (*suṣupti*). Dreamless sleep is characterized by the complete suspension of all psychical activity. It is therefore possible only when the mind is detached from all sense-organs, for the self's contact with the mind which is in association with any sense-organ is held to be the cause of a psychical phenomenon. The Naiyāyikas therefore suppose that the mind enters into a particular gland (*purītat*) on the eve of dreamless sleep and is thus dissociated from the sense-organs. The condition of a psychical event having thus ceased to exist at that time, the self becomes absolutely unresponsive to any external stimulus that may be theoretically supposed to come through the channel of a sense-organ.[3] But such explanation is not possible for the Mīmāṃsakas who advocate the theory of an all-pervasive mind. They can only seek to explain the phenomenon by an appeal to the metempirical moral force. But that is undoubtedly an unphilosophical way of deciding a philosophical issue. In fact, the Mīmāṃsā theory of the mind is hedged round with so many qualifications and reservations that they only serve to accentuate its inherent weakness.

The Vedānta holds that the mind is a created substance and so composed of parts. The mind, therefore, must be of medium magnitude (*madhyama-parimāṇa*), i.e., of limited extension, since a composite substance can be neither infinite nor infinitesimal in magnitude. This theory is exposed to all the difficulties which lie against the ubiquity of the mind. Moreover, if contraction and expansion of the mind be assumed to account for the supposed simultaneity and the undisputed succession of psychical activities, this would only serve to introduce unnecessary complexity. Contraction and expansion of

[1] Nyāyakusumāñjali with Prakāśa, part I, pp. 353-354.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 355-356.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 357-358.

the mind being events in time must have their causes. We have already shown that the metempirical moral force cannot be requisitioned for this purpose, as it serves rather to throw discredit upon a philosophical theory. Nor can attention or the desire to know be supposed to function as conditions of expansion and contraction, as we have already found that the scope of its activity is circumscribed within narrow limits.

3. *Can a plurality of minds be affiliated to a single organism?*

Each self is provided with a mind and a sensitive physical organism in order that it may be in a position to cognize objects and to experience pleasure and pain in accordance with its past *karman*. Since different individuals are found to have cognitions arising simultaneously and since a single mind of atomic magnitude cannot conceivably be shared by them, it must be supposed that there are as many minds as there are individual selves. In fact, in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view, each mind is attached exclusively to a single self and can function only inside the organism with which the self in question is connected.[1]

It follows from what has been said above that only one mind should be postulated for each organism. The assumption of more than one mind in an organism is, therefore, not only unnecessary but is also found to come into conflict with the presupposition of our experiences. If five different minds were postulated as auxiliaries to five different senses and if they could operate simultaneously, the successive emergence of psychical phenomena would be difficult of explanation. And if they are supposed to work in succession, there is no necessity for postulating a plurality of minds, as one mind in succession can bring about all the activities under consideration. The notion of simultaneity of different cognitions (or volitions) can be explained away as an illusion due to the extraordinary swiftness of succession of the mental events.[2]

A PEEP INTO THE IDEAL OF EDUCATION IN INDO-ARYAN SOCIETY

By

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

It is evident that none can live without air and space, nor can one grow if air and space are not sufficient, just as a man put into a box cannot do. Similarly what air and space are to a living animal, education is to a social being. This or similar consideration led India once to make her education compulsory, and necessarily free also, for without making it free it can on no account be made compulsory. Let us peep into the matter and see how India did it.

[1] Kiraṇāvali, p. 154.

[2] Nyāyabhāṣya, III. ii. 56-58; Vaiśeṣikasūtra with Upaskāra, III. ii. 3.

In the Indo-Aryan society which was originally composed of three classes of people, viz. Brāhmaṇas, i.e. those who were mainly entrusted with education, peace and the spiritual side of the country; Kṣatriyas, i.e. those who were engaged to rule and defend the country; and Vaiśyas, i.e. those who were employed to take care of the financial condition of the country by such means as trade and agriculture. One class more representing the artisans and labourers, i.e. Śudras, was added to it afterwards. We are concerned here with the society before the fourth class was included therein.

Readers of the social history of India know that the initiation ceremony (*upanayana*) is still a compulsory one in Indian society for every boy belonging to each of the three classes alluded to. The main object of the ceremony was to entrust a boy for his education to a teacher in his house. In case the ceremony was not done in its proper time,[1] it might wait for a few years more[2]; but after those periods the boys who had not gone through the ceremony were regarded as outcasts (*vrātyas*). It means that those boys were excommunicated, as being un-educated they had no place whatsoever in society. Parents had to be careful about it. They must get their sons educated. It was their unavoidable duty (*dharma*) and it must be observed. Indian parents still do it of their own accord, there being no outward force, no punishment from the Government.

This responsibility for the education of a boy lay with the parents, no doubt; but it was equally shared also by society itself, since it had made it compulsory. Society had to see that education was easily accessible to every boy without the least consideration of his being rich or poor. It was not that some people were allowed to have special privilege at getting the highest possible education, because of their money, as is seen now. The organizers of the society we are concerned with could not think of such inequality. According to them when a boy was born he belonged to the entire society, his merits and demerits having direct effect on society for good or for bad. Up to a certain age the parents looked after him, but when the time for education came they simply took their son to a teacher and after that they had nothing more to think of or do for him. They had no longer any anxiety for their son's food and shelter or as to who was to look after him, though he was of so tender an age; or above all, as to who was to meet the expenses required for his education. How did ancient Indian society provide for these things? It did everything that was possible in those days. It was so organized that nothing which was absolutely required for education was wanting. The boy taken to teacher's house lived there as one of the teacher's family, the members of it being in fact those of his own family, especially the wife of the teacher taking in reality the place of his own mother. Thus there was no difference whatsoever of treatment towards a student in the

[1] Generally the proper time for a Brāhmaṇa boy is his eighth year, for a Kṣatriya boy eleventh year, and for a Vaiśya boy twelfth year. But it can be done earlier.

[2] A Brāhmaṇa boy might wait until the sixteenth year, a Kṣatriya boy until the twenty-second year, and a Vaiśya boy until the twenty-fourth year.

house of his teacher and in the family of his own parents. The sorrows and joys of the teacher's family were equally shared by the student.[1]

Now, as regards the expenses for the education of the boy. Who was to meet them? Why, the education was absolutely free, and there was no question of expenses to be paid by a student. Yet, was not there the question of at least the daily food for both the student and the teacher? How was it provided for, and by whom? Evidently by the society itself and in the most remarkably economical and simple way that could be thought of. The food was daily collected by the students themselves begging from door to door, and it was a religious and obligatory duty of every householder to supply a student with as much food as he could afford. It was enjoined in the scriptures on the wife of a householder (and not on the householder himself, as the latter might be more often absent from the house than the former owing to his outdoor works), that when a student approached her for food she must not refuse him, otherwise all her previous good actions would be of no avail. This threat was in no way an exaggeration, for if owing to want of food education in a society were stopped, the evil that might arise from it would certainly destroy many a good thing that had already been gained by the society.

That offering of food to students by householders was in no way considered a burden by the latter; it was rather a very pleasant duty for them. And the food thus collected by the students was shared alike by their teacher as well as by themselves.

We have seen that boys were taken for their education to teachers. The Sanskrit word for these teachers is *Ācārya*. Its significance is that he not only taught his students how to practise what was taught to them, but he himself practised in his life what he taught.

One of the most important things that was always kept in view and followed by the students with great care under the guidance of their teachers was the restraint of their senses coupled with the observance of strict celebacy during the period of study. Moreover, generally the teachers were not rich people and the students who lived with them had to lead a life of much hardship borne with a cheerful mind, and they had to discharge various household duties equally with the family members of the teachers themselves. This gave them an additional benefit of practical experience in various ways of a householder's duties whose life they aspired to adopt, in most cases, after finishing the courses of their respective studies.

These are then in brief the fundamental ideas of education and the arrangements that were made for carrying them out in practice by the members of the Indo-Aryan society in ancient times.

[1] The following sentence from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (IV. 10. 3) is short, yet very significant. It will show the kindness, tenderness and affection of the wife of the teacher to a student who did not one day take his food: 'Brahmacārinn aśāna. kim nu nāśnasi'—'Student of sacred knowledge, eat. Why, pray, do you not eat?'

A HIDDEN LANDMARK IN THE HISTORY OF JAINISM

By

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In my article on 'Śivabhūti and Śivārya'[1] I have tried to identify Śivabhūti, the author of the Boṭika schism according to the Mūla Bhāṣya, with Ārya Śivabhūti of the Kalpa Sūtra Sthavirāvalī on the one hand and Śivārya the author of the Digambara work Ārādhanā on the other, so as to make the three names referring to one and the same person only who flourished 609 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. One of the verses of the Mūla Bhāṣya from where I took my start makes mention of 'Koḍinna-kuṭṭa Vira'[2] as subsequent successors of Śivabhūti, and the purpose of the present paper is to make an investigation for discovering the lineal descendants of Śivabhūti or Śivārya.

My first inquiry brings to light the following facts:—

1. Śivabhūti's pupil and successor, according to the Sthavirāvalī, was *Bhadra*.[3]
2. Bhadra or Śrī Bhadra, according to a Śravaṇa Belgola inscription, became universally known as *Bhadrabāhu*, who had for his pupil Candragupta.[4]
3. It is this Bhadrabāhu, and not the earlier one who, according to the Śravaṇa Belgola inscription No. 1, foretold the twelve years' famine and migrated to the South from Ujjainī. This Bhadrabāhu is given a special title *Swāmi*.[5]
4. The Ācārya who enjoys the special and almost exclusive title of Swāmi[6] in the Digambara Jaina literature is *Samanta Bhadra* the

[1] Contributed to the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 9.

[2] बोडिअसिवभूईओ बोडिअलिंगस्स होइ उप्पत्ती ।
कोडिन्नकुट्टवीरा परंपराफासमुप्पन्ना ॥ १४८ ॥

[3] थेरस्स णं अज्जसिवभूइस्स कुच्छसगुत्तस्स अज्जभद्दे थेरे अंतेवासी कासवगुत्ते ॥ १० ॥ × × × ते वंदिऊण सिरसा भद्दं वंदामि कासवसगुत्तं ॥ २ ॥

[4] See Ins. 40 (64):

[श्री] भद्रस्सर्वतो यो हि भद्रबाहुरिति श्रुतः ।
श्रुतकेवलिनाथेषु चरमपरमो मुनिः ॥ ४ ॥
चन्द्र-प्रकाशोज्वलसान्द्र-कीर्त्तिः श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तोऽजनि तस्य शिष्यः ।
यस्य प्रभावाद्वनदेवताभिराराधितः स्वस्य गणो मुनीनां ॥ ५ ॥

[5] गौतमगणधर-साक्षाच्छिष्य-लोहार्य्य-जम्बु-विष्णुदेवापराजित-गोवर्द्धन-भद्रबाहु-विशाख-प्रोष्ठिल-क्षत्तिकार्य-जयनाम-सिद्धार्थ-धृतिषेण-बुद्धिलादि-गुरुपरम्परीणक्रमाभ्यागत-महापुरुषसन्तति-समवद्योतितान्वय-भद्रबाहुस्वामिना उज्जयिन्यामष्टाङ्गमहानिमित्ततत्वज्ञेन त्रैकाल्यदर्शिना निमित्तेन द्वादशसंवत्सरकालवैषम्यमुपलभ्य कथिते सर्व्वसङ्घ उत्तरापथाद्दक्षिणापथम्प्रस्थितः.... ।

[6] See Ratna-karaṇḍa-śrāvakācāra. Introduction by Pt. Jugalkishore Mukhtar, p. 8:

"स्वामी, यह वह पद है जिससे 'देवागम' के कर्ता महोदय खास तौरसे विभूषित थे और जो उनकी महती प्रतिष्ठा तथा असाधारण महत्ता का द्योतक है। बड़े बड़े आचार्यों तथा विद्वानों ने उन्हें प्रायः इसी (स्वामी) विशेषण के साथ स्मरण किया है और यह विशेषण भगवान् समन्तभद्र के साथ इतना रूढ जान

author of Āptamīmāṃsā. Tradition associates him with *Śivakoṭi* or *Śivāyana*.[7] He is also said to have joined the temple raised by Śivakoṭi and to have revealed an image of *Candra prabha*[8] out of an image of Śiva, as well as to have started his career at Pāṭaliputra, and from there to have travelled to Malwa, Sindha and Ṭhakka and subsequently to Kāñcīpura and Karahāṭaka.[9]

5. Sāmantabhadra is celebrated in the Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalis as an Ācārya of the *Candrakula* and the founder of the *Banavāsi Gaccha*.[10]

Let us now see what these facts lead us to. Bhadra and Bhadrabāhu are easily identifiable on the basis of the information furnished by the Śravaṇa Belgola inscription No. 40 (64) according to which Bhadrabāhu's former name was Bhadra or Śrī Bhadra,[11] and there appears to be nothing that would revolt against this identification. As regards Samantabhadra and Sāmantabhadra, there is practically no difference in the two names. The lengthening or the shortening of the vowel is of no consequence. The fact that Sāmantabhadra founded the Banavāsi Gaccha clearly shows his association with the

पड़ता है कि उनके नाम का प्रायः एक अंग हो गया है। इसीसे कितने ही बड़े बड़े विद्वानों तथा आचार्यों ने, अनेक स्थानों पर, नाम न देकर, केवल स्वामी पद के प्रयोग द्वारा ही उनका नामोल्लेख किया है, और इससे यह बात सहज ही में समझ में आ सकती है कि 'स्वामी' रूप से आचार्यमहोदय की कितनी अधिक प्रसिद्धि थी।"

7 'तस्यैव शिष्यश्शिवकोटिसूरिस्तपोलतालम्बनदेहयष्टिः।
संसारवाराकरपोतमेतत्तत्त्वार्थसूत्रं तदलञ्चकार' ॥ १९ ॥
(Śravaṇa Belgola Ins. No. 105 (254).) 'शिष्यौ तदीयौ शिवकोटिनामा शिवायनः शास्त्रविदां वरिष्ठौ।' (विक्रान्त कौरवीय नाटक।)

8 तां कुर्वन्नष्टमश्रीमच्चन्द्रप्रभजिनेशिनः।
तमस्तमोरिव रश्मिभिन्नमिति संस्तुतेः ॥
वाक्यं यावत्पठत्येवं स योगी निर्भयो महान्।
तावत्तल्लिंगकं शीघ्रं स्फुटितं च ततस्तराम् ॥
निर्गता श्रीजिनेन्द्रस्य प्रतिमा सुचतुर्मुखी।
संजातः सर्वतस्तत्र जयकोलाहलो महान् ॥ ६६-६८ ॥
कथा ४ समन्तभद्रस्वामिनः कथा, आराधनाकथाकोष of Nemidatta.

9 पूर्वं पाटलिपुत्रमध्यनगरे भेरी मया ताडिता।
पश्चान्मालव-सिन्धु-ठक्कविषये कांचीपुरे वैदिशे ॥
प्राप्तोऽहं करहाटकं बहुभटं विद्योत्कटं संकटं।
वादार्थी विचराम्यहन्नरपते शार्दूलविक्रीडितं ॥ ७ ॥
Śravaṇa Belgola Ins. No. 54 (67); also quoted by Nemidatta in his Ārādhanā-kathākoṣa.

10 श्रीवज्रशाखाधुरिवज्रसेनान्नागेन्द्रचन्द्रादिकुलप्रसूतिः।
चान्द्रे कुले पूर्वगतश्रुताढ्यः सामन्तभद्रो विपिनादिवासी ॥ ९ ॥
(गुरुपर्वक्रमवर्णनम् of गुणरत्नसूरि)। सिरिवज्जसेणसूरी चाउद्दसमो चंदसूरि पंचदसो। सामंतभद्दसूरी सोलसमो रण्णवासरई ॥ ६ ॥ श्रीचन्द्रसूरिपट्टे षोडशः श्रीसामन्तभद्रसूरिः। स च पूर्वगतश्रुतविशारदं वैराग्यनिधिर्निर्ममतया देवकुलवनादिष्वप्यवस्थानात् लोके वनवासीत्युक्तस्तस्माच्चतुर्थं नाम वनवासीति प्रादुर्भूतं ॥ ६ ॥ (तपागच्छ पट्टावली)। निर्ग्रंथः श्रीसुधर्माभिधगणधरतः कोटिकः सुस्थितार्याच्चंद्रः श्रीचन्द्रसूरेस्तदनु च वनवासीति सामन्तभद्रात् ॥ ३९ ॥ (श्रीसूरिपरम्परा) Also see पट्टावलीसारोद्धार (१६) श्रीगुरुपट्टावली (१६) published in पट्टावलीसमुच्चय of मुनिदर्शनविजय।

11 See footnote 4 above.

South where Banavāsi was the name of North Karnāṭaka. It was also the name of the principal town in that area called *Krauncapura*, situated on the river *Baradā*, an affluent of the Tungabhadrā.[12] The foundation of the Banavāsi Gaccha could be better understood in the light of the information about Samantabhadra preserved in the Digambara traditions according to which he, having started his career at Pāṭaliputra, carried on his religious propaganda in Malwa, Sindha and Ṭhakka (Punjab) and then travelled on to Kāñcīpura and Karahāṭaka. The last of these places is no doubt identical with Karāḍa in the district of Satara in the Bombay Presidency, and this being so, Kāñcīpura, it appears to me, should be identified with Krauncapura in Karnāṭaka and not with the town of that name in the Tamil country near Madras. The word *Vaidiśa* which in all probability qualifies Kāñcīpura in the traditional verse,[13] may denote the river *Bedavati* which was another name of Baradā on which Krauncapura was situated,[12] and it may have been particularly used to distinguish this place from the more famous town of the same or similar name.

Other Digambara traditions associated with Samantabhadra become similarly intelligible if we try to understand them in the light of the Śvetāmbara traditions connected with Sāmantabhadra. That he joined the temple raised by Śivakoṭi[14] can easily be understood to mean that he associated himself with the organization of Śivabhūti or Śivārya as a pupil or associate, and that he revealed the image of Candraprabha out of the Śiva image[15] may be a fine allegory of the fact that he established the Banavāsi Gaccha of the Candra School within Śivārya's Saṃgha. Mānatuṅga the author of Bhaktāmara Stotra is said to have belonged to this very Candra Kula just four generations after Sāmantabhadra[16] and Kanakāmara Muni the Digambara author of the Apabhraṃśa Kāvya Karakaṇḍacariu also calls himself as belonging to the Candra Gotra.[17]

The time of Sāmantabhadra according to the Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalis is also favourable to this identification. According to the Tapāgaccha Paṭṭāvalī Vajrasena attained heaven 620 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. He was succeeded by Candra Sūri who in his turn was succeeded by Sāmantabhadra.[18]

12 See Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India by Nundolal Dey.

13 See footnote 9 above. It does not really suit the context in the verse to interpret *vaidiśa* as Vidiśā, identical with Bhilsa, in Malwa which country has already been mentioned before in the verse. Hence Lewis Rice, who first interpreted the Śravaṇa Belgola Inscriptions, translated it as 'the out of the way Kāñcī' and Mr. Ayyangar translates it as the 'far off city of Kāñcī'.

14 स योगी लीलया तत्र शिवकोटिमहीभुजा।
कारितं शिवदेवोरुप्रासादं संविलोक्य च ॥ २० ॥ etc. (आराधनाकथाकोष)।

15 See footnote 8 above.

16 See Paṭṭāvali-samuccaya.

17 चिरु दियवरवंसुप्पण्णएण। चंदारिसिगोत्तें विमलएण। वइरायइं जयइं दियंबरेण ॥ सुपसिद्धणामकणयामरेण। etc. (करकंडचरिउ 10. 28. 1-2).

18 स च श्रीवज्रसेनो × × × सर्वायुः साष्टाविंशतिशतं १२८ परिपाल्य श्रीवीरात् विंशत्यधिकषट्शत ६२० वर्षान्ते स्वर्गभाक्। × × × श्रीवज्रसेनपट्टे पंचदशः श्रीचन्द्रसूरिः। तस्माच्चन्द्रगच्छ इति तृतीयं नाम प्रादुर्भूतं। × × श्रीचन्द्रसूरिपट्टे षोडशः श्रीसामन्तभद्रसूरिः।

He could thus be easily regarded as a junior contemporary of Śivārya who organized his Order in 609 after Nirvāṇa.[19] This period is quite suitable for Samantabhadra the author of Āptamīmāṃsā.[20]

Having thus merged Bhadra of the Sthavirāvalī and Bhadrabāhu of the Digambara inscriptions into one personality, and having identified Sāmantabhadra of the Śvetāmbara Paṭṭāvalis with Samantabhadra of Digambara literature, let us now see whether the two that emerge from these identifications could be further resolved into one. For this purpose let us concentrate upon the Śravaṇa Belgola inscription No. 1 which is the earliest and therefore the most reliable authority about Bhadrabāhu and his activities. A careful reading of this inscription leaves us in no doubt about the fact that the Bhadrabāhu who foretells the twelve years' famine at Ujjainī is not one of the five Śrutakevalis, but the one who comes long after him in the line.[21] He must therefore be regarded as Bhadrabāhu II, and the famine which he foretold must be the one which is mentioned in the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi and Malayagiri's Vṛitti according to which a very severe famine lasting for twelve years occurred at the time of Vajra Swāmi who, in consequence of it, toured into the South.[22] Vajra Swāmi according to the Paṭṭāvalis was the predecessor of Vajrasena, and lived from 496 to 584 years after Nirvāṇa,[23] i.e. just about the time of Sāmantabhadra whose great-grand-predecessor he was. Not only that, but according to the *Vīra-vaṃśāvali*,[24] Vajra Swāmi passed his Cāturmāsa in the South at a place called Tungia which I am inclined to locate at the Tugabhadrā where we have already located Krauncapura or Kāñcīpura of Samantabhadra, not far away from the Kaṭavapra at Śravaṇa Belgola where Ācārya Prabhācandra, according to the inscription, ended his life.

Another very important clue furnished to us by this inscription is that it gives to this Bhadrabāhu the designation of *Swāmi* which in literature has almost exclusively been used for Samantabhadra. In fact even great writers

[19] छव्वाससयाइं नवुत्तराइं तइया सिद्धिं गयस्स वीरस्स ।
तो बोडियाण दिट्ठी रहवीरपुरे समुप्पन्ना ॥ १४५ ॥ etc. (आवश्यक मूलभाष्य) ।

[20] See Pt. Jugalkishore's 'Swami Samantabhadra' pub. as Introduction to Ratna-karaṇḍa-śrāvakācāra, pp. 115ff. Samantabhadra is traditionally assigned to the second century of the Vikrama era by the Digambaras.

[21] See footnote 5 above.

[22] इतो य वइरसामी दक्खिणावहे विहरति। दुब्भिक्खं च जायं बारसवरिसगं। सव्वतो समंता छिन्नपंथा। निराधारं जादं। ताहे वइरसामी विज्जाए आहडं पिंडं तद्दिवसं आणेति। (आवश्यक सूत्र चूर्णि भाग १, पत्र ४०४; निर्युक्ति गाथा ७७४ की वृत्ति)

[23] श्रीसीहगिरिपट्टे त्रयोदशः श्रीवज्रस्वामी यो बाल्यादपि जातिस्मृतिभाग् नभोगमनविद्यया संघरक्षाकृत् दक्षिणस्यां बौद्धराज्ये जिनेन्द्रपूजानिमित्तं पुष्पाद्यानयनेन प्रवचनप्रभावनाकृत् देवाभिवंदितो दशपूर्वविदामपश्चिमो वज्रशाखोत्पत्तिमूलं। तथा स भगवान् × × × सर्वायुरष्टाशीति ८८ वर्षाणि परिपाल्य श्रीवीरात् चतुरशीत्यधिकपंचशत ५८४ वर्षान्ते स्वर्गभाक् ।

[24] जैन साहित्य संशोधक, खंड १, अंक ३, परिशिष्ट, पृ. १४. पुनः श्री वज्रस्वरी उत्तर दीशि थकी विहरता दक्षिण पंथि तुंगिया नगरइं चोमासउं रह्या ।

like Vidyānanda[25] and Vādirāja Sūri[26] have referred to him only by the title of Swāmi without mentioning the name Samantabhadra, and this they could do because they knew that their readers would understand nobody else but Samantabhadra by that title. This piece of evidence taken together with all that has been said above goes to establish almost beyond doubt that Samantabhadra and Bhadrabāhu II are identical.

This identification of Bhadra, Sāmantabhadra, Samantabhadra and Bhadrabāhu into one person, whom let us now call Bhadrabāhu II, leads us into corollaries that appear to be startling. The first of these is that we must accept Kundakunda to be the pupil of this Bhadrabāhu II who within the Digambara hierarchy is no other than Samantabhadra the author of Āptamīmāṃsā himself. Kundakunda in his Bodha Pāhuda clearly mentions himself to be the pupil of Bhadrabāhu[27] who could be no other than this Bhadrabāhu II. The only difficulty that might come in the way of this identification is that here Bhadrabāhu is said to be acquainted with all the Twelve Aṅgas and the Fourteen Pūrvas and was thus a Śruta-jñānī. But we must remember that our Bhadrabāhu who was definitely different from and much posterior to Bhadrabāhu I has also been called a Śruta-jñānī in a number of inscriptions.[28]

This point becomes still more clear when we come to consider the case of Bhadrabāhu who is the author of the ten Niryuktis included in the Śvetāmbara Āgamas. Their author is also claimed to be a Śrutakevali[29] but obviously he is not the same as Bhadrabāhu I because in his Āvaśyaka Niryukti he mentions events with persons and dates right from the time of Lord Mahāvīra down to 609 years after his Nirvāṇa.[30] He also pays a great tribute to

[25] स्तोत्रं तीर्थोपमानं प्रथितपृथुपथं स्वामिमीमांसितं तत्
विद्यानन्दैः स्वशक्त्या कथमपि कथितं सत्य-वाक्यार्थसिद्ध्यै। (आप्तपरीक्षा-उपसंहार)।

[26] स्वामिनश्चरितं तस्य कस्य नो विस्मयावहम् ।
देवागमेन सर्वज्ञो येनाद्यापि प्रदर्श्यते ॥ (पार्श्वनाथ चरित)।

[27] सद्दवियारो हूओ भासासुत्तेसु जं जिणे कहियं ।
सो तह कहियं णायं सीसेण य भद्दबाहुस्स ॥ ६१ ॥
बारस अंगवियाणं चउदसपुव्वंगविउलवित्थरणं ।
सुयणाणिभद्दबाहू गमयगुरू भयवओ जयउ ॥ ६२ ॥

[28] See, for example, footnote 4 above. Also see Ins. 108 (258), verses 8-9.

[29] For example, Malayagiri (12th cent.) in his commentary on Piṇḍa Niryukti says—

येनैषा पिंडनिर्युक्तिर्युक्तिरम्या विनिर्मिता ।
द्वादशांगविदे तस्मै नमः श्रीभद्रबाहवे ॥

In the ऋषिमंडलसूत्र, an ancient work, we find—

दसकप्पव्ववहारा निज्जूढा जेण नवमपुव्वाओ ।
वंदामि भद्दबाहुं तमपच्छिमसयलसुयनाणिं ॥

[30] These occur in connection with the various schisms that took place since the time of Lord Mahāvīra. The verses that mention their years are as follows:—

चोद्दस सोलस वासा चोद्दस वीसुत्तरा य दुण्णि सया ।
अट्ठावीसा य दुवे पंचेव सया य चोयाला ॥ ७८२ ॥
पंचसया चुलसीआ छच्चेव सया नवुत्तरा हुंति ।
नाणुप्पत्तीए दुवे उप्पन्ना निव्वुए सेसा ॥ ७८३ ॥

Ārya Vajra who lived from 496 to 584 years after Nirvāṇa and to Ārya Rakṣita who was his contemporary.[31] From all these mentions it appears that the author himself lived about 609 of Nirvāṇa and was personally associated with Ārya Vajra about whom he has given us some personal information and who is credited with having split up the Śruta into two parts Kālika and Dṛṣṭivāda which were further split up into four by Ārya Rakṣita.[32] In my opinion the author of the Niryuktis and the teacher of Kundakunda, the author of Āptamīmāṃsā and the head of the Banavāsi Gaccha and Candra Kula and the sage who foretold the twelve years' famine and migrated to the South are all one and the same person, and that person was the pupil or associate of Śivārya.

This is not all the glory that Śivārya has to his credit. There is yet another bright jewel to his crown which I shall now proceed to introduce to you. Let us examine the Praśasti which we find at the end of the Tattvārthādhigama Bhāṣya.[33] Here we are told that the author Umāsvāti was the grand-pupil of Śivaśrī and pupil of Ghoṣanandi. Neither of these two dignitaries has so far been identified. Śivaśrī may be easily identified with Śivārya. Besides the name being the same in the two cases except for the variable suffix, there is the name of his pupil with his name ending in *Nandi* which appears in the names of Śivārya's teachers and was a favourite name-suffix with the teachers of the Nandi Saṃgha, while it is prctically non-existent in the early Śvetāmbara lists of names.[34] Another piece of information that we find in the Praśasti is that Umāsvāti was born at Nyagrodhikā. Since I had identified Rahavīrapura where Śivārya organized his Order with Rāhuri

[31] श्रीवीरात् त्रयस्त्रिंशदधिकपंचशत ५३३ वर्षे श्रीआर्यरक्षितसूरिणा श्रीभद्रगुप्ताचार्यो निर्यामितः स्वर्गभाग् (तपागच्छ पट्टावली)।

[32] See आवश्यकनिर्युक्ति, verses 763–778.

[33] वाचकमुख्यस्य शिवश्रियः प्रकाशयशसः प्रशिष्येण ।
शिष्येण घोषनन्दिक्षमणस्यैकादशाङ्गविदः ॥ १ ॥
वाचनया च महावाचकक्षमणमुण्डपादशिष्यस्य ।
शिष्येण वाचकाचार्यमूलनाम्नः प्रथितकीर्तेः ॥ २ ॥
न्यग्रोधिकाप्रसूतेन विहरता पुरवरे कुसुमनाम्नि ।
कौभीषणिना स्वातितनयेन वात्सीसुतेनार्घ्यम् ॥ ३ ॥
अर्हद्वचनं सम्यग्गुरुक्रमेणागतं समुपधार्य ।
दुःखार्तं च दुरागमविहतमतिं लोकमवलोक्य ॥ ४ ॥
इदमुच्चैर्नागरवाचकेन सत्त्वानुकम्पया दृब्धम् ।
तत्त्वार्थाधिगमाख्यं स्पष्टमुमास्वातिना शास्त्रम् ॥ ५ ॥
यस्तत्त्वाधिगमाख्यं ज्ञास्यति च करिष्यते च तत्रोक्तम् ।
सोऽव्याबाधसुखाख्यं प्राप्स्यत्यचिरेण परमार्थम् ॥ ६ ।

See Pt. Sukhlal Saṃghavi's remarks on the praśasti in his introduction to तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, pp. 4ff.

[34] The names of Śivārya's teachers mentioned in his *Ārādhanā* are Jinanandi, Sarvagupta and Mitranandi, for which and for other information on the subject see my paper on 'Śivabhūti and Śivārya' in *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 9.

in the Ahmadnagar district, I looked into the locality for this name as well, and to my pleasant surprise I find a place called *Nighoja* in the same district and not very far from Rāhuri. Nighoja may easily be identified with Nyagrodhikā the birth-place of Umāsvāti.

A few more statements in the Praśasti that deserve a close study are as follows:—

1. Umāsvāti's teacher of Āgama was Vācanācārya Mūla.
2. Though born at Nyagrodhikā he travelled on to Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra in the North).
3. It was at Kusumapura that he explained or elucidated the Tattvārthādhigama, i.e. wrote the Bhāṣya.
4. This Bhāṣya was written on a work which he had compiled earlier on the basis of the utterances of the Arhat and the traditions that had come down to him through a line of teachers, on finding people afflicted with pain and vitiated in their outlook through improper ideas.

These statements could not be understood fully unless one takes into consideration the whole position of the Saṃgha as it appears to have developed at that time. Śivārya was succeeded by Bhadrabāhu II who in his turn was succeeded by Kundakundācārya. Umāsvāti being the pupil of Ghoṣanandi who was another pupil of Śivārya, was obviously Kundakunda's contemporary and rival. Kundakunda tried to introduce serious changes into the creed as well as the practice of the monks. While Śivārya had permitted cloth-bearing to all nuns and some monks under special circumstances,[35] Kundakunda considered the position anomalous and sought to make nakedness as the absolute rule for all monks, allowing no exception whatsoever.[36] And since women could not for obvious reasons be asked to give up clothes they were declared as unfit for salvation and could remain in the Order as apprentices only.[37] Elaborating the cryptic teaching of his preceptor the author of Āptamīmāṃsā that the true saint (Āpta) is one who is free from all weakness and obscurity (Doṣa and Āvaraṇa),[38] he preached that an all-wise saint must

[35] See Ārādhanā, Gāthā 79–83. See my paper on 'Śivabhūti and Śivārya', footnote 5.

[36] बालग्गकोडिमत्तं परिगहगहणं ण होइ साहूणं ।
भुंजेइ पाणिपत्ते दिण्णण्णं इक्कठाणम्मि ॥ १७ ॥
जस्स परिग्गहगहणं अप्पं बहुयं च हवइ लिंगस्स ।
सो गरहिउ जिणवयणे परिगहरहिओ निरायारो ॥ १९ ॥
णवि सिज्झइ वत्थधरो जिणसासणे जइ वि होइ तित्थयरो ।
णग्गो विमोक्खमग्गो सेसा उम्मग्गया सव्वे ॥ २३ ॥ (सुत्तपाहुड)।

[37] जइ दंसणेण सुद्धा उत्ता मग्गेण सा वि संजुत्ता ।
घोरं चरिय चरित्तं इत्थीसु ण पावया भणिया ॥ २५ ॥ (सुत्तपाहुड)।

[38] दोषावरणयोर्हानिर्निःशेषास्त्यतिशायनात् ।
क्वचिद्यथा स्वहेतुभ्यो बहिरन्तर्मलक्षयः ॥ ४ ॥
स त्वमेवासि निर्दोषो युक्तिशास्त्राविरोधिवाक् ।
अविरोधो यदिष्टं ते प्रसिद्धेन न बाध्यते ॥ ६ ॥ (आप्त मीमांसा)।

be believed to be free from all feelings of pleasure and pain.[39] He was not satisfied by merely putting forth these views; he appears to have proceeded to see that every member of the Order conformed to the rules. Those who would not or could not do so, were to be expelled and all the texts that went against this creed were to be suppressed. A piquant situation must have developed in the Saṃgha, specially amongst those members of it who came within the exception to Śivārya's rule and would not forget or forego the study of the previous texts. Umāsvāti appears to have led this section. It was during this period of tension when feelings ran high on both sides that he wrote the Tattvārtha Sūtra in which he logically proved the position with regard to the existence of hunger and thirst in a Kevali,[40] but did not openly raise any question with regard to the wearing of clothes by monks and salvation for women, though food for thought was provided on these subjects in the definition of the Nirgranthas[41] and in the various points of views from which the absolved beings might be considered.[42] Umāsvāti probably offered this work as his compromise formula. But Kundakunda and his adherents rejected it probably at a session specially convened for the purpose.[43] The consequence was that the no-changers had to leave the Order—they were expelled from it—and so they formed a separate Order of their own which came to be called the *Yāpanīya Saṃgha*.[44]

It was with a memory of these bitter experiences that Umāsvāti, probably with a band of the younger members of his section who could undertake the long journey, went to the North with a view to effect a union with the community there. It was in this way that he came to Kusumapura where he wrote the Bhāṣya in which he expressed (Spaṣṭam) what he had kept understood in the Sūtras with a view to avert the inevitable crisis.

Kundakunda, on his part, having thus got rid of all the recalcitrants, proceeded to establish the new Order with a thoroughness which was extra-

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[39] सोक्खं वा पुण दुक्खं केवलणाणिस्स णत्थि देहगदं ।
जम्हा अदिंदियत्तं जादं तम्हा दु तं णेयं ॥ (प्रवचनसार, १, २०)।
जरवाहिदुक्खरहियं आहारणिहारवज्जियं विमलं ।
सिंहाण खेल सेओ णत्थि दुगंछा य दोसो य ॥ ३७ ॥ (बोधपाहुड)।

[40] See तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, ९, ८-१०.

[41] See ,, ९, ४६-४७.

[42] See ,, १०, ९.

[43] The question appears to me to have been put to the vote of the congregation by Kundakundācārya in the form of the verse preserved for us in his प्रवचनसार १, ६२.

णो सद्दहंति सोक्खं सुहेसु परमं ति विगदघादीणं ।
सुणिदूण ते अभव्वा भव्वा वा तं पडिच्छंति ।

[44] For an account of the activities of the Yāpanīyas see 'Yāpaniya Saṅgha—a Jain sect' by Dr. A. N. Upadhye in the *Bombay University Journal*, I, 6, May 1933, and यापनीय साहित्य की खोज by Pt. नाथूराम प्रेमी in his जैन साहित्य और इतिहास. How the Yāpanīyas were subsequently reabsorbed into the major community and how their sacred books were also made acceptable to the latter is being dealt with by me in a separate paper.

ordinary. He mercilessly suppressed everything that went against his principles in the slighest degree, or reminded of anything of their past affiliations. He even suppressed his own name which was Padmanandi[45] because it aroused memories of the Nandi Saṃgha. He, in all probability, prohibited the study of all the former Āgamas which were henceforth taken as totally lost and made up for the deficiency by himself writing a large number of texts called Pāhuḍas[46] which henceforth became the sole authority on all matters religious or philosophical. He called his organization the Mūla Saṃgha in view of the fact that he went back to the position of the last Tīrthaṃkara whose original creed he claimed to have revived.[47] It is also possible that this significant name suggested itself to him readily because it was borne by the Vacakācārya who had taught Umāsvāti and probably himself also, and therefore he indirectly wanted to commemorate him.

The difficulty that still remains in regarding Samantabhadra as the preceptor of Kundakundācārya is that inscriptions and Paṭṭāvalis persistently mention Samantabhadra after Kundakunda and not before him. My explanation of this tendency on the part of all subsequent writers is that they were interested in showing Kundakundācārya as the first and foremost of all the teachers of the present age, and therefore a deliberate attempt was made to obscure all the previous history. Secondly, there have been more than one Samantabhadra even after Kundakundācārya.[48] In spite of all that has been said in support of the Ratna-karaṇḍa-śrāvakācāra being regarded as the work of Samantabhadra the first,[49] I now feel convinced that it was certainly not the work of the same author who wrote the Āptamīmāṃsā, particularly because it explains the word *Doṣa*[50] in a sense which could never be intended to be conveyed by it by the author of the Āptamīmāṃsā.[51] I think the *Ratna-karaṇḍa-śrāvakācāra* was written subsequent to Kundakundācārya's preachings and in support of them. The author of this work may also have

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[45] तस्यान्वये भूविदिते बभूव यः पद्मनन्दिप्रथमाभिधानः ।
श्रीकोण्डकुन्दादिमुनीश्वराख्यस्सत्संयमादुद्गतचारणर्द्धिः ॥ ६ ॥ (श्रवणबेलगोला, शिलालेख नं. ४० ६४)

[46] Tradition attributes to him the authorship of 84 such tracts of which about a dozen are at present available to us. See Pravacanasāra: Introduction by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, pp. xxiv ff.

[47] हिंसारहिए धम्मे अट्ठारहदोसवज्जिए देवे ।
निग्गंथे पावयणे सद्दहणं होइ सम्मत्तं ॥ ९० ॥ (मोक्षप्राभृत)।

[48] Six such Samantabhadras have been noticed by Pt. Jugalkishore Mukhtar, for which see his Introduction to Ratna-karaṇḍa-śrāvakācāra, pp. 5–9.

[49] See *ante*.

[50] क्षुत्पिपासा-जरातङ्क-जन्मान्तकभयस्मयाः ।
न रागद्वेषमोहाश्च यस्याप्तः स प्रकीर्त्यते ॥ ६ ॥ (रत्नकरण्डश्रावकाचार, १)।

[51] See अष्टसहस्री of विद्यानन्द on verses 4 and 6 of आप्तमीमांसा, quoted above in footnote 38. Also see verse 93 where the existence of the feelings of pleasure and pain are recognized in a *Vītarāga*, and the whole argument there rests on that fact.

पुण्यं ध्रुवं स्वतो दुःखात्पापं च सुखतो यदि ।
वीतरागो मुनिर्विद्वांस्ताभ्यां युञ्ज्यान्निमित्ततः ॥

been the teacher of Śivakoṭi the author of Ratnamālā which is certainly not the work of our Śivabhūti or Śivārya the author of the Ārādhanā.[52] The use of the title Swāmi as well as the attribution to him of incidents which were really associated with his earlier namesake may be due to confusion or even, no wonder, deliberate.

The results of my investigations in this paper may be summed up as follows :—

1. Śivabhūti who, according to the Mūla Bhāṣya, founded the Boḍika Saṃgha was identical with Ārya Śivabhūti mentioned in the Sthavirāvalī, and Śivārya the author of the Ārādhanā, as well as Śivaśrī, the grand-teacher of Umāsvāti.
2. Bhadra, who was mentioned in the Sthavirāvalī as the pupil and successor of Śivabhūti, was identical with Bhadrabāhu the author of the Niryuktis, the divine who foretold the twelve years' famine at Ujjainī and migrated to the South and the teacher of Kundakunda, as well as with Sāmantabhadra the founder of the Banavāsī Gaccha and Samantabhadra the author of the Āptamīmāṃsā.
3. Kundakunda introduced drastic changes in the creed of the Order which were unacceptable to one section led by Umāsvāti who wrote the Tattvārtha Sūtra as a compromise formula, but being unsuccessful in averting the crisis he went away to Kusumapura where he wrote the Tattvārthādhigama Bhāṣya.
4. Those who left the Saṃgha in consequence of Kundakundācārya's reforms, or were expelled from it, formed themselves into an independent community which came to be called the Yāpanīya Saṃgha.
5. Kundakunda tried to efface all the vestiges of the past including literature, and called his organization the Mūla Saṃgha.
6. Samantabhadra who is mentioned in inscriptions and Paṭṭāvalis after Kundakunda is different from the author of the Āptamīmāṃsā and the pupil of Śivārya, while he may be the author of the Ratna-karaṇḍa-śrāvakācāra and teacher of Śivakoṭi the author of Ratnamālā.
7. As Śivārya organized his Order in 609 after Nirvāṇa, we may allow 20 years more to him after it and another 20 years to his successor Samantabhadra or Bhadrabāhu II, and thus we get about 650 years after Nirvāṇa as the time for Kundakunda and Umāsvāti.

[52] For the text of रत्नमाला and critical remarks on the same by Pandit Nathuram Premi see सिद्धान्तसारादिसंग्रह (मा. दि. जै. ग्रं. २१).

DID THE BUDDHA KILL THE CHILD IN MAN (BHŪṆA)?

By

PROF. N. K. BHAGWAT, M.A.

Introduction :

It is the fate of World Teachers that they are liable to be misunderstood by those that surround them. The life, thoughts, speeches, actions and dealings of these Teachers are not generally appreciated in their ultimate value by the common run of people, who differ from such Teachers both in degree and in kind. These dissenters are so deeply sunk in their own convictions and way of thinking that they are unable to isolate themselves dispassionately and enter into the spirit and letter of these World Teachers to truly evaluate them as thinkers and guides. The dust of prejudice and perverse understanding combined with partiality to one's own convictions, narrowness of outlook and absence of a spirit of liberal interpretation—are a few causes as to why Great Teachers and Prophets were greatly traduced during their lifetime and it was only after centuries that their greatness, efficacy of teachings, the profound significance of their mission in life, and the grandeur and glory of their personality were unfolded to the vision of next generations. The same fate has awaited Gotama, the Buddha, who is rightly called the 'Teacher of gods and men'.[1] During his lifetime there were many ascetics and Brahmins and they misunderstood him being misinformed and Gotama had, several times, to enter upon a vigorous protest against false charges and wilful distortion of his teachings.[2] In some places he tried to reconcile and explain his position, where there was honest difference or inconsistency or apparent contradiction, discovered by other sectarians in the usual course of comprehension.[3] He personally carried on talks and controversies with notable personalities of other Faiths and clearly demonstrated to them his unflinching position and the drawback or defect in their reasoning. He was conscious of the fact that his teachings ran counter to the then prevailing principles and bend of human mind and in fact he wanted to refrain from propagating his doctrines to a people who were sunk in lust (Ālaya).[4] During the centuries that followed Gotama, his teachings passed through various stages of development, expansion and ramification, that gave rise to not less

[1] 'सत्था देवमनुस्सानं बुद्धो भगवा'—repeated in so many suttas, e.g. मज्झिमनिकायमूलपण्णासक—वत्थूपमसुत्तं (No. 7) Devanāgarī Edition, page 27 (by Rajvade and others).

[2] E.g. एवंवादिं खो मं भिक्खवे, एवमक्खायिं एके समणब्राह्मणा असता तुच्छा मुसा अभूतेन अब्भाचिक्खन्ति। अलगद्दूपमसुत्त (No. 22)—मज्झिमनि० मूलपण्णासक—Devanāgārī Edition, page 99, by Rajvade and others (1919).

[3] E.g. महावग्ग—विनयपिटकं—भेसज्जक्खन्धकं—Burmese Edition—Hanthavaddy Press—page 291. Here in his conversation with सीह he explains how he (Gotama) may be designated as उच्छेदवादी, क्रियवादी, अक्रियवादी, जेगुच्छी, वेनयिको, तपस्सी, अप्पगब्भो, अस्सत्थो—but without any detriment to his original doctrines.

[4] आलयरामा खो पनायं पजा आलयरता आलयसम्मुदिता—महावग्गो—विनयपिटकं महाखन्धको Devanāgarī Edition of the Bombay University, १. १. ५. १, page 7.

than 18 different sects,[1] so that the last charge that was brought against Gotama was that he preached nothing but Nihilism (Śūnyavāda). In this paper a humble attempt is made to examine one aspect of this Nihilism which is summed up in one word, 'Bhūnahū' (killer of the child) and which constitutes a charge, brought against Gotama by the Paribbājaka Māgandiya in the Majjhima-nikāya.[2]

The Paribbājakas :

The Paribbājakas formed one of the prominent sects in Gotama's times. Their *creed* was 'A belief in perfect bliss after death for the self, purged from evil and as a *conviction* that the bliss can be won by Brahmacariya (celebacy), by freedom from all evil in acts, words, aims and mode of livelihood'.[3] All these four standards were bodily incorporated in Gotama's Noble Eightfold Path and the last of the four (Ājīvo) gave the Ājīvakas their special name as a separate sect.[4] The Buddha differed from the Paribbājakas as is attested by the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna,[5] who were the Paribbājakas. The goal of the latter was Deathlessness (Amata), 'which to them probably meant birth in the world of the Brahmā'.[6] Gotama has made free use of this goal of the Paribbājakas in his sermons. He, however, was known as 'Vibhajjavādī' or Champion of the Method of Analysis and he taught causes and effects of states of consciousness.[7] Again the Paribbājakas were speculators in the questions bearing on metaphysics, philosophy and ethics. In the Majjhima-nikāya (Majjhima Paṇṇāsaka) their speculative philosophy has been repeatedly mentioned and it concerns itself with eternality or non-eternality of the world, identity or difference of life and spirit, life of the Arhant after death, and so forth. Further, the Paribbājakas stigmatized Gotama as teaching 'non-action' or non-activism.[8] In general, they were not ascetics, except in so far as they were celebates. They were Sophists or Teachers, who passed 8 or 9 months of every year wandering from place to place for the purpose of exchanging in friendly conversational discussions on matters of ethics, philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism. Many a time they

[1] Mentioned in the Kathāvatthu. Also compare page 97 of the 'Patna University Readership Lectures on Abhidhamma', 1929.

[2] मज्झिमनिकाय—मज्झिमपण्णासक—मागन्दियसुत्त (No. 75), Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University), page 173 and onward.

[3] The Pāli names are:—
सम्माकम्मन्तो, सम्मावाचा, सम्मासङ्कप्पो, सम्माआजीवो ।

[4] The head of the sect was मक्खलि-गोसाल. For his views compare दीघनिकाय—Vol. 1, सामञ्ञफलसुत्तं—Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University), pages 64-65.

[5] महावग्ग—विनयपिटक—महाखन्धको—Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University), pages 60–65 १. ४. २§१-२४.

[6] ब्रह्मसहव्यता cf. also तेविज्जसुत्त (दीघनिकायो, Vol. I).

[7] The oft-quoted verse:
ये धम्मा हेतुप्पभवा हेतुं तेसं तथागतो आह ।
तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवंवादी महासमणो ॥ महावग्ग—Devanāgar īEdition, page 61.

[8] Pāli word: अकिरियवादी.

were hair-splitters and showed a muddle head. They possessed big hermitages and the Nikāyas mention a few Paribbājakas of eminence and enjoying social status and public esteem.[1] It is a matter of common knowledge that the celebrated philosopher of the Vedānta, Shankara, is designated as the 'Āchārya of the Paribbājakas'.[2]

Meaning of Bhūnahū :

The word Bhūnahū is explained by Buddhaghosa as Bhūti-hanaka, Vuḍḍhi-nāsaka or destroyer of what is prosperous or glorious (in man).[3] The Pāli dictionary connects it with Bhūta+gha(hana) or a destroyer of beings. It is instructive to note in this connection that the Pāli word Bhūnahū is traceable to Sanskrit word 'Bhruṇahā' or 'killer of the embryo' or 'causing abortion'.[4] Again the word 'Bhrūṇa' in Sanskrit is applied to a learned 'Brahmin'.[5] On looking to the context in the Majjhima-nikāya, however, it is used by the Paribbājaka Māgandiya, who maintains that Gotama's description as a 'Bhūnahū' occurs in the sacred scriptures of the Paribbājakas as well.[6] It is not easy at this stage to find out what exact texts are meant in this connection; but, later on, from the conversation between Gotama and Māgandiya after their meeting, Gotama refers to the 'Doors of the Senses' and the influx of impressions, instincts and emotions that is caused by them to arise in human mind. It is a well-known fact that Gotama has, so many times, exhorted his Bhikkhus to exercise control over his sense organs,[7] and for this purpose he has prescribed various methods and given practical directions. In doing this, however, it is contended by the rival sects of Gotama that he tried to deal too summarily with the natural and primary instincts and emotions by unnecessarily and unnaturally stopping the gates and 'perversely attempting to play off the instinct of repulsion and the accompanying emotion of disgust against other emotions and instincts which are of more abiding value for the religious life'.[8] If we enquire as to what constitutes the 'man' or 'being', it means not the physical form (Rūpa) so much as the 'individuality' of 'self' which in turn depends upon the expansion and development of feelings, perception, predisposition and contingent consciousness. The latter group forms the 'crux', 'child', 'embryo' or 'Bhūti' (glory) in

[1] I have freely drawn for this information about the Paribbājakas upon the 'Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names', by Malalasekera, vol. II, pages 159–161.

[2] The epithet 'परिव्राजकाचार्य' is applied to Shankara and his successors.

[3] Quoted from the Pāli-English Dictionary by T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, page 32, under '*Bhunaha*'.

[4] 'Sanskrit-English Dictionary' by V. S. Apte, Poona (1890), page 829, under भ्रूण-घ्नः, घ्न quoting Yājñavalkya 1. 64 (Mandalik's Edition): भ्रूणहत्यां वा एते घ्नन्ति.

[5] Pāli-English Dictionary quotes J. V., 266 'भूनहुनो' which is explained in the commentary as 'इद्धीनं अतिवत्तारो अत्तनो वड्ढिया हन्ता'।

[6] मागन्दिय says 'नो सुत्ते ओचरति'. Majjhima-nikāya—Majjhima Paṇṇāsaka, Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University), मागन्दियसुत्त (75), pages 172–183.

[7] धम्मपद—verses 360-361.

[8] 'Gotama Buddha' by K. J. Saunders (The Heritage of India Series), Calcutta, 1922, page 97.

man and to suppress it is to destroy the self (Bhrūṇa). As for the meaning of the word 'Bhūnahū' as 'killer of a learned Brahmin' it is true that Gotama attacked Brahminical social and religious institutions and tried to elevate other castes and to that extent he killed the 'birth-right' of the Brahmins and emphasized on the 'worth-right' of man. *Metaphorically* he did kill the Brahmin and Brahmanism. Thus, when we examine all the meanings, given above, of the word 'Bhūnahū', we come to realize that the word means 'one who *destroys* (or *suppresses*) by his teachings the essential nature of Beings, which consists of their primary and fundamental instincts and emotions'. Gotama thus, according to the Paribbājaka Māgandiya, plays the rôle of a suppressionist or a killer of the potential being (Bhrūṇa) or a destroyer of the development of what is best and glorious in man. In this paper, we try to discuss this alleged position of the Buddha.

Gotama's Primary Aim :

Under the Bodhi Tree at Buddhagayā Gotama attained full enlightenment and succeeded in tracing the origin and cessation of the mass of suffering. He solved the problem of suffering prevalent in this world and arrived at its solution. Secondly, he found that his teachings in this case were recondite and unintelligible to the common run of people, who were immersed in Taṇhā (Ālaya). To such, his teachings of pacification of all Sanskāras, relinquishment of all limiting adjuncts, extinction of grasping desire, desirelessness, cessation, Nibbāṇa would be quite foreign and unheard of.[1] He, however, threw open the gates of immortality at the request of Mahā Brahmā.[2] He taught a doctrine which constituted the subsidence of Egoism (Asmimāna). While speaking with Upaka, the Ājīvaka, he speaks of himself as emancipated by the extinction of grasping desire.[3] In his first sermon to the Five Bhikkhus at Isipatana, Deer Park, he described *two extremes*—one of indulgence in sensual pleasures and the other of addiction to self-torture, and struck at the Golden Mean, which he rightly styles as the Majjhimā Paṭipadā, which endows one with *eyes to see* and makes one know, leads one to peace, insight, enlightenment and Nibbāṇa.[4] Further, the spotless eye of truth is described as:

[1] *Two* points of his *main position* are these: (i) इदप्पच्चयता पटिच्चसमुप्पादो contingent existence by dependent origination, and (ii) सब्बसङ्खारसमथो सब्बूपधिपटिनिस्सग्गो तण्हाक्खयो निरोधो निब्बानं. Further the eye of Truth यं किञ्चि समुदयधम्मं सब्बं तं निरोधधम्मं admirably sums up these two points. What is subject to the condition of origination is subject to the condition of cessation. Thus which *is not* subject to condition of origination is *not* subject to the condition of cessation—it is Vimokkha or विञ्ञाणं अनिदस्सनं अनन्तं सब्बतो पभं (Kevatta Sutta), i.e. Transcendent, Infinite, Luminant Viññāṇa, which is nothing but Nibbāṇa.

[2] 'अपारुता तेसं अमतस्स द्वारा-महावग्गो-विनयपिटकं-महाखन्धको-ब्रह्मयाचनकथा'—p. 10.

[3] Pāli expression: तण्हक्खये विमुत्तो-महावग्गो—p. 12.

[4] The Sermon is known as the धम्मचक्कप्पवत्तनसुत्तं. The Pāli Text *in extenso* runs thus:—

द्वे'मे भिक्खवे, अन्ता पब्बजितेन न सेवितब्बा। कतमे द्वे? यो चा'यं कामेसु कामसुखल्लिकानुयोगो हीनो गम्मो पोथुज्जनिको अनरियो अनत्थसंहितो। यो चा'यं अत्तकिलमथानुयोगो दुक्खो...पे०...अनत्थसंहितो। एते उभो अन्ते अनुपगम्म मज्झिमा पटिपदा तथागतेन अभिसम्बुद्धा—चक्खुकरणी, ञाणकरणी, उपसमाय, अभिञ्ञाय सम्बोधाय निब्बानाय संवत्तति। महावग्गो-विनयपिटकं—महाखन्धको Devanāgarī Edition, page 15.

That which is subject to the condition of origination, is likewise subject to the condition of cessation. He knew that the world consisted of different minds and temperaments[1] and to suit this divergent world one uniform way would not do. He carried on talks on preliminary subjects like charity, character, heavens, evils of sensual pleasures, advantages of desirelessness and when with these talks the mind of the hearer was softened, elated and pleased, then alone, he taught him the crux of his teachings—viz., the four Noble Truths—suffering, origin of suffering, cessation of suffering and the path leading to the cessation of suffering.[2] He further interpreted the old notions, customs and associations in the new light of his teachings and put in new life into the old and neglected and discredited things of the past.[3] In all this, his ideal was to reform, reconstitute, replenish, interpret what was handed down and not to destroy nor demolish it. He is known as a great Religious Reformer and not a Prophet.[4] He wanted to teach men how to live as human beings—in a dignified way. Great stress is, therefore, laid in his scheme of teaching on ethics and psychology and less stress in laid on metaphysics and speculative philosophy.[5] To illustrate this statement, Gotama used many parables and similes and one of these parables is known as 'The parable of the cloth'.[6] We shall briefly indicate the parable. If a piece of cloth were to put on the dye well, it must first be pure and clean, free from foulness and dirt. When the piece of cloth is thus rendered free from all stains, then it may put on any dye and come out with a good shining colour. There are similarly stains and impurities of the heart. There are avarice, malevolence, anger, malice, jealousy, envy, hypocracy, pride, arrogance, indolence and so forth. These impurities must first be done away and when one succeeds in doing it, one entertains full and elsting faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṁgha. This unflinching

[1] नानाधातुको हि लोको।

[2] For example, यसपब्बज्जा quotes the Pāli Text *in extenso*. महावग्गो—विनयपिटकं—महाखन्धको—Devanāgarī Edition, page 24, 'दानकथं सीलकथं, सग्गकथं, कामानं आदीनवं, ओकारं, संकिलेसं, नेक्खम्मे आनिसंसं पकासेसि।

[3] For example, मङ्गलानि, सिनानेन सुद्धि, आमगन्ध, छ दिसा नमस्सितब्बा, पुरोडास-अरहा; निधि-निधान; ब्राह्मण—वसल-विनिच्छयो (in the वसलसुत्त), गोतमस्स कसि (farming), कस्स हब्यं पवेच्छे? etc.

[4] Cf. स्वाक्खातो भगवता धम्मो। Also तुम्हेहि किच्चं आतप्पं, अक्खातारो तथागता। पटिपन्ना पमोक्खन्ति झायिनो मारबन्धना॥ धम्मपद—Devanāgarī Edition (by Buddha Society), verse No. 276.

[5] The Paribbājakas asked him standardized questions: about the eternality or otherwise of the world, post-mortem existence of the Tathāgata, identity or otherwise of the Body or Life. Also compare the Brahmajāla Sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya, vol. I, wherein 62 heresies are detailed. Also all these theories about the soul have been styled by Gotama as: दिट्ठिगतं, दिट्ठिगहनं, दिट्ठिकन्तारं, दिट्ठिविसूकं, दिट्ठिविप्फन्दितं, दिट्ठिसंयोजनं। It is one of the Four Depravities or the Āsavas. सब्बासवसुत्त-मज्झिमनिकाय, मूलपण्णासक—Devanāgarī Edition by Rajvade and others, page 4.

[6] Known as वत्थूपमसुत्त, constituting the Sutta No. 7 of the मज्झिमनिकाय-मूलपण्णासक—Devanāgarī Edition by Rajvade and others, pages 26–29. Only the gist of this Sutta is given in the body. Vide: pages 13–15.

faith enables one to renounce all selfishness and self-seeking and the attainment of the fruition of spiritual welfare and its causes follow as a matter of course. Thus the heart goes on the forward march of gladness to zest, and thence to tranquillity of body. With the latter enjoying tranquillity, a person experiences satisfaction, wherein is found the peace of one's heart. This pitch of meritorious states of consciousness once reached, one may not hurt or harm any one. The heart has undergone a process of purification, like gold or silver. With heart pure and mind steady, radiant thoughts of love, compassion, rejoicing and equibalance of mind pervade each of the four quarters and this proceeds triumphantly to embrace vast and boundless life, in which there is no hate nor ill-will. This state of mind paves the way for deliverance from bonds and cankers and depravities. He realizes that he has successfully lived the highest life and there is nothing more to attain for him. This is the true washing of the inner life and then nothing will purify him—since he is purity itself! This parable of the cloth admirably sums up the regular steps through which the Bhikkhu must pass to attain to the complete unfoldment and development of his personality. There is no destruction of being but the being is carried to the highest pitch of expansion and universality—to the building up of a personality characterized by chastened thoughts, development of noble and generous and altruistic sentiments and emotions and complete absence of self-seeking. It is an identification of the personal and the Universal!

It may, on the other hand, be argued that this may be all right for the Bhikkhu; but what teachings has Gotama to impart to lay persons, to family men and women, who have dealings with the world and to lead life in the world. To them, the ideas of the suffering and the noble truths would not at all help to live happily on this earth. For them Gotama has delivered exclusive sermons and taught them their duties and responsibilities. To the Brahmin householders of Pāṭaligāma he has brought home the advantages of a virtuous life. A man of a strong rectitude acquires great wealth and glory through his untiring efforts, earns good reputation abroad, he enters into any society as confident and self-possessed and when the inevitable death overtakes him he dies without anxiety and is born in a noble state.[1] He has always emphasized on the necessity of leading a good life. Again in his sermon to the Brahmin heads of families in the village of Sālā (in Kosala) he clearly distinguishes as to what constitutes *Righteous* or Dhammacariyā and *Unrighteous* life or Adhammacariyā. Recognizing *three avenues of actions* of the body, speech and mind there are found *three* acts of the Body, *four* acts of Speech and *three* acts of Mind:

(i) *Abstinence from* killing, from theft, and all sensual misconduct—These constitute *Righteous acts of the Body.*

[1] This Sutta is addressed to the Brahmin householders of Pāṭaligāma and occurs in many places like, Dīgha-nikāya, Vol. II, Mahāvagga (Vinaya Piṭaka) and Udāna. We here quote this Sutta from the Dīgha-nikāya, Vol. II—महापरिनिब्बाणसुत्त (No. 16)—Dev. Edition (Bombay University), pages 69–71. A gist of the Sutta is given in the body.

(ii) *Refrain from* deliberately lying or citing false testimony, from indulging in slander and obstructing harmony and good-will, from bitterness of tongue and ensure development of pleasantness and urbanity in speech, and from indulging in tattle and thereby cultivating a habit of speaking in season, illuminating and well-supported—These constitute *Righteous acts of the Speech.*

(iii) *Not anything to do with* covetousness, malevolence or wickedness of thought and developing right outlook and correctness in conceptions—These constitute *Righteous acts of the Mind.*[1]

Again, while speaking with lay disciples, Gotama talked to them in terms of human aspirations, aims and ideals which make a man successful in life. He had a conversation with Mallikā, the chief Queen of Pasenadi of Kosala.[2] To a question from the Queen he answers how one obtains health, beauty and social position. The necessary qualifications are given as absence of violent nature, expression of anger, rage or hatred, a disposition to charity and munificence and rejoicing in the prosperity of others, or when they get honours. This development of nature qualifies one to naturally win the honours and blessings of worldly life. Further, Gotama taught men their duties as family men and the necessity of living a successful life in the midst of storms, worries and miseries of life. In a number of small Suttas, like the Mahā Mangala Sutta, the Parābhava Sutta, the Vasala Sutta, the Vijaya Sutta and Sigāla Sutta,[3] he has given such advice, diagnosed life of the world like a chemical analyser, pointed out pitfalls, and given his ideas of success in life. He has taught how to develop nature, how to form character and ensure fairness in dealings with others, how to foster friendliness and fellow-feeling towards man and man, how to enlarge one's outlook and broaden the vision by eschewing accidental circumstances or difference due to birth or family, how to purify and strengthen the avenues of actions and in general, how to create an atmosphere, in which 'being' in man should blossom forth and radiate its lustre and love, pleasing, comforting and holding out hope to all! Thus in his scheme of life, whether intended for the homeless Bhikkhu or the householder, his sole aim seems to have been to add lustre, dignity and all comprehensiveness to life and the child in man.

Buddha's ideas of Good and Evil used in the development of man:

While considering the charge of Bhūnahū, it is expedient to see how Gotama analysed the mind and its processes and formulated a scheme of Psychological Ethics with a view to build up a powerful personality and *not* to weaken or degenerate it. He discovered *three Hetus* or Causes of Rāga or

[1] सालेयसुत्त.—(No. 41)—मज्झिमनिकाय—मूलपण्णासक—Dev. Edition by Rajvade and others, pages 193–195. In the body, only a gist is given. The opposite of these constitute the '*Unrighteous Life*'.

[2] Known as the मल्लिका-सुत्त—Anguttara-nikāya. Translated in 'Buddhism in Translations', by Warren—IV—197 (P.T.S., pages 228–231).

[3] All these are from the Sutta Nipāta, only the last is in the Dīgha-nikāya, Vol. III.

Cupidity, Dosa or Malevolence and Moha or Infatuation or stupidity of mind; as also three opposite Hetus. By analysing human consciousness he found it to consist of 89 types. He invented his theory of states of consciousness (Dhammā) and grouped them under *three* heads of Kusala or Meritorious, Akusala or Demeritorious or Abyākata or Intermediate.[1] He found the mind to be always carrying on a struggle between these three types of the Dhammā or states of consciousness. These further proved to be a feeder to the material form or Rūpa, Sensations or Vedanā, Perceptions or Saññā, Predispositions or Sankhāras and Life-continuing contingent principle or Viññāna. He thus gave to the world his notion of Five Groups or Pañcakkhandas, in which he admirably summed up 'sentient existence'. Happiness or suffering is caused by the operation of either the *three Motives* or springs of Action—Rāga, Dosa and Moha *or* A-rāga, A-dosa and A-moha. The first group causing demeritorious states of consciousness and causing *suffering*, while the other group causing meritorious states of consciousness and producing *happiness*. Thus by analysing the mental phenomena, Gotama taught man to struggle on towards perfection of the child-man by eliminating the demeritorious states of consciousness and placing instead meritorious states of consciousness,[2] so that good thoughts alone may be the permanent feature or character of man and consequently his actions through the avenues should turn out to be only *good* and not *evil*. To achieve this end he prescribed various methods, which are well defined in the Nikāyas. In giving to the world his ideas of Sentient Existence, Gotama introduced the truth that our life is in a continual state of flux or becoming and this perennial change, being the essential characteristic of life there is nothing everlasting or permanent like the *Soul* or the Ātman.[3] This, however, produced the greatest misunderstanding about him: that he was the Teacher of the Annihilation of man (Ucchedavādī). He killed the *soul in man*. But the fact that Gotama accepted the Law of Kamma should have been an eye-opener to those who levelled this charge against him. Gotama distinctly states that none can destroy one's kamma or the fruit of good or bad deeds of life. None can escape this tribunal. Gotama thus admitted abiding and lasting in man and, at the same time, accepted progression in life. Life means going from lower

[1] Compare the Dhammasaṃgaṇi—*First page*. Devanāgarī Edition (Bh.O. Series, No. 2)—by Bapat and Vadekar, 1940.

[2] The struggle for the production of good thoughts and the destruction of evil thoughts is known in Pāli as चत्तारो सम्मप्पधाना as Four Right Efforts. The original Text reads thus:—

उप्पन्नानं पापकानं पहानाय वायामो । अनुप्पन्नानं पापकानं अनुप्पादाय वायामो । अनुप्पन्नानं कुसलानं उप्पादाय वायामो । उप्पन्नानं कुसलानं भिय्योभावाय वायामो. The अभिधम्मट्ठसङ्गहो—Burmese Edition—Hanthavaddy Press.—सत्तमो परिच्छेदो-समुच्चयसङ्गहविभागो—Section No. 343, page 78.

[3] All this Physical and Mental Existence, which Gotama Buddha analysed, was traced to इदप्पच्चयता, पटिच्चसमुप्पादो. It is this contingent existence that it is examined in the light of the Three Characteristics of Anicca or impermanence, Dukkha or suffering and Anattā or essencelessness or absence of Ātman. This Anātmatā is, in other words, the theory of *Dhammas*, which are characterized by the absence of any character of true Reality. Beyond this he has *not* explained, but left it Abyākata or unexplained.

to high, high to higher, and higher to the highest and thence to the transcendental. Man thus has ample scope for expansion and development and through this limited region, the unsubstantial character of which is to be first realized by anicca, dukkha and anattā, we pass into to the causeless, unconditioned and illimitable liberation (Vimokkha), which *is* and to be *realized* by experience.[1] He thus admits the existence of what he calls as the Nibbāṇa. In this connection reference has already been made to the Nirodha or cessation (*vide: Gotama's Primary Aim*). This cessation has been misunderstood and coupled as it is along with the Nibbāṇa, it has been argued that the Nibbāṇa too is a negative ideal and it stands for '*Nothingness*'—it is 'Annihilation of Self'. In the famous formula of the Dependent Origination (Paṭicca-Samuppāda), the Viññāna gives rise to Nāma-rūpa or Name Form and with the cessation of this Viññāna, there is cessation of Nāma-rūpa. The conception of Dhammā or states of consciousness is introduced as contradistinguished from that the Dhammadhātu or the Nibbāṇadhātu.[2] The latter is a radiant universal Viññāna as opposed to the Viññānakkhanda of the Five Groups. Both consist of the Viññāna-essence; but while one is identical with the *radiant universally pure Viññāna* (Pabhassara-citta), the other is the starting point of the cosmic evolution of the Dhātus and is the Kiliṭṭha-citta, appearing in connection with the sensuous shape on the plane of Nāma-rupa, its essence as principle of impermanence being manifested in the Pratīyasamutpāda. In the Kevaṭṭa Sutta of the Dīgha-nikāya[3] Gotama has given a real picture of the Nibbāṇa by the introduction of Viññāna. 'In this ancient Buddhist Vijñānavāda, the quality and position of the radiant Vijñāna was not that of a permanent element within the impermanent structure of things, i.e. within nāmarūpa, or even that of the pure nāma-dharma, but that of the transcendent infinite Vijñāna,

[1] The verse from the Dhammapada reads thus:

सुञ्ञतो अनिमित्तो च विमोक्खो यस्स गोचरो ।

आकासे'व सकुन्तानं गति तेसं दुरन्नया ॥ Arhant Vagga (No. 7), verse No. 92.

It is in fact attributeless existence, which we have in another place shown to be 'transcendental shining Viññāṇa'.

[2] I am greatly indebted to the work, entitled 'Nāma-Rūpa and Dharma-Rūpa', by Dr. (Miss) Maryla Falk, D.Litt., and published by the University of Calcutta (1943). The author has treated the subject of the Nibbāṇa in relation to the main position of the Upanishadic thought. I have freely drawn upon this work in dealing with this question of the Nibbāṇa and in the body of this paper I have given the number of page of the work which I have either quoted or drawn upon the phraseology in course of the treatment of this subject.

[3] केवट्टसुत्त—(No. 12) दीघनिकायो (पठमो भागो)—Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University, 1942), page 256. Gotama asks the Bhikkhu to *re-state* the question, for the solution of which he had wandered among gods and heavens, thus:

कत्थ आपो च पठवी तेजो वायो न गाधति । कत्थ दीघञ्च रस्सञ्च अणुं थूलं सुभासुभं । कत्थ नामञ्च रूपञ्च असेसं उपरुज्झती'ति ॥

The answer to this corrected question is as follows:—

विञ्ञाणं अनिदस्सनं अनन्तं सब्बतो पभं । एत्थ आपो च पठवी तेजो वायो न गाधति ॥ एत्थ दीघञ्च रस्सञ्च अणुं थूलं सुभासुभं । एत्थ नामञ्च रूपञ्च असेसं उपरुज्झति । विञ्ञाणस्स निरोधेन एत्थे'तं उपरुज्झती'ति ॥

where contingent nāma as well as rūpa have *ceased to exist* . . . The immobilization of Viññāṇa (Viññāṇassa nirodhena) is the transformation of the consciousness stream into the transcendent, radiant, universal Viññāṇa.' Here the implication that the four elements as constituting rūpa have their foothold in the individual nāma (but) they have no foothold whatsoever in the undifferentiated transcendent Vijñāna (pages 68-69).[1] Thus Gotama accepted the existence of the Nibbāṇa as a transcendent reality comparable to the immeasurable Great Ocean in which 'the manifold streams of name and form cease to exist'. The impermanent, suffering and essenceless test concerns the whole range of the notion of contingent really both in its sensuous and unsensuous aspects.[2] The Dhammā or states of consciousness were the elements of manifold experience constituting contingent existence *as opposed* to the *unique ecstatic universal experience* constituting the transcendent reality (Dhamma) (page 63). Again on the Sutta of the 'Noble Quest', Gotama distinguishes that quest as noble, which aims at reaching the Nibbāṇa, which is self-existent, without decay, transcendental and incomparable security.[3] Other epithets of the Nibbāṇa as uncreated (Akata), ineffable, peaceful, from which there is no coming back, point to its unique character of its being really—*existent.* This hope, this ideal, as real as the Upanishadic ideal of the Brahman, this *summum bonum* of life creates in man an urge and a goad to act and to move. The child in man is thus urged on to struggle and to attain what is real, existing and where all disharmony ends in harmony, incompleteness in completeness, imperfection in perfection, and emptiness in fullness. Further, this is not a mere phantasy of the brain, not hallucination, not an imaginary satisfaction nor a mere hope. Those Bhikkhus and Bhikkhuṇis, who have realized it, have recorded their experiences in those outpourings of hearts, constituting the Theragāthā and the Therīgāthā.[4] Gotama did not preach them the doctrine of Annihilation (ucchedavāda). He taught them that there was other existence, richer, fuller, and universal. There was always operative in this world the law of cause and effect, the law of Kamma, the existence and persistence of Kamma; that the centre of self-consciousness must yield to universal consciousness and that though suffering be the law of the world and the body be the evil, still, out of this body, the hope and redemption

[1] This विञ्ञान which is transcendental and shining corresponds to the विमोक्ख (unconditioned freedom).

[2] Cf. मनो पुब्बङ्गमा धम्मा मनोसेट्ठा मनोमया । धम्मपद—verse 11.

[3] मज्झिमनिकायो—मूलपण्णासक—अरियपरियेसनसुत्त—Devanāgarī Edition by Rajvade and others (1919), pages 115-116. The original Pāli words are अजातं अनुत्तरं योगक्खेमं निब्बाणं ।

[4] Read, for example, the following: 'Very many of the Theris were no doubt women of acknowledged culture and they did preach as teachers of men and did expound on various occasions the essential and subtler facts of *human life* and *experience* . . . we see in these verses the expressions and energies and emotions, newly awakened or diverted into new channels. (Refer to the थेरीगाथा, Devanāgarī Edition of the Bombay University, pages ii and iii). Also compare the following verses from the Dhammapada:—

सुसुखं वत जीवाम वेरिनेसु अवेरिनो ।
वेरिनेसु मनुस्सेसु विहराम अवेरिनो ॥—Verse No. 197, as also the next three verses.

of humanity will emerge as a certainty. The Bhikkhus ought not to commit suicide nor put an end to their life.[1] They must purify this body, cultivate this body, keep this body hygienically pure, properly dress it, and learn to behave decently, and with dignity with others. In thought, in deed and in action they must be perfectly tolerant, considerate, sympathetic, serviceable and self-sacrificing. The turbulence of spirit, unruly behaviour, want of manners, not to show proper distance towards elders, display of licentious conduct, immoderation in food, absent-mindedness, sloth and torpor, stupidity and inaction and want of understanding—these were strongly condemned.[2] Gotama trained his disciples, removed their wildness and boorishness, introduced discipline, encouraged fellow-feeling and mutual understanding, built up moral and emotional nature, and thus strengthened, purified and developed their powers and intellect. Thus he built up the child in man on surer foundations of character, mental culture and knowledge.[3]

Charge of Repression of Instincts and Emotions:

Before we finish this paper, it is necessary to deal with the following charges brought against Gotama: Firstly, the 'Method of Analysis' which Gotama employed in the solution of the problem of suffering had the consequence of 'arousing disgust' against other emotions and instincts, which are of more abiding value for the religious life'. Secondly, 'this Method of Analysis destroys all it touches'; 'and is it not better to *sublimate* the instincts and emotions than to *repress* them? . . . . . The instinct of curiosity and the emotion of wonder are of greater worth to religion and to morality than the instinct of repulsion and the emotion of disgust' (p. 98). Thirdly, 'it is surely a radical fault in the method of Gotama as teacher that he dealt too summarily with the natural and primary instincts and emotions, which a great teacher must *sublimate* and not *repress*'.[4]

In the proceeding treatment, a reply to these charges will be easily discovered, but we shall further pursue these charges and try to meet them. In the first place, the 'Method of Analysis', which Gotama applied, is the most effective and scientific method of the modern times. To remove the fear, obsession, helplessness and the consequential pessimistic outlook of life, Gotama analysed the suffering itself and found therein nothing but a 'bundle of categories' and contingent existence that come together and that, therefore, could be *destroyed.* Gotama thus created a feeling of confidence

[1] Milinda Pañha—Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University)—by Vadekar—pages 194-195—'न भिक्खवे, अत्तानं पातेतब्बं'। Also read the translation from 'Buddhism in Translations' by Warren, pages 436–440.

[2] Compare the गुलिस्सानि सुत्त (No. 69) of the मज्झिमनिकायो, मज्झिमपण्णासक—Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University), pages 139–144. In fact, Gotama's Bhikkhus and Bhikkhuṇis were always characterized by neatness, decency, outward form or deportment, sweetness and affability of nature, compassionate heart, and may be compared to the Catholic Fathers and Mothers of the Christian Church, which came into existence 500 years after Gotama.

[3] Known as सील, समाधि and पञ्ञा.

[4] 'Gotama Buddha' by K. J. Saunders (The Heritage of India Series), Chapter VII, 'Gotama as a Teacher'. The above quotations are from this chapter.

amongst his hearers. He first softened, elated, encouraged and pleased the minds of his hearers[1] and then he taught them the crux of his teachings—the four Noble Truths. Gotama resorted to this *Analytical Method* so that he could afterwards impress upon them the *synthesis* of Life. Having proved that the Five Attachment Groups (upādāna khandhas) constituted the suffering, he further showed how they can be *sublimated* by the detachment of Upādāna. Being concerned with 'suffering', he had to develop softer instincts and emotions like compassion, sympathy, fellow-feeling, consideration, encouragement, tendency to *isolate with a view to finally join*. He taught the value of peace, composure, placidity, freedom from flirtation, worry and restlessness, removal of the turbidity of surging waves of blind love or lust, and the necessity of clarity of vision, birth of understanding, development and expansion of outlook and dropping off the curtain of ignorance, impulsiveness and momentary clouding of the reason. He did succeed in doing this and it can be proved by a number of stories from the Thera and the Therīgāthā or the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā. What were the circumstances in which those men and women of the world approached him? They were like 'unhappy incidents of the worldly life, like the death of an only child, widowhood, disappointment or a rude shock received by the conduct of the husband or one's children, disgust, degradation or demoralization in the domestic condition, or such unusual incident in the walk of life'.[2] What did Gotama do? He was filled with Mettā and Karuṇā (Love and Compassion) for them. His magnetic Personality combined with the affability of temper *immediately* produced assurance and comfort into the hearts of lady visitors. He proved to them the futility of grief, operation of the inexorable Law of Cause and Effect and wide universality of the suffering and thus succeeded in removing the poignancy, intensity, turbidity of their emotions.[3] To Kisā Gotamī (No. 63) or to Ubbirī (No. 31) or Soṇā (No. 45) or Paṭācārā (No. 47) or to Candā (No. 49) or to Vāsiṭṭhi (No. 51)—majority of whom suffered from the shock of personal loss—he used the Method of Analysis to show that the subject of their bitter lamentation was nothing but a bundle of Five Groups and thus the dawn of reason made them *pause and think*. Gotama did not *arouse* disgust, but *aroused* their 'faculty of thinking' and awakened their reason. They found that Law of Death was not restricted to them, but was of general application. Thus Gotama tried to *remove* the narrowness of instincts or emotions and *substitute* universality of outlook and consequently, the universality of their feelings and emotions. They *put off* their personality and *entered into relations* with the universe on the

[1] The usual phrase is कल्लचित्त, मुदुचित्त, विनीवरण चित्तं, उदग्गचित्त, पसन्नचित्त.

[2] Compare the 'Preface' to the Therīgāthā, Dev. Edition (Bombay University), page vii. The numbers and names mentioned above in the body are from the Therīgāthā.

[3] Having thus removed the outer or surface disturbance of the flurry and turbulence of the mind, Gotama succeeded in implanting and stabilizing what Mr. Saunders calls 'the natural and primary instincts and emotions, but now disrobed of all their wildness and narrowness. Their love for the world was no longer that of a child's curiosity and wonder, but understanding and satisfaction of curiosity—elements whose importance in religion and morality cannot be underestimated'.

strength of chastened, broadened, and universalized properties of the mind (cetasikā) and the Brahmavihāras or exalted states. They chastened their pride by humility, resentment by forgiveness, narrow love of kinsman to universal benevolence and family life to the selfless and impersonal brotherhood.[1] With this new implication and interpretation of life and universalized vision, they found themselves in a new world of action and active piety as messengers of hope and consolation. They were not disgusted with the world, nor did they abhor the world, but they entered the world with these *sublimated* feelings[2] and *reclaimed many souls* like the Therīs Ambāpālī, the Gaṇikā, Aḍḍhakāsi or Vimalā (both harlots) and the Theras, like Angulimāla, the Highwayman, Sunītā, the Sweeper, Upālī, the Barber. All these souls were reclaimed not by physical force, not by rod or sword, but out of boundless love for them. The two or three examples which Mr. Saunders has cited on pages 95–97 of his book and especially about the loathsomeness and the foulness of the Body as evinced in Cemeteries (Sīvathikās).[3] They are intended as a discipline to a person, who has been indulging in the pleasures of the Flesh. This discipline by understanding the unsubstantial nature of the Body is meant *not for all* but for those who have to bring their mind under control. Such disciplinary practices are found even among the Christian Fathers, who know that 'the Body is the Temple of the Holy Spirit' (page 98). Why, many a time the body used to be whipped and it was necessary for disciplining it. Gotama taught the Asubha Bhāvanā or realizing the foulness of the Body to remove the influx of undesirable tendencies of lust or sensual thoughts, thoughts of envy or malice or vengeance, or thoughts of egoism or pride. There also the doors of the senses or five sense organs were *not closed* to the natural and primary instincts and emotions, but they *were guarded*.[4] Gotama did want his Bhikkhus to see, hear, smell, taste and feel the touch and entertain good thoughts (Dhammā), but only do it in such a way as to shut out the demeritorious states of consciousness (Akusalā Dhammā) and entertain, foster, develop and expand only the meritorious states of consciousness (Kusalā Dhammā). In the note on the Sammappadhāna or Right Exertions it has been shown that Gotama abhorred vacuum in the mind and hence the gap, caused by the destruction of the demeritorious states, was to be filled up by good ones and thus the mind was to be completely filled by meritorious states of consciousness.[5] They are visible in

[1] 'Patna University Readership Lectures' (1924-1925), by self, pages 32-33. (Published 1929.)

[2] We would prefer the term 'chastened' to 'sublimated'.

[3] Buddhaghosa has, in his Visuddhimagga, devoted one complete chapter to this form of disciplining and drilling the body. This, however, was not meant for all Bhikkhus.

[4] The Pāli word is इन्द्रिय-संवर. Compare the following:—

संवरसंवुतस्स (Sk. संवृत= covered) विहरतो एवं स ते आसवा विघातपरिळाहा न होन्ति—सब्बासवसुत्त—मज्झिमनिकाय—मूलपण्णासक, Dev. Edition by self, page 6.

[5] The idea was that the mind to be so broadened and expanded as to include the universe. It is comparable to the four elements, which cover *all space*. In the महाराहुलोवादसुत्त (No. 62)

Twenty-five Cetasikās or mental properties of the type of moral beauty.[1] They sum up the perfect development of the moral and emotional nature of Man. The Bhikkhus or the Bhikkhuṇīs of Gotama were not at all adversely affected by the teachings of Gotama, especially in the matter of controlling and restraining the sense organs, but they were fully appreciative of what is grand, sublime and beautiful in Nature. The Buddhist Bhikkhus and Bhikkhuṇīs found the grand scenes of Nature like mountains, rivers, trees, peacocks, clouds, mountains, dens or dales helpful to their mental development and abstract meditation. In the Theragāthā the Bhikkhus have sung the glory of natural phenomena[2] thus showing that they were keen admirers and appreciators of what is sublime and beautiful in Nature. Their liking and a sense of perception of the beautiful and the consequent development of nobler feelings and emotions is a direct repudiation of Mr. Saunder's statement, which we have noted as the *third* charge. The Buddhists were the first people to apply *art* for religious purposes. 'Buddhist Art' has been a subject of wonder and admiration to the artist, the archaeologist and the antiquarian. If Gotama's teachings had resulted in repressing the natural instincts of man, the glories of Sānchī, Bārhut, Ajantā and Ellorā and Amarāvatī, with their paintings and sculpture, the Toraṇas and gateways, their carvings and history in stone, the most artistic figures with eloquent expression and faultless symmetry—all these give a direct lie to this unwarranted statement. Again, Anāthpiṇḍika's Ārāma, King Bimbisāra's Veḷuvana, Migāramātā's Pāsāda (Mansion), Ambāpāli's gift of a Vihāra—all these bear testimony to the development of generous instincts and sentiments in the hearts of the Upāsakas and Upāsikās, men and women of the world. Lastly, the fuller and richer perfection and culmination of these nobler and generous instincts, sentiments and emotions is to be traced to the later ideal of the Bodhisatta. In tracing the gradual development of thought and teachings of the Buddha, we find it passing from the intellectual (Arhatship) to the emotional (Bodhisatta), from the prosaic and dry to the religious and the mystic. Gotama's call to the Bhikkhus to wander over the face of the earth in the interests of the masses (Bahujana)[3] found its culmination in the Bodhisattva Ideal. The Bodhisatta, though he was on the road to Buddhaship, exerts himself *not for his own good or salvation* but for the good of others;

of the मज्झिमनिकाय—मज्झिमपण्णासक, Gotama exhorts राहुल thus, पठवीसमं राहुल भावनं भावेहि आपोसमं वायोसमं तेजोसमं आकाससमं भावनं भावेहि. Meritorious states of consciousness to cover the internal and external existence of the Bhikkhu. This was to be in fact the Quantum of his Personality.

[1] 'Patna University Readership Lectures'—*Chart* to face page 128—they are known as 'सोभणा चेतसिका'.

[2] थेरगाथा—Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University), *Appendix:* पकतिवण्णना (Nature descriptions).

[3] महावग्गो—विनयपिटकं—(१) महाक्खन्धको—Devanāgarī Edition (Bombay University), page 31—मारकथा 'चरथ भिक्खवे, चारिकं बहुजन-हिताय बहुजन-सुखाय लोकानुकम्पाय अत्थाय हिताय सुखाय देवमनुस्सानं।

so great is his sympathy and compassion for them. He refuses the attainment of the Nibbāṇa until his fellow-beings have also secured their freedom.[1] Such is his boundless love for creation. In the Bodhisatta, there is development *par excellence* of the ten cardinal virtues or Pāramitās.[2] Says the Bodhisatta, 'Just as elements beginning with Earth serve in various ways beings, residing under the widest space, even so should I, residing under the canopy of the sky, serve them as long as all of them have not attained bliss.'

Conclusion:

It will thus be clear that Gotama's teachings did not tend to kill the 'Child in Man' but rather helped to build it up for the altruistic ideal of serving others even at the sacrifice of personal interest. Those teachings were intended to add lustre to personality by making it more dignified and supreme. Gotama laid down a scheme of life both for the Laity and the Bhikkhu, which would make them *reformed,* would vastly improve their potential strength, would increase their scope and extent of action from *self-seeking* to altruism, would create out of them a dynamic reality, untramelled by nothing, free, fearless and invincible, chastened in speech, body and mind and shining gloriously to emanate its energizing rays to revivify and rejuvenate the world! History bears ample witness to this grand consummation!

MAN'S REASON AND HIS QUEST OF TRUTH, GOOD AND BEAUTY

By

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The biologist tells us that the life of every animal is an effort to survive and to make a place for itself on the earth. The animal seeks to make room not only for itself individually, but also collectively for its family or its group as in a beehive or in an ant-hill or in a beaver colony. This constitutes the whole life of the lower animal. No doubt the same impulse has swayed man as well, but it accounts for only a small portion of his activities. For the rest he has been guided largely by his mind and intellect. He is pre-eminently the mental being, the animal that thinks and reasons. This is not the place to trace man's evolutionary history. Nor is it necessary to do so. Every thinking man of today knows how in the primaeval matter, apparently inert and inconscient, the dormant life-force woke up, how in the subconscient living being a consciousness and a mind emerged, how that primitive mind gradually, through millenniums, evolved into a rational intellect. Man has, by exercising this new-born faculty of his, learnt not only to control the forces of nature but also to build up vast organizations and fulfil his life individually and

[1] 'Patna University Readership Lectures', page 213.

[2] The Ten Pāramitās are:

दान, सील, नेक्खम्म (नैष्काम्य), पञ्ञा, विरिय, सच्च, खन्ति, अधिट्ठान, मेत्ता and उपेक्खा।

collectively—fulfil, not like his animal predecessors only vitally and physically, but on a higher plane, mentally and rationally. He has today become an expert in both curing and killing, feeding and starving, educating and enslaving his fellow-men, and he is clever enough to justify every thing that he does. But surely, this miserable state cannot be the ultimate aim of human evolution, the end of Nature's long travail. A greater harmony must be achieved between our intelligent will and the Truth and Light that lie dormant in us and of which we have had but fleeting glimpses. This is the high miracle for which the world is waiting. In the Master's words,

'The animal is a living laboratory in which nature has, it is said, worked out man. Man himself may well be a thinking living laboratory in whom and with whose conscious co-operation she wills to work out the super-man, the god, or shall we say rather, the manifest God!'

Life-energy dormant in matter has emerged as a thinking and mentally conscious life. But involved in mind, and therefore in life and body too, there is a still higher faculty, a super-mind, ruler of the other three, which must also wake up in due time and take charge of man's onward march. Man is destined to transcend his half-lit mind in order to realise his highest and his earliest aspiration. There is abundant evidence to show that with the first dawn of knowledge man started in quest of Truth, Perfection, Bliss and a secret Immortality. Periods of doubt and diffidence have no doubt intervened, but he has always come back to this original pursuit. What then is man's true goal? What must he do to perfect himself? He must harmonise his inner with his outer self. He must discover the divine Reality and realise the ideal and complete Person within himself, and then in the light of his discovery and of his realisation shape his whole outer life.

Since this is man's true nature, neither the ancient Greek ideal nor the modern European ideal can lead him to the highest or the widest goal of his collective progress. The Hellenic mind was 'philosophic, aesthetic and political'; the modern mind lays but little stress on true beauty, it is principally 'scientific, economic and utilitarian'. Both take it that man is a mental animal, that the mentalised physical life is his field and that the rational intellect is his highest faculty. But we see already in the present subjective age a tendency towards an ancient truth and ideal. Followed to its end, this tendency will lead man to the realisation that he is, in truth, a developing soul seeking to fulfil himself in the three lower terms of his existence—mind, life and body. It is a spiritual and not a mentalised physical life that is his goal. At the end of his long travail towards a perfect culture and a rational society there looms man's ancient spiritual idea of a kingdom of Heaven on earth. 'We shall perceive before us the ideal of a self-illumined, self-possessing and self-mastering soul in a pure and perfect mind and body.'

The spirit then and not the rational intellect is man's sovereign faculty. Reason is an insufficient light to guide us to our high end. In our daily life we are content to be led by our intelligent will, but to achieve our true aim we must entrust ourselves to a higher knowledge and will, and set free our

dormant soul-faculties. Thus alone shall we integrally unfold the divine within us in our individual soul and in our collective life. Else we may simply revert to the old idea of a spiritualised typal society, such as was the basis of the ancient Indian culture. The principal feature of that culture was what is called the caste system, that is to say the division of the whole community into four types, which were elastic enough at the start but which culminated by convention into four rigid divisions. The whole system was challenged from time to time by various religious movements, small and great, that took their stand on rationalism. But what we should remember in this connection is that 'the typal principle is not that of the ideal human society'. Even according to the Indian theory it does not belong to the period of man's highest development, when he had realised his divine possibility—the Satya Yuga, the age of perfect Truth. Nor does it belong to the period of crude disorder, when man has sunk back towards the life of instincts, impulses and desires—the Kali Yuga. It is rather the principle of the ages in between—the Tretā and the Dvāpara—when man sought to maintain some form of his Dharma—in Tretā by law, in Dvāpara by fixed convention. The law of the age of Truth can be realised only by the gradual awakening of the divine power and knowledge in us.

Our intelligence is a mediator between the infra-rational and the supra-rational in us. The former is the animal part of our nature consisting in the main of our instincts and impulses, and of the obscure haphazard intuitions of our lower mind and will. It is struggling to be clear and precise but cannot succeed owing to an innate ignorance. It is the business of our intellect to enlighten it, to classify and organise its impulses and intuitions, and to help it along towards the definition it has been groping after. The supra-rational is the spiritual side of our nature which sees by its own light the Infinite in the finite, the One in the many, the Absolute in the relative. Our human intelligence looks up towards the One, the Infinite and the Absolute, but only with a sort of remote understanding, and is unable to seize its truth. The three powers of being are coexistent in all our activities. It is only when the spiritual in us takes up the lead that we are able to transcend all limitation and realise the ultimate Reality.

How limited the scope of reason is, becomes strikingly clear when we come to that large range of human experiences which constitutes man's religious life. To begin with, the very words of the religious being are unintelligible to the man of reason. But the difficulty is not of language alone. The spirit and mood of religious thought and action are equally foreign to him; it is to him a strange life that the man of religion leads. The rational being may take the trouble of learning the native's tongue, but he must also largely shed his own peculiar ways of thought before he can expect to understand the native. Otherwise, when he fancies himself an adept at understanding the native tongue and goes on to express his own views regarding the native the situation is apt to be one of misunderstanding and misrepresentation. To the man of spiritual experience the intelligent man's learned words sound

like the babble of a child trying to describe the ways of the adult. At the best, a rational explanation of a spiritual experience is superficial, and relates more or less to the externals. The attitude of reason face to face with religion is likely to be shallow and presumptuous. Either it looks upon religion as pure nonsense, a mass of superstitions, a survival of barbarism, or it proceeds to analyse religion as an affair of the mind and seeks to correct it. Often in a lofty patronising manner it concedes that religion is not without its uses for the uplift of the ignorant lower classes. But this is not half as bad as when the intellect proceeds to formulate that wonderful thing, a rational religion—which is as ridiculous as trying to find out a body's weight with a tape or its length with a pair of scales. It must not, however, be lost sight of that the critical attitude of the intellect towards religion has been quite useful to man's progress—nay, even to religion itself. To deny religion altogether is senseless as man has begun to find out already. It is very much like the foreigner considering the native's ways to be absurd and untenable simply because they are not his own. The extreme rationalist calls upon the religious man to satisfy him by adducing material proofs. The difficulty, however, arises mainly from the reason's proneness to judge every thing by its externals much as a superior foreigner tries to judge a native civilisation by the dress and habits of the native. Intellectuals of a gentler persuasion have attempted to frame a comparative science of religion, a pseudo-scientific anomaly on the face of it. These mild condonations of religion have fortunately never lasted long. Likewise the benevolent attempts at erecting a rational religion have failed to convince anybody and have left no permanent effect on human thought.

The reason is obvious. The aim of religion is to seek and find God, to know and realise Him in one's own self and in every other self. To know Him is to adore Him. To adore Him is not only to climb up to Him but also to bring Him down in all love and devotion into our earthly life in order to transform it, to divinise it. All this has nothing to do with reasoning. The God-seeker does not look for proofs of His existence. He requires none. His intimate experiences do not proceed by scientific experiments or philosophical thinking. There are indeed some kinds of religious discipline which outwardly resemble scientific experimentation, but these are in fact no more than mere verification of realisations that have come by revelation and intuition from above. The love of God, the delight in God, the surrender to God, these are all beyond rational limitation. In the Master's words, 'wherever religion really finds itself . . . its way is absolute and its fruits are ineffable'.

Has reason then no part to play in matters religious? Yes, it has, but quite a secondary part. It can interpret the realisations of the spirit in its own language to the man of intellect. Just at the present juncture in human history this is an important function. Man seems to have got tired of his intellectual wanderings and has begun to look inwards in search of a higher truth. But even in this search the scope of religious philosophy is very limited. True knowledge it cannot give. It can only lead the intellect up to a certain point and then ask it to seek this true knowledge by subtler means that are beyond its own province.

There is however another level of man's spiritual life where the intellect can do a certain amount of independent and legitimate work. We have already referred to man's infra-rational life—his life of instincts, impulses and crude emotions—where his aspiration towards Truth had its first beginnings; much impurity, ignorance and superstition marked this stage of his seeking. It would seem that reason has a legitimate function to exercise here in bringing light and purity into the muddy current of man's instinctive life. Reason has undoubtedly been able to do some work in this direction; but only to a limited extent, because the whole urge of the religious being is to transcend the semi-obscurity of the intellect and soar into the full light of the higher regions.

Rationalism has also done much useful work where religious systems have in course of time suffered decay, where ignorance and corruption have crept into man's religious thought and practice. But here, too, there have been inevitable limitations. Often the intellect has applied the broom so freely that a great deal of what was true and beautiful has been swept away along with the rubbish. Moreover, a religious reform is seldom entirely rational; it is more often a replacement of one set of beliefs by another, the latter set more fanatical than the former. The Puritanic reformation in Europe, for instance, met with such tremendous success not because it had like the Renaissance movement a rational outlook but because it had in it a great measure of faith and fervour which was largely supra-rational in character. As the Master says, 'If reason is to play any part, it must be an intuitive rather than an intellectual reason, touched always by spiritual intensity and insight'.

The spirit and the reason need not be hostile. What man needs is 'reason lifted beyond itself by the power of the spirit'. Then and there only, can it help man to attain to the supreme Truth.

Religion, which is the quest of a Truth beyond reason, may well be outside the scope of the rational intellect. But it is urged that in all other spheres of human thought and action reason is the sovereign guide. Even this, however, does not prove to be all true. The rational intellect, no doubt, holds a prominent place in science and philosophy and in matters practical. Prominent, that is all. In fact we find that in all things, theoretical as well as practical, it holds but a middle position, between the two faculties infra-rational and supra-rational. Its function is, on the one hand, to correct the lower instinct and impulses, and, on the other, to prepare the way for the advent of the spirit.

This is especially clear in regard to man's search for Beauty and his search for Good. Let us examine first man's functions from the aesthetic point of view. It is indeed in the great creative arts—poetry, music, painting, sculpture and architecture—that his quest of the beautiful finds its most satisfying expression. But taking a wider view it is obvious that the perfect individual

in a perfect community must see beauty more comprehensively. He must make his whole life and being beautiful. This quest, clearly, is not rational in its origin. The Master says, 'It springs from the roots of our life, it is an instinct and an impulse, and instinct of aesthetic satisfaction and an impulse of aesthetic creation and enjoyment'. We see its beginnings in the beauty of the beehive and the swallow's nest. We see it blossoming in the caves of the prehistoric man. The beautiful drawings in the Altamira cave and the lovely carvings on horn in the Magdalian period show that man was seeking aesthetic satisfaction long before he learnt the useful arts of building houses, of weaving cloths or of forging metal implements. But at that stage his seeking was crude and defective. It was necessary for his progress that a higher power should awaken and take up the task of enlightening and correcting his crude infra-rational efforts, should lay down laws, and by improving his taste purify both his creative and appreciative faculties. It may be urged that man's intellect was thus installed as the final judge of his artistic instincts. But a little thinking would convince us that this was only a middle stage in his aesthetic evolution. No great work of art—poetry or music or painting—can fall within the sphere of rationalism. 'The intellect is not the poet, the artist, the creator in us.' Creation is the work of a light and inspiration from above. It may call in the intellect for some of its operations as an employee but never as a master. If artistic inspiration submits to the control of reason, the quality of the work produced suffers materially. A picture or sculpture that has come down to the intellectual level may be very clever, very good, but never the work of genius. Genius is always supra-rational. What we know to be talent is seldom so. Rational formulation is but a mechanical process. When genius submits to this process and its canons, it constructs but does not create. The technique may be perfect but the soul is lacking. These facts are almost axiomatic as every artist knows in his own mind.

There have been periods in the history of human development when the rational has been the prevailing influence in art—periods of great aesthetic activity but devoid of any inspiration. The talented artist has been very prominent during these periods. His aim was not so much 'the discovery of the deeper truth of beauty, but truth of ideas and truth of reason'. Obviously this cannot satisfy the hunger of genius of the real creative artist. For, he seeks to realise and express, above all, the truth of beauty—not the beauty of the form, but the soul of beauty. It is claimed sometimes that classical art which is based largely on the perfection of technique and on the canons of reason is undoubtedly great art. Without going deep into this question we can state that the claim appears to us inadmissible. A distinction has to be drawn between real classical art and the art that is pseudo-classical, and intellectual imitation of the externals of the true classical. The former is the expression of an inspiration from within and owes no allegiance to reason. The latter is principally a rational construction and easily degenerates into the formal and academical. We have a glaring instance of this in the singing of classical Dhrupads in present-day India. We see how what was really and truly the delivery of a soul message at one time has degenerated into vocal gymnastics—clever no doubt, but soulless.

Allowing that creation of beauty depends very largely on inspiration from above, must it not be conceded that appreciation of beauty, at least, is principally a critical intellectual process? We have no hesitation in answering the question in the negative. To concede such a thing would be almost tantamount to acknowledging that a knowledge of anatomy is necessary for the proper appreciation of, say, the Venus of Milo or the Buddha of Sarnath or that a knowledge of optical laws is essential for the full enjoyment of Murillo's Immaculate Conception. An anatomical or optical knowledge may, we admit, play a part, but a very subordinate part, the supreme judge being the light from within. As we have remarked already, in the quest of Truth as in the quest of Beauty the important function of reason is to enlighten the obscure and the crude instincts of the lower mental. Here too in aesthetic appreciation the business of the intellect 'is to analyse the elements, parts, external processes, apparent principles . . . and explain their relations and workings'. But that is all; as with the truth of religion so with the truth of beauty, reason cannot get at the inner soul unless aided by an intuition higher than itself. The unaided intellect studies only from the outside, and misses the intimate contact of soul with soul. The earliest stage of the appreciation of beauty was instinctive and inborn, natural and unenlightened. The rational stage is analytical but tends to be technical and artificial, and possibly academic. When technical analysis has gone on too long, the artist, the creator of beauty, rebels and in defiance of criticism launches upon a new principle of creation. Very often this revolt awakens a wider and deeper appreciation, the contact of soul with soul is established and rationalism prepares to exceed itself and open out to receive the intuitive light from above. Thereafter, in the words of the Master, 'intuitive intelligence . . sufficiently trained and developed can take up the work of the intellect itself and do it with a Power and Light greater and surer than the power and light of the reason'.

All this applies equally well to beauty in nature and beauty in life as much as to beauty in the great creative arts. In fact, all beauty is one. Beauty of form perceived by the senses, beauty of the ideas seized by the mind and the soul of beauty seized by the spirit, these are all manifestations of the ineffable Beauty of the Absolute, the Divine. It is the Divine whom we are ever seeking as much through beauty as through religion. 'To find highest beauty is to find God.'

The principle and law underlying our quest of Truth and our quest of Beauty apply equally well to our quest for the Good. In fact, the principle is of universal application. Behind all human movement lies the great truth that all active being is a seeking for the hidden Divine—the God immanent in all beings and in all things—the One in whom all the diversity, the

disharmony and the discord of the Many find their unity. He is the supreme Truth, the supreme Good, the supreme Beauty—Satyaṃ, Śivaṃ, Sundaraṃ.

This quest of God is also the quest of our highest and completest self—'some perfect highest term . . . by which all our imperfect lower terms can be justified'. It is only by realising this true self that we can rise above the apparent division, attain to a sense of unity and divinise our life on earth.

The religious being and the aesthetic being in man realise this easily enough, because in the cult of the spiritual and the cult of the beautiful there is always a certain amount of inwardness and abstraction. Herein lies the great value of religion and art to the man of the world. It is when we come to what we are pleased to call practical life that we fight shy of the universal truth and submit ourselves to passing utilities, become slaves of an outward necessity. But even so, the path upwards is not closed to us. For, as the Master says, 'All life is only a lavish and manifold opportunity for discovering, realising and expressing the Divine.'

This great truth is quite apparent in our ethical life. The highest good is the same as the highest practicality or the highest utility. Reason, in trying to establish its own sway over ethics, clouds the truest truth and makes ethics out to be an observance of certain rational rules and regulations. The extraordinary system of utilitarian ethics formulated in the nineteenth century was a result of this. The Master describes it as the 'reduction of ethical action to an impossibly scientific and quite impracticable jugglery of moral mathematics'. Equally untenable and futile are such theories of ethics as the Hedonistic or the Sociological, defining good as something that gives pleasure, or as something which satisfies social needs. Highest Good is certainly highest Bliss. It may also be conceded that there is a certain pleasure or satisfaction in accomplishing good. But, surely, that cannot make pleasure a standard of virtue in life. Often one has to undergo palpable suffering in order to do a good or virtuous deed. It may no doubt be argued that the doer feels a subtle and exalted delight even while he is suffering outwardly. But in reality the act is never motived by any pleasure or delight, however high; the ethical man in pursuing the good is obeying an innate call of his being, that is all. Likewise, the ethical man obeying an inner urge has very often to go against Society, has even to hoist the standard of revolt, And history records that more often than not he wins and Society loses. So the good that one pursues is independent of the mandates of Society. All these clever constructions of the intellect cannot bind the ethical being, for it follows its own eternal nature. It is a law unto itself.

Like our search for Truth and our search for Beauty, our search for Good started from the infra-rational, from our ethical instincts and impulses. This we see clearly exemplified in the primitive animal life of today. The ant of the ant-hill and the bee of the beehive undoubtedly have instincts of self-giving and joint action. Instinctively, but blindly, they follow a law, and appear to know what is right. The predecessors of Homo Sapiens, the man-ape and even the sub-human dawn man must have done much

the same thing. They obeyed a law without a knowledge of the why and the wherefore. Instinctively they felt that the law came from some power higher than themselves. Then when the intellect awoke in them, they sought to understand the law and to use their primitive impulses intelligently. They corrected the crudities of their instincts, arranged a system and laid down rules of conduct. But all reason's efforts to enmesh the ethical being in its network of canons and regulations prove ultimately to be fruitless. Man in his upward trend glimpses an inner light, an inner being, whom he finds to be a surer guide than his half-lit intelligence and to it he confidently entrusts his future evolution.

Man thus realises that good and evil are not things to be mathematically calculated or logically reasoned out. He aspires to grow into the perfection of divine nature. He turns upwards to the purity of the divine being, to divine knowledge, divine might and divine love. This is the high transcendence towards which he has been struggling from the start. In the meantime he carries on with his rational intellect. Considerations of partial utility, transient utility, outward necessity guide his conduct. Highest and truest utility he does not see as yet. If he did, he would perceive the highest good as well. The rational man's ethical standards are variable. He knows no permanent values. For instance, we believe implicitly that theft and adultery are evil and sinful. Yet a little thought would show us that there can be no theft where there is no law of property, and no adultery where there is no marriage. Again, Rāma and Sītā in the Rāmāyaṇa fulfil our highest ideal of the holy sacrament of marriage. Yet the Jātakas tell us that Sītā was the sister of Rāma and that they got married with the full approval of their people. Such a marriage is outrageous and repugnant to our sentiment, but was by no means so to the writer of the Jātaka. Again, polyandry was known to ancient India and is not unknown amongst certain peoples even in the India of today. Yet ethical considerations forced the author of the Mahābhārata to put forward a phantastic story to account for Draupadī marrying the five Pāṇḍava brothers. Instances need not be multiplied. It is obvious that an act which is moral in one country may be immoral in another, that an act which is good in one age may be sinful in another. Rational ethics is therefore quicksand and man cannot build on it. He must move forward to firmer ground. Out of the infra-ethical he has emerged into the ethical; he will in due course transcend the ethical and enter into the supra-ethical. The supra-ethical is a consummation of the ethical, but before he reaches it, man must travel assiduously the long road of the ethical.

We are now in a position to understand what the Master says. 'Rising from its infra-rational beginnings through its intermediate dependence on the reason to a supra-rational consummation, the ethical is like the aesthetic and the religious being of man a seeking after the Eternal.'[1]

[1] Based on the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo.

CALENDAR THROUGH AGES AND ITS REFORM

By

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We all know and use the calendar which is an indispensable requisite of civilized life. It is a table of the days of the year, divided into months and weeks, showing the chief holidays and festivals, religious, national or otherwise. We are guided throughout the year in our activities by the calendar, which is prepared beforehand by calendar-makers, who are, or at least ought to be, astronomers, and we keep it suspended either on the wall, or on our table for ready reference.

But calendars are as numerous as nations. The major part of the world uses the Gregorian calendar introduced by Pope Gregory VII in 1582 A.D.: Europe and America for religious as well as economic purpose, the rest of the world for economic purpose which is a consequence of European domination, but Hindus, Moslems and Buddhists have their own individual religious calendars. This multiplicity of calendars [1] produces serious inconvenience to the economic progress of many countries.

Even the Gregorian calendar is unsatisfactory and arbitrary. The months are of unequal duration as expressed in the well-known doggerel:

> Thirty days hath September,
> April, June and November
> All the rest hath thirty-one
> Excepting February alone
> Which has twenty-eight
> And twenty-nine in each leap year.

Why is this arbitrariness? Why has February 28 or 29 and others have 30 or 31 days? But more serious is the inconvenience caused by the wandering of some important religious holidays. The Easter festival may fall any day between March 22 and April 25, a total amplitude of 35 days. The Easter is a pivotal holiday, and many others move with it. This periodic wandering of the Easter and associated holidays produces general inconvenience, and dislocates public and private work. Further, the cycle of 7 days known as the week runs on throughout the year, and there is no knowing, on *a priori* grounds, with what day of the week the year or the month is to begin.

The now defunct League of Nations appointed a Calendar Reform Committee for a rational reform of the calendar. Two proposals have been

[1] In certain parts of Yugoslavia and in Palestine business is fully or partly closed for three days in the week, viz. Friday, Saturday and Sunday: Friday being Mahomedan prayer-day, Saturday being Jewish Sabbath, Sunday being Christian Lord's day. In India, all public officials and industrialists are aware how much business suffers or is held up on account of frequent holidays coming at all times of the year.

before the Committee, viz. the thirteen-month calendar and the reformed twelve-month calendar. The two systems are illustrated below.

Thirteen-month Calendar

In the 13-month calendar there are to be 13 months in the year, each of 4 weeks and each week of 7 days. Every month is to begin with a Sunday and end in a Saturday. This calendar is extremely simple compared with the present system where January may begin with a Sunday but February may begin with Tuesday and so on. According to this reformed scheme, the regular year will consist of 364 days, but as the actual year is nearly 365¼ days, it is proposed in the 13-month calendar system that in ordinary year the last day will be an extra day and will be called a second extra Saturday. For the leap year it is proposed to leave two extra Saturdays, one at the end of December (Year End day) and the other at the end of July (Year Middle day), having no name.

All years alike.

All months alike.

Every month begins with Sunday and ends with Saturday.

1 Month = 4 weeks = 28 days.

1 Year = 13 months = 28 × 13 = 364 days.

One extra Saturday at the end of the year (Year End day).

Thirteen-month Calendar

S	M	T	W	Th	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28

Two extra Saturdays in leap years (Year End day and Leap Year day).

The idea of stabilizing the calendar in the above way was suggested to the Vatican by an Italian Padre Abbe Mastrofini in 1834 and the idea was revived by the positivist philosopher, August Comte, in 1849. He wanted to rename the months after the great men of the world. The main opposition to this calendar has been to the introduction of 13 months in place of 12.

The Reformed Twelve-month Calendar

The other system for calendar reform retains the 12 months as shown on the next page.

This world calendar is a revision of the present calendar to correct its irregularities and discrepancies. It rearranges the length of the 12 months so that they are regular, making the year divisible into equal halves and quarters in a 'perpetual' calendar. Every year is the same, every quarter identical.

In this new calendar each quarter contains exactly three months, 13 weeks, 91 days. Each quarter begins on Sunday and ends on Saturday. The first month in each quarter has 31 days and the other two 30 days each. Each month has 26 week days.

In order to make the calendar perpetual, at the same time retaining astronomical accuracy, the 365th day of the year, called Year End day, is an

First Quarter

January						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

February						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

March						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

Second Quarter

April						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

May						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

June						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

Third Quarter

July						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

August						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

September						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

Fourth Quarter

October						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

November						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

December						
S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

intercalary day placed between December 30 and January 1, and is considered an extra Saturday. The 366th day in leap year, called Leap Year day, is intercalated between June 30 and July 1 on extra Saturday. These intercalary or stabilizing days are tabulated as December 31 or Y and June 31 or L and would probably be observed as international holidays. January 1, New Year's day, always falls on Sunday.

'The revised calendar is balanced in structure, perpetual in form, harmonious in arrangement. It conforms to the solar year of 365·2422 days and to natural seasons. Besides its advantages in economy and efficiency, it facilitates statistical comparisons, co-ordinates the different time periods and stabilizes religious and secular holidays when approved by their respective authorities. As compared with any other proposal for calendar revision, it offers adjustment in which transition from old to new order can be made with minimum of disturbance' (from *Journal of Calendar Reform*).

The supporters of the world calendar reform publish a journal called *World Calendar Reform* and through the League of Nations they are trying to advocate the adoption of the reformed calendar throughout the world. But the 13-month calendar appears to have been given up, due to the unpopularity of the number 13 and due to some astronomical objections. But the 12-month calendar is being advocated for adoption by the League of Nations.

Principles of Calendar-making

Let us now examine the origins of some of the more important existing calendars and their imperfections, and also discuss whether it is at all possible to evolve a calendar which would be scientific and at the same time would not

have the defects of the existing calendar; and whether the calendars framed by the Calendar Reform Committees are satisfactory.

The calendar has to deal with the great natural units of time, the Year, the Month, the Day and the artificial cycle of seven days called the Week. It has to accommodate religious festivals which have been bequeathed from antiquity and have to be fixed according to complicated rules of rather obscure origin: national festivals which fall on some definite month days (say July 4, the day of Proclamation of American Independence); further, the calendar has to satisfy certain psychological needs of mankind, e.g., the prescription of a day of rest after a period of work.

The first requisite for the calendar-maker at any age is a proper definition of the periods Year, Month and Day and a knowledge of the lengths of the Year and the Month in terms of the day. In ancient times neither the definition nor the lengths of the year and the month were known accurately. As will be shown calendars were framed on insufficient knowledge and to make them acceptable to the people, religious sanction of various kinds was stamped on these systems. Though the mistakes were discovered sooner or later, it was found extremely difficult to introduce corrections, on account of non-inflexibility of these sanctions, and none but dictators, like Julius Caesar or Pope Gregory, were able to carry out any reform, and this also when the discrepancies became intolerable.

Let us take for example the definition of the day. The day has been measured from sunset to sunset, or sunrise to sunrise, from midday to next midday and it is only rather late that different nations, sometimes quite independently, found that it is more scientific to reckon from midnight to midnight and adopted it in practice. But even then, if the length of the day so defined is measured with the aid of an accurate clock, it is found to be variable throughout the year and astronomers have to define 'a mean solar day' as the fundamental unit of time. A more fundamental unit is the 'Sidereal day' which measures the period of a complete rotation of the earth round its axis, which may be taken to be constant throughout ages.

The Year

The next great unit is the year; there are different kinds of year, but the year which is useful for calendar-making is the Tropical Year, which measures the period of recurrence of seasons. Its length in terms of the solar day is given by the relation

$$\text{Year} = 365{\cdot}24219879 - 10^{-8} \times 614t$$ [1] (time reckoned since 1900).

The length of the year is thus seen to be not a constant. In Sumerian times (3000 B.C.) it was nearly 365·2425 days. In modern times it is very nearly 365·2422 days, and we can use this length for a very long period yet to come.

[1] Here t stands for one Julian century of 36525 days. According to astronomers the period of rotation of the earth is getting somewhat longer owing to the earth's internal friction and friction as caused by tides.

It is obvious that the ancients could not have determined the length of the year to such accuracy. In fact, most of the nations in the early part of their career took the year to consist of 360 solar days, divided into 12 months, each of 30 days. This was certainly prompted by the observation that the year was roughly equal to 12 full periods of the moon, which is roughly 30 days. But they did not take long to find out their mistake. Old Egyptian history has preserved the story of its discovery and the method of its rectification, which is illustrative of the ancient mind. Plutarch quotes the following story:

'The Earth god *Seb* and the sky goddess *Nut* had once illicit union. The supreme god *Re*, the Sun, thereupon cursed the heaven goddess *Nut* that the children of the union would be born neither *in any year* nor *in any month*. *Nut* turned to the god of wisdom, *Thoth*, for counsel. *Thoth* played a game of dice with the Moon-goddess, and won from her $\frac{1}{72}$th part of her light out of which he made five extra days. To appease *Re*, the Sun-god, these five days were given to him, and his year gained by five days while the Moon-goddess's year lost five days. The extra five days in the solar year were not attached to any month, which continued to have 30 days as before; but these days came at the end of the year, and were celebrated as the birthdays of the gods born of the union of *Seb* and *Nut*, viz., Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Set and Anubis, five chief gods of Egyptian pantheon.'

With the ancient Egyptians, the moon and the lunar month soon ceased to play any part in time reckoning. They had a month of 30 days divided into 3 dekads or weeks, each of 10 days. The ancient Iranians followed the Egyptian calendar with some modification. Long afterwards, during the French Revolution, some features of the Egyptian calendar were again sought to be introduced in calendar-making for the Revolution.

But the Egyptians soon found that 365 days were not the correct length of the year. The fact is said to have been discovered by the temple priests from observations of the heliacal rising of the star Sirius, and of the arrival of the annual flood of the Nile at the Egyptian capital.

They found that the flood does not occur at intervals of 365 days. If in one year the flood arrived, say, on Thoth 1, after four years it occurred on Thoth 2, after eight years on Thoth 3, and the cycle was completed roughly in 1,460 years (called the Sothic Cycle). The flood may be delayed for some reason, but the bright star Sirius, which stood for the Egyptian goddess Isis, was carefully observed for ritualistic purposes, and it was found, probably as a result of long continued observations, that between her two successive appearance a little ahead of the sun just before dawn in the eastern horizon, the period was not exactly an Egyptian year of 365 days, but about 6 hours more—in other words, the sun returned to the same point in the heavens not after intervals of 365 days, but after approximately 365¼ days.

Though the priests early arrived at this knowledge, they kept it to themselves, for a knowledge of the number of years elapsed since the beginning of the Sothic Cycle (which they knew either from records or from the place of Sirius on the first day of the year) enabled them to predict the date in the Egyptian calendar when the annual flood, so important for Egyptian economic life, would reach the capital. By keeping their hold on the calendar, they maintained their influence on the public, and Pharaohs are said to have, as a part of the rituals connected with their coronation ceremony, an oath promising never to try to reform the calendar.

During the rule of the Ptolemies (320 B.C. to 40 B.C.) a determined effort was made to introduce the 365¼-day year, but it failed on account of the opposition of Egyptian priests. It was only after the Roman occupation of Egypt, that this knowledge was brought to the notice of the Roman dictator Julius Caesar by the Graeco-Egyptian astronomer Sosigenes. The calendar of Rome itself was a hopeless mess, and Caesar, in his capacity as the Supreme Pontiff, effected a reformation which received the name of Julian calendar. It is pretty nearly the modern European calendar, with leap years occurring every fourth year.

This was on the assumption that the true length of the tropical year was 365·25 days, but actually the length is 365·2422 days, so there remained a mean error of ·0078 days per year. By 1582 A.D., the error had accumulated to nearly 13 days, so that the Winter Solstice which in Caesar's time fell on Dec. 24, and on Dec. 21, about 354 A.D. when the Christian era was introduced, occurred by 1582 A.D. on Dec. 11. Pope Gregory, on the advice of astronomers, Clavius and Lilius, decreed that Oct. 5 in that year should be called Oct. 15, so that the date of the Winter Solstice was brought from Dec. 11 to Dec. 21 (the date it had about 354 A.D. when the Christian era was introduced) and henceforth years ending in hundreds would not be considered leap years, except when they are divisible by 400. This makes the length of the year 365·2425, an error of ·0003 days per year; this will introduce an error of 1 day in 3,300 years. The Gregorian calendar was accepted by all Roman Catholic countries, but was rejected by the Protestant and the Greek Church countries (e.g., the Balkan States and Russia). The Protestant countries accepted the Gregorian calendar within about 200 years, but Russia had Julian calendar till 1918, when the Soviets substituted the Gregorian calendar.

What is the reason for the present mess in the Julio-Gregorian calendar? The Romans took the Egyptian year, but retained their own months. The Roman year started with March 1 and ran for ten months—March, April, May, June, Quintilis, Sextilis, September, October, November and December, total 304 days, some months being major ones of 31 days, others being minor of 30 days. The first four months were dedicated to Mars and other gods, Quintilis was the fifth, Sextilis sixth, etc. December was, as the name indicates, the tenth month. At the end of the tenth month, two months were interpolated, first of which was dedicated to the god Janus, and February was not dedicated to any god. About 135 B.C., the starting point of the year was brought down to January 1, for some reason not clearly known.

When Julius Caesar reformed the calendar, the servile senate decreed that the month Quintilis should be renamed 'July' in his honour and further

it should be a major month of 31 days. His successor Augustus persuaded the senate to rename the sixth month Sixtilis in his favour, and not to be outdone by his predecessor, ordained that it should be a major month of 31 days. To find out these two extra days, February, which does not appear to have been under the protection of any god, was clinched of two days. As a critic says, it was not a 'Reformation' but a 'Deformation' of the calendar to satisfy the whims of two Roman despots.

Even Pope Gregory's reformation was rather incomplete. He ought to have brought down the Christmas day from Dec. 25 to Dec. 21, but Dec. 25 had got into the people's head as the day following the night of Christ's birth and even Christ's viceregent on the earth did not dare to disturb the public equanimity. The reforms fell far short of the achievements of Omar Khayyam, the astronomer poet and free-thinking philosopher of Persia who at the bidding of Sultan Melik Shah introduced in 1079 a solar calendar (the Jalali calendar), based on the first day of the Vernal Equinox, as the first day of the year.

The Month

The third great natural division of time besides the day and the year is the month. This had originally a lunar affiliation. In fact, the month is really the 'Moonth', the time taken by the moon from one conjunction with the sun to another. The moon really traverses the sky, i.e. return from one fixed point of the sky, say the star Regulus, to the same in about $27\frac{1}{3}$ days (Sidereal period of the moon), but since the sun moves in the same direction, it takes a little longer time to reach the sun (29·5305881 days (Newcomb), length of a lunar month).

In most ancient countries, amongst most nations the first day of the month was reckoned from the evening of appearance of the thin crescent of the moon in the western horizon after a new moon, and successive days were known as the second, third . . . . . day of the moon. It was very much like the practice still followed by the Islamic countries. The system of reckoning days by the moon was almost universally in vogue amongst all ancient nations, Babylonians, Hindus, Greeks and Romans, and is the basis of the Hindu system of 'Tithi' which was originally nothing but a 'Lunar Day', and this, in a modified form, is still used for religious purposes to fix up festival days. The Hindus further divided the month into a bright (waxing) half ending in a full moon in the midst of the month, and a dark (waning) half ending in a new moon. The lunar zodiac was divided into 27 (or earlier 28) parts, called Nakshatras or Lunar Mansions and named according to conspicuous star groups marking the moon's path. A day would be distinguished as the eighth day of the moon in the bright half, with the moon in Nakshatra Regulus for example. This custom of fixing the position of the moon was also prevalent amongst the Babylonians and Chinese, and it is difficult to trace its origin.

The empirical nature of reckoning the days of the moon is corroborated from references in old classics like the Mahabharata, where it is mentioned

that the full moon sometimes fell on the thirteenth lunar day. The full moon evidently cannot fall on the thirteenth day after the new moon, probably the observers occasionally used to miss the first day of appearance of the thin crescent after full moon, due to the moon's nearness to the sun or some other reason. When the full moon was found to fall on the thirteenth day, it was surmised that some great calamity would befall the country or the potentates who ruled the country. The moon is generally invisible for two or three nights round about new moons, and this was probably the origin of the wide-spread custom of observing mourning for three nights.

Most, but not all, religious ceremonies had a lunar as well as a solar affiliation, as in Babylon, somewhat as in finding out the date of the Passover with the Jews, e.g. the Spring festival should be celebrated on the full moon day during the lunar month of Chaitra in the spring season. Thus custom led to the necessity of correlating lunar months with the solar seasons. The week day was unknown in ancient time, and even to this day the week day plays no part in most of the Hindu festivals, particularly the more important ones.

Solar Months

The idea that the year should be divided into 12 months must have arisen from the observation that 12 lunar months nearly cover the year. But 12 lunar months is 354·36706 days, and falls short of the year by 10·875 days. How to adjust this? There was grave reason why this adjustment should have been considered extremely necessary. In the life of early nations, religious festival played an extremely important part. Let us suppose that a certain incident, say, the worship of a god, was to be celebrated in the season of autumn at full moon. Now, suppose in a certain year, the festival falls on the last day of autumn, next year we shall lose 10·875 days; the event will have to be celebrated 11 days earlier than the end of autumn. Two years later, it is to be celebrated 22 days earlier. In 5 years, the retardation will be very nearly two months and the event will fall not in the season of autumn at all but in the rains. So adjustment is necessary unless we discard the connection with the season entirely as the Mahomedans have done. This the ancients were not prepared to do; they made the adjustment by bringing the event forward by calling two months in 5 years as unclean or useless months and prohibiting the celebration of the festival within these two months. By this artifice at the end of 5 years, the event will again fall at the end of autumn. Amongst certain nations instead of putting such intercalary or useless months, also called the thirteenth month, at the end of every 5 years, one intercalary month is put at the end of every $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and sometimes some other equivalent arrangement is made.

But the inconsistency of the sun and the moon cannot be so easily settled. It is a much more difficult problem and, as a matter of fact, the ingenuity of the ancient nations had to be taxed to the breaking point to bring about consistency between the month and the year. Some, like the Mahomedans, discarded the sun altogether, others like the Egyptians discarded the moon.

Those like the Hindus and the Babylonians, who wanted to keep both, fell into such complications that as arbiter of the days of religious festivals, much power passed into the hands of priests.

Attempts at Calendar Reform by Hindus

A very determined effort to reform the Hindu calendar is traceable from the third or the fourth century A.D., when the Hindu scientific treatises on astronomy began to take definite shape. According to the Suryya-Siddhanta, the standard Hindu astronomical treatise which had its beginnings about these times, the solar year is to begin with the vernal equinox, which was then (*ca.* 505 A.D.) near the star ζ-Piscium. The first month of the solar year would be the second month of the spring (according to the Hindu method of calculation but the first month of the spring according to the European method of calculation). The month was known under the lunar appellation of Vaisakh. The solar appellations given in column 2 of Table 1 are indicative of seasons, but they never came into use. The lunar year was to begin with the previous month of Chaitra, i.e. within a month before the sun's passage through vernal equinox, on the first day after the new moon (according to some systems on the first day after the full moon). This system is to be compared to the older Babylonian system of starting the year with the month of Nisannu, which had to start on the first day following the new moon, but not earlier or later than a month of the vernal equinox. The comparison between the Hindu and the Babylonian systems is shown in Table 1 on the next page.

Though the Hindus started (or rather reformed) their calendar on a quite scientific basis about 500 A.D., with the V.E. day as the first day of the year, and with an elaborate series of rules for adjustment between solar and lunar reckoning, the intended stabilization of the calendar has been spoilt by the mistake they committed in taking the length of the year to be 365·25875 days. This is nearly ·0165 longer than the tropical year. So after 1,400 years, the last day of the year now no longer falls on the day of passage of the sun through the vernal equinoctial point, but nearly 23 days earlier. But in terms of the Hindu calendar, the equinox is a fixed point, near ζ-Piscium which was the position of the equinox about 500 A.D.

This error is to be traced to the fact that though the phenomenon of the precession of the equinoxes appears to have been known to the Hindu astronomers of this period, they were under the impression that the movement of the equinoctial points was oscillatory in character, and after some time the points would retrace their paths, so it was unnecessary to use the tropical year. The year was therefore taken to be *sidereal*[1] (Nirayan) without caring for the motion of equinoxes. There was a similar idea about the motion of equinoxes in Europe too (theory of trepidation) but the theory lost its last adherent, after Newton explained planetary motion with the aid of the theories of gravitation. As is well known, precession is a dynamical effect, and is due

[1] Sidereal year has 365·256363 days. The Hindu sidereal year is ·0024 day longer.

TABLE 1.

		Hindu		Babylonian	Macedonian	French Revolutionary
		Solar	Lunar			
V.E.	April ..	Madhava	Vaisakh	Nisannu	Artemesios	Germinal (Buds).
	May ..	Sukra	Jyaistha	Airu	Daisios	Floreal (Flower).
	June ..	Suchi	Ashadha	Sivannu	Panemos	Praireal (Meadows).
S.S.	July ..	Nabhas	Sravan	Duzu	Loios	Messidor (Harvest).
	August ..	Nabhasya	Bhadra	Abu	Gorpiaios	Thermidor (Heat).
	September	Isha	Aswin	Ululu	Hyerberetios	Fructidor (Fruits).
A.E.	October..	Urjas	Kartik	Tasritu	Dios	Vendemaire (Vintage).
	November	Sahas	Agrahayan	Arrah Samnah	Appelaios	Brumaire (Fog).
	December	Sahasya	Pous	Kisilibu	Audynaios	Frimaire (Frost).
W.S.	January	Tapas	Magha	Dhabitu	Peritios	Nivose (Snow).
	February	Tapasya	Falgun	Subuddu	Dystros	Pluviose (Rain).
	March ..	Madhu	Chaitra	Addarru	Xanthicos	Ventose (Wind).

N.B.—According to the Hindu method of calculation, the spring season extends for two months on either side of the vernal equinox, and so in respect of the autumnal equinox for the autumn season. The European method is to count as Spring the period of three months following sun's passage through vernal equinox. The Hindu names of the solar months (given in column 2) fell into disuse, and the names of the lunar months survived, and were later used to denote the solar months as well. The Macedonian months were current in India up to the Kushan régime. The Babylonian months are still used by orthodox Jews, but the spellings have undergone slight changes.

The French Revolutionary year started on the day of the autumnal equinox, Sept. 22, 1792. Each month (shown in column 6) had 30 days, each divided into 3 weeks each of 10 days. They had 5 extra year-end days (Sept. 17 to Sept. 21) like the ancient Egyptians and these were days of national festivities dedicated to VIRTUE, GENIUS, LABOUR, OPINION, REWARDS. The Jews and the Macedonian Greeks started their year on the day of autumnal equinox like the French Revolutionaries later. The first column shows the months as they would be arranged if the proposals made in this essay were accepted.

to the fact that the earth is not exactly spherical. The value of the speed of precessional motion has been calculated from dynamics, and is proportional

to the difference between the moments of inertia of the earth round equatorial and polar axes, and it is unidirectional.

But all this science has not yet reached the Hindu astrologers who still carry on the task of calendar-making according to the old Suryya-Siddhanta, or other systems. The passage of the sun through the vernal equinox is 23 days behind the date given in the Hindu almanac and the correspondence with seasons, which is a necessary requisite for proper determination of times of religious festivals, has been lost. The whole system of calculation is therefore vitiated and should be given up. The calendar should be retarded by 23 days, for Nature will not oblige the Hindu almanac-makers by stopping the inexorable operation of the Law of Universal Gravitation to save accumulated Hindu superstitions. Several attempts at Hindu calendar reform have been made by several enlightened public men, notably by the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, but the attempts failed because there was no political or religious authority behind their attempts. So the vendors of superstition are able to carry on their trades as profitably as ever, and prepare from year to year an Encyclopaedia of Superstitions for the use of hundreds of millions of people, based on wrong calculations and obsolete theories.

The Cycle of Weeks

The seven-day week, unlike the Year or the Month, is an entirely artificial cycle, unconnected with any natural phenomenon. It is approximately a quarter lunation, and its use probably arose from the psychological need for having a day of rest after protracted work. In early stages, we can trace 'a lunar week' which was half the period between new and full moon, but as the number of days were variable due to the erratic behaviour of the moon, the need for a period having a fixed number of days arose.

The ancient Vedic Aryans had a Shaḍaha, a cycle of six days; the Babylonians, with whom the week arose, had at first a week of five days (1/6 of a lunation), which was later increased to seven which is approximately 1/4 of a lunation. Each day was named according to a planetary god. This was certainly to give sanctity to the system, a familiar ancient-time practice. As the myth of the sanctity of seven-day week has played a great part in calendar-making and growth of astronomical superstitions, its evolution is explained at some detail: The Babylonians put the planets (not used in modern sense, but used in the old sense of a *wandering* heavenly body) as follows in the order of their *apparent* distance from the earth, and identified them with their chief gods, who held the portfolios mentioned under their names:

Planet ..	Saturn (1)	Jupiter (2)	Mars (3)	Sun (4)	Venus (5)	Mercury (6)	Moon (7)
Babylonian God	Ninib (Pestilence)	Marduk (King)	Nergal (War)	Shamash (Justice)	Ishtar (Love)	Nabu (Writing)	Sin (Agriculture).

Further the day was divided into 24 hours, and each of the seven gods was supposed to keep watch on mankind over each hour of the day in rotation. The day was named after the god who kept watch at the first hour. Thus on Saturday, the watching god for the first hour was Ninib or Saturn and the day was named after him. The succeeding hours of Saturday were presided over as follows:

Hours ..	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
God watching	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4

The table shows the picture for Saturday. On this day, Saturn keeps watch at the first hour, so the day is named after him. The second hour is watched over by Jupiter (3), third by Mars (4) . . . . . and so on. Saturn is thus seen to preside at the 8th, 15th and 22nd hours of Saturday. Then for 23rd, 24th, 25th come in succession Jupiter (2), Mars (3), **Sun (4)**. The 25th hour is the first hour of the next day, which was accordingly named after the presiding planet No. 4. We thus get Sunday following Saturday. If we now repeat the process, we get the names of the week days following each other, as follows:

Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday & Friday.

With the Babylonians, Saturday was an evil day, dedicated to the God of Pestilence, and they avoided work on that day for fear of offending that deity.

The child which was born at any hour of the day was supposed to be under the special influence of the god presiding for that hour. The practice of casting horoscopes also can be traced to these times.

The great propagandists for the seven-day week have been the Jews who derived their civilization partly from Egyptians, but mostly from Babylon and Assyria, adopted the seven-day week, and conferred on it a new sanctity by inventing the Creation-myth which one can read in the opening chapter of the Bible. They converted the seventh day, which with the Babylonians was an 'evil day', to the day of rest for Jehovah after his labours of Creation (Sabbath day). So great has been the sanctity attached to the 'Sabbath day' that Jews all the world over would not work on the Sabbath day, and it is on record that Romans took advantage of this to make an assault on Jerusalem on a Sabbath day, and carried the city almost without a fight, because the Jews led by their priests would not do such profane things as giving battle on a Sabbath day, and expected Jehovah to bring punishment on the Romans for the sacrilege.

The seven-day week was introduced into the Roman World by Constantine after 323 A.D. and as the Christians would not have the same Lord's day as the Jews, the next day 'Sunday' was fixed as the Lord's day. This had a most unfortunate consequence. The Bishops decided that the Easter, viz. the day of Resurrection of Christ should take place on Sunday following the first full moon after the vernal equinox. The Jewish festival of Passover, on which day Christ is alleged to have been crucified, took place on the first full moon after vernal equinox, and it had no reference to week days.

But the Christians must have the Resurrection on the 'Lord's day', so the difficulties were multiplied. The result is that Easter can fall on any date between March 22 and April 25, with an amplitude of 35 days. As mentioned before, this is a pivotal holiday and carries many other important holidays with it as follows:—

Easter day (day of Resurrection of Jesus)

Good Friday (−2)	.. ..	Low Sunday (+7)
Palm Sunday (−7)	.. ..	Rogation (+35)
Qudragesima Sunday (−42)	.. ..	Ascension (+39)
Ash Wednesday (−46)	.. ..	Whitsunday (+49)
		Trinity (+56)
Quinquegesima Sunday (−49)	..	Corpus Christi (+60)
etc.		

Minus means *before* Easter, plus means *after*. Thus Good Friday (day of Crucifixion of Jesus) takes place 2 days before Easter, Ascension 39 days after Easter day.

One of the greatest mathematicians of all times, Gauss, took upon himself the task of finding out an easy empirical rule for finding out the date of the Easter in any year, but had not much success.

The enlightened Christian nations stigmatize other nations as superstitious, but their system of fixing dates for religious festivals has to satisfy the triple godhead of the sun (vernal equinox), moon (full moon) and the Babylonian seven-planet hierarchy (seven-day week) while the Hindus have only to satisfy the sun and the moon for religious purpose. The accusation is therefore quite gratuitous, and the Christians should first get rid of their own accumulated superstitions before they accuse others of continuing theirs.

Babylonian ingenuity, combined with a superstitious belief that planets stand for gods who rule human destiny according to mathematical plan, were thus responsible for the introduction of the seven-day week, and this let in a mighty flood of astrological superstitions which about the first century A.D. quickly swept the civilized world from China and India in the East to Roman Empire in the West. The Bible, the Hindu Pauranic literature, the Laotzian school of Chinese philosophers built on this basis a vast maze of superstitious practices which, as in the case of the Christian festivals, still dominate a large section of the human population. Even the Arabs, otherwise iconoclastic, appeared to have had implicit faith in astrology.

Let us examine the effect on Hindu religious life. Before the introduction of the seven-day week, the Hindus like all ancient nations had a system of reckoning for auspicious and inauspicious days, but this was based on combination of moon's phase with the lunar mansions. Thus a day of full moon in the lunar mansion of Pushya (α-Cancri) would be considered particularly auspicious, and feeding of Brahmins and Sramans on that day would bring, as Emperor Asoka hints in his inscription, many times greater merit than feeding such holy men on an ordinary day. There is no mention of week days in Asoka's inscriptions, or in older Sanskrit literature like the Mahabharata. When a hero's birth is mentioned, only the moon's phase, the particular lunar mansion (stars on the ecliptic) which the moon occupies, and sometimes the season are referred to. The first authentic record of 'week day' is found in the Eran inscription of the time of Emperor Buddhagupta bearing the date of 484 A.D. The seven-day week must have been introduced some time prior to this date, but probably after 200 A.D., for the Kushan inscription of these times makes no mention of week days.

In the hands of Indian astrologers, the seven-day week became a very potent tool for inventing new myths, and enchaining the Indian mind with an amazing cobweb of superstitions. The major religious festivals which from time immemorial had lunar dating could not be touched, but they continued to be adjusted to season by the use of intercalary months. But by a combination of week days with lunar phases, a system of calculating auspicious and inauspicious days regulating all phases of human activity and occupation were devised. Only some days and hours are suitable for marriage ceremonies, others for starting on a journey, others for entering a new house and so forth. A baby's career would be determined by the planetary god presiding at his birth, and the relative position of other planets. A king would not ascend the throne or attack an enemy except on an auspicious day fixed up by astrologers. Indian history records several national misfortunes consequent on astrologers' advice, similar to the occupation of Jerusalem by the Romans or murder of Wallenstein by the hired assassins of the holy Roman Emperor.

Superstitions will continue in spite of science, but at several epochs of great historical events, determined efforts have been made to get rid of the seven-day week and the superstitions grown round it. The makers of the French Revolution introduced a ten-day week (decade) like the Egyptians three thousand years earlier. The Bolsheviks experimented with a five-day, a six-day week and ultimately returned to the seven-day week. The ancient Iranians had no week days, but the days of the month were named after a god or a principle, e.g. day of Ahura Mazdah, day of Mithra, etc. Later they adopted seven-day week.

The perpetual calendar retains the seven-day week, but according to some Jewish Rabbis the introduction of an extra day at the end of each year or two extra days during each leap year, which will belong to no week, is a sacrilege.

It is clear from what has been said before that the planners of a Universal Calendar should never be under the illusion that they can plan a calendar which will satisfy all the religious communities of the world. Their task should be to frame an 'Economic Calendar' based on sound facts of astronomy. The seven-day week should be retained, chiefly because a day of rest after six days of work appear to be a psychological necessity, but there should be no background of religious thought behind the planning, for '*religions are many, reason is one*' as one wise Chinese saying has it.

Requisites of a Perfect Calendar

The above review shows that a perfect calendar should satisfy the following demands:—

(*a*) The calendar must follow 'astronomical data accurately as far as possible'.

Regarded from this point of view, the Gregorian adjustment by leap years is inferior to the Persian method introduced by Omar Khayyam in 1079 A.D.; the Gregorian method has 97 leap years in 400 years, giving an average year-length of 365·2425 days, which will introduce an error of 1 day in 3,300 years. If we have 31 leap years in 128 years, giving an average year-length of 365·24219 days, we shall have an error of 1 day in 100,000 years, and this is much to be preferred.

(*b*) The beginning of the year should fall on a well-defined astronomical point, viz. either the vernal equinox, the winter solstice, the summer solstice or the autumnal solstice.

The vernal equinox day is the beginning of the Persian New Year day (Nowroja). This, of all New Year's days, is the most scientific.

The Christian New Year day, January 1, has absolutely no scientific basis, and is reminiscent of Roman imperialism [1] which started its year on the day of God Janus. This should be given up, as God Janus has been long dead.

The other cardinal points of the year, particularly the winter solstice day (henceforth called W.S. day), formed sometimes the New Year's day and a very important national festival amongst all nations inhabiting the northern hemisphere. The reason is not far to seek. All residents of the north temperate zone, which contains the cradles of early civilization, have to suffer from the rigours of winter. During these days, they found the sun rising every day farther to the south, and the winter intensifying. On the W.S. day, the sun, after reaching the farthest south, begins to turn north, and this heralded to the ancients the impending passing away of unpleasant winter and was made the occasion for many festivities. The following may be noted:

The Vedic Indians looked eagerly for the turning to the north of the sun (Uttarayana) and as soon as they were able to detect the phenomenon, they started their yearly sacrifices. (The festival is still celebrated by the Hindus under the name of Pous-Parvan, but the connection with W.S. is gone due to unrectified mistakes in the length of the year, committed by early calendar-makers.) Later, about 500 A.D., the V.E. was taken as the beginning of the solar year, but for the lunar year, there were various systems.

The ancient Persians celebrated on the W.S. day the birthday ceremony of Mithra, their God of Light (probably an anthropomorphic form of the sun).

In China, Huang-Ti, the Yellow Emperor, who is said to have established the national calendar about 2300 B.C., ordained that on the W.S. day the

[1] The Roman year originally started with March 1, but in 135 B.C. it was brought down to January 1.

Sun of Heaven (i.e. the Emperor) should offer homage on behalf of the people to the ancestors of the nation. China retained this festival up to Manchu times in spite of all subsequent movements—Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism.

The primitive Teutonic races of North Europe celebrated the W.S. day under different forms (e.g. Yule).

At present the night before the 25th of Dec. is celebrated all over the Christian World as the Night of Nativity of Christ. Twenty-fifth of December was the winter solstice day about the beginning of the first century B.C.

But the truth is that the W.S. day stands on its own merit, and had originally nothing to do with Christ. Probably it will surprise many of our readers to know that 'Christmas was not among the earliest festivals of the Church, and before the fifth century A.D. there was no censensus of opinion as to when it should come on the calendar' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, see article on Christmas). In other words, early Christians had no knowledge of the date and year of birth of Jesus, and the custom of celebrating the birth of Christ on the winter solstice night of the first century B.C. is a later concoction.

The reason is not far to seek. None of the gospels mentions anything about the date and year of the birth of Christ, and the earliest and most reliable of them with respect to the incidents of Christ's life, viz. the gospel of Mark, tells us that He was the son of a poor carpenter of the village of Nazareth in the province of Galilee (Mark 6, 3), and at the age of 30 He began to preach His Gospel (Mark 1, 9). The total period covered by His preachings probably did not cover more than 17 months; these preachings gave offence to the orthodox Jews, and He was arrested by the orders of the High Priest two days before the Jewish festival of Passover,[1] which Jesus had come to celebrate along with his disciples in Jerusalem. The High Priest handed Him over to the Roman governor, by whose orders He was crucified the next day, and His body was interred in a cave through the intercession of a rich sympathizer of His teachings. When His disciples went to visit the Sepulchre on the *first day of the week*, they found that the body had disappeared. The mention of the Passover festival gives us a point *d' appui* regarding the date and season of His Crucifixion, and Christians have from the earliest times celebrated these incidents in the festivals of Good Friday (day of Crucifixion), and Easter day (Sunday following) as the day of Resurrection, though there are strong reasons to believe that the Jewish week, mentioned in the gospels, is not the present seven-day week but the original lunar week, and the Passover took place on the fourteenth day after the new moon. The seven-day week was then not yet in vogue, and no mystical importance had then been attached to the so-called Lord's day (Sunday). This was due to astrological influences on the growth of Christianity.

When Christianity became the State religion of the Roman Empire in 323 A.D., the Christian Fathers felt the necessity of co-ordinating the then

[1] This festival is supposed to commemorate the exodus of the Jews from Egypt.

prevalent pagan festivals—some of which in spite of Christianity were very popular—with the incidents of Christ's life. It was a clever move, for it killed two birds with one stone.

It is now well known that when Imperial Rome began to get weary of her pagan gods, she oscillated for a long time between the cults of Mithra and of Christ. The Mithra cult with its rich ritualism made a strong appeal to the military Roman mind. On the winter solstice day it was supposed on one version that Mithra, God of Light and Righteousness, was born, fully clad and armed as a young warrior, chased a bull (symbolic of ignorance and lust), slaughtered it with a flashing knife, indicating the triumph of Light and Righteousness over Darkness and Lust. The festival was celebrated not only in Persia, but also all over the Roman Empire and was extremely popular.

About 323 A.D. the cult of Christ found favour with the State, because the Emperor Constantine was under the impression that the god of Christians had given him victory over his rivals. The support of the State gave the Christian Fathers a great advantage over their rivals, the exponents of Mithraism. They began further to improve their position by absorbing the rich rituals of Mithraism, including the birthday festival of Mithra, which became henceforth the Feast of Nativity of Christ. In the Julian calendar Dec. 25 or Dec. 24 formed the W.S. day about the second century B.C., but though about 355 A.D., when we get first mention of Christmas, the W.S. day had fallen to Dec. 21, the earlier date, Dec. 25, was retained as the Christmas day.

We thus see the W.S. day, the most prominent cardinal point of the year, has provided dates for most important festivities of all nations. The other cardinal points of the year have also been utilized for this purpose by Hindus, early Christians and other nations. The following gives a summary view:

Cardinal days of the year	Christian	Indian (Vedic)	Chinese	Persian	Jewish
Winter Solstice (Dec. 25)	Nativity of Christ.	Commencement of yearly sacrifices.	Emperor worships ancestors.	Mithra's Birthday.	....
Vernal Equinox (March 25)	Conception of Christ.	....	....	Persian Nowroja (New Year's day).	....
Summer Solstice (June 24)	Birth of John the Baptist.	Hari shayan, Traditional beginning of monsoons.	....	....	....
Autumnal Equinox (Sept. 24)	Conception of John the Baptist.	....	....	....	Original Jewish New Year day.

The dates are according to the Julian calendar about first century A.D. In 355 A.D. the dates had receded by 4 days but the earlier days were kept.

The early Christians thus draw up a parallel between the sun's motion, and the lives of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ. John represents the sun during his motion in the southern half of the ecliptic, he is supposed to have been conceived on September 24, the day of autumnal equinox, and is born 272 days later, on the day of summer solstice. Christ represents the sun in his motion in the northern half of the ecliptic, he is taken to have been conceived on March 24, and is born on the winter solstice day, 275 days later.

Beginning of the Era

The question of the starting point of an world era is also an important item to which some attention should be given but it has been entirely ignored by the framers of the perpetual calendar, because they believe that the Christian era should be acceptable to all nations of the world. As we shall see presently, the Christian era has neither universal acceptance, nor has any distinguishing merit to recommend itself as a world era.

The requisites of the world era should be that it should be connected with an easily definable astronomical event, and should have no affiliation with any religion, country, or personality. Let us see how many eras, in use now or in earlier times, satisfy this criterion.

The orthodox Jews use an era which they call era of Creation. It starts on Oct. 7, 3761 B.C., for this is the date, according to Jewish Rabbis, when Jehovah started creating the world as narrated in the Bible. No further notice need be taken of this era.

The Christian Era

The Christian nations begin the era with the presumed year of Christ's birth. This is another myth invented by the Christian Fathers, and came into vogue about 500 A.D. due to the exertions of Bishop Dionysius Exiguus. Before that nobody knew the year of Christ's birth, and the era used in the Roman Empire prior to 500 A.D. was reckoned from the date of the supposed foundation of Rome (753 B.C.). This was, like the Christian era, an artificial invention.

Some years ago, a Roman inscription was discovered at Ankarah, which said that king Herod, who is alleged in the Bible to have attempted to take the life of Baby Jesus, was dead by 4 B.C. So Christ must have been born at least 4 years, and most probably 6 or 8 years, before the year invented for his birth. There is, therefore, no scientific reason in a modern world to stick to the fiction of the year of Christ's birth as the beginning of an era for a modern world.

The other eras of the world, the Olympian era of the ancient Greeks, the era of foundation of Rome (these two eras appear to have been based on the era of Nabonassar, the Babylonian king), the Nirvana era of the Buddhists, the Sambat and Saka eras of the Hindus, the Kali Yuga era invented by Aryabhaṭa, are all artificial eras, whose beginnings are shrouded in mystery. Some of the now defunct eras, viz. the Gupta era (started in 319 A.D.) or the Seleucidean

era (started on the first Nisannu of 313 B.C. to commemorate the victory of Seleucus over his rivals) had well-defined starting points, but the point remains that the reckoning of an era commemorating or supposed to commemorate some great incident in the history of a group of people cannot command universal homage, and should be replaced by a more scientific starting point.

When the makers of the glorious French Revolution started to cut the world adrift from agelong superstitious practices, particularly Christian superstitions, they turned to the French Academy for finding out a convenient starting point for a new era for the Republic. The great astronomer Laplace was consulted, and he recommended to the Republique 1250 A.D. as the starting point of the new era. The proposal did not commend itself to the leaders of the Revolution, who started their era from Sept. 22, 1792, because it was the day of proclamation of the republic, and in this year (leap year) Sept. 22 was the day of the autumnal equinox.

The era of the French Revolution has gone the way of other eras, and a modern world should be guided by less sentimental and more scientific reasoning. The question should be thoroughly discussed amongst astronomers. The Julian era, invented by Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609), satisfies some of the requirements of a universal era and is used by astronomers for continuous day reckoning, but its starting point, Jan. 1, 4713 B.C. (−4712 A.D.) is too far back in time.

Conclusions

Let us now make our final suggestions regarding calendar reform:—

(1) The Universal Calendar should not aim to interfere with the religious life of the various communities, but should be strictly a calendar for economic and scientific purpose for the whole world.

(2) The different communities would be free to insert in them their particular religious or national calendars as best as they can, but persuasion should be brought upon them to reform these calendars on a rational basis.

(3) The Universal Calendar should start at some point of time which is astronomically well defined, e.g. the starting point used by Julius Scaliger or 1250 A.D. as proposed by Laplace. The Christian era, or the Nirvana era, or eras associated with some notable personality or some great event in a nation's life should be given up.

(4) The Universal Calendar should have months, and weeks, and the first day of the year should fall on the day of the winter solstice. The year would then end with the Christmas Eve; in other words, Christmas and New Year's day would be one and the same day. The corresponding festivals of the Persians, the Jews, the Hindus and the Chinese would fall on the same day. The old Roman names for months should be discarded for a rational terminology, e.g. Spring 1, 2, 3; Summer 1, 2, 3; Autumn 1, 2, 3; Winter 1, 2, 3. We may continue to call them by the Roman names January, February, etc., but the new January should start from winter solstice day in the Christian countries, and other countries may have their own names (e.g. Hindus may be allowed to use Māgh in place of January, Jews Dhabitu, etc.).

(5) For the rest, the principles underlying the 12-month perpetual calendar may be adopted.

If these views are adopted, the year would begin on the W.S. day which would be a Sunday, in the month of W_1 (first winter month) or January or Māgh in India. Then V.E. would fall on the 28th day of W_3 (March—Chaitra), two days earlier than the end of the month, but at the beginning of spring. This is because the interval between W.S. and V.E. passage is $89^d \frac{1}{2}^h$. The S.S. would fall on the 30th of S_3 (third summer month, June—Āshāḍha), and the A.E. on the 1st day of A_1 (first month of autumn, October—Kārtik). The religious festivals of different nations, which were originally fixed on these days, may again be brought back to these days with a little persuasion. The other festivals would continue to follow the sun and the moon according to whims or tradition of religious bodies.

The festivals which are associated with certain dates, e.g. July 4 with the Declaration of Independence by the United States of America, July 14 with the storming of Bastille in France, Oct. 5 with the shooting of Father Gapon and his associate by the Czarist troops may retain these dates unaltered. There would be only one year of confusion, but we would have a convenient calendar, based on science, and tending to the final unity of mankind.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Prof. P. C. Sengupta for useful help and discussion.

AKBAR'S TOMB AT SIKANDARA AND ITS HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES

By

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One of the most important monuments of Jahangir's reign is the mausoleum raised on his father's tomb. Fuhrer,[1] believing the statements of Finch and Hawkins,[2] has assigned its foundation to Akbar. The former of the two travellers writing in 1611 considered the work in progress for ten years and noted its incomplete condition and the latter writing in 1612 stated that it had already taken fourteen years in building and would take another seven years. Thus according to the former its foundations were laid in 1601 and to the latter in 1599. The two travellers had arrived in India in Jahangir's reign and were not present at the time of its foundation. Though some

[1] Fuhrer: *The Ancient Monuments in the N.W.P.*, Vol. II, 77.

[2] See Foster: *Early Travels*, 120 and 186.

Muslim rulers had erected their tombs in their lifetime, there is no such record for Babur, Humayun or Akbar. We also know that in the last years of his reign, Akbar had not built any costly building except the Baland darwaza the addition of which proclaimed his hold over North India and the new conquests in the south. We also know that he had not constructed any costly mausoleums after the death of his dearest friend, Abul Fazl, his two sons, Murad and Danyal, or his mother, Mariam Makānī. So we may *a priori* conclude that he had not spent any large sum of money over his own tomb even.

There are also positive evidences that the building—at least the greater part of it—was constructed in Jahangir's reign. Let us first of all quote Jahangir's own words. He says,[1] 'I had wished that my father's tomb should be without a parallel in the world. While the constructions were going on, Khusrau's rebellion took me to Lahore and the architects had built in their own way, so that a fairly large sum had been spent in the last three or four years. Now (i.e. on the 28th of October, 1608), I ordered that the masons after consulting the wise men should reconstruct some portions of it and by degrees a lofty building came into existence.' It is clear from this quotation that the work had been going on for at least three years and the mention of the fourth year is made as the third year of his reign had been completed at the time of his writing [2]: it was his ambition to raise an unparalleled building and he regretted the interruption due to Khusrau's rebellion.

Many eminent writers have maintained that the foundation of the mausoleum were laid by Akbar himself. We have already mentioned Fuhrer to be one: the others were Fergusson,[3] Havell,[4] Latif.[5] Vincent Smith [6] and Professor Talukdar [7] are in favour of Jahangir being its builder. P. Brown is undecided between the claims of the father and the son.[8] The considerations that weighed with the former writers were:

(1) that the rulers themselves built their tombs and spent large sums on them and any negligence on their part to do so was niggardly made up by their successors, and for illustration have quoted the fates of Shah Jahan, Salim Shah Sur, Abul Hasan, the last ruler of Golconda, and Sikandar Adil Shah, the last ruler of Bijapur. The statement is not wholly true, for Jahangir's mausoleum built after his death is a costly edifice and the same might be said with regard to Tughluq Shah, Firuz Tughluq, Sayyid Muhammad Shah, Buhlul Lodi, Sikandar Lodi and Humayun the Mughal. If Babur had no such costly tomb it was because there was no available space to raise a large edifice on the slopes of the hill called the Shah-i-Kabul or the Sher darwaza,[1] where Babur had desired to be buried after death and Aurangzib was also denied the same honour because of his own instructions to his children. In the case of Akbar his successor, Jahangir, was eager to perpetuate his father's memory by an unparalleled edifice;

(2) the peculiar pyramidal shape of the mausoleum, the only other building of its type being the Panch mahal. The writers are unable to associate any other king but Akbar with such buildings of unusual type.

Actually it is one of Jahangir's works, who had commenced it immediately after accession, spent a large sum of money before he discovered in October 1608 that it was not built in accordance with his plan. So he ordered some portions to be pulled down and then in another five years completed it. The garden itself had existed from Akbar's time as is evident from the construction of the walls in two stages.

Against Jahangir's own statement, it is not wise to assume that Akbar had planned the building and laid its foundations. In his last years, various events had saddened Akbar and he was leading a lonely and morose life and felt little interest in tombs. The person who with all his might and glory was fairly humble in character [2] and who had raised no large edifice on the tombs of any of his relations or friends, may not be expected to take interest in his own.

Let us describe the mausoleum. It lies in the Sikandara village some six miles north-west of Agra in the midst of a garden 3½ furlongs square. The garden walls are 24′ high and battlemented at the top; at each angle there is an octagonal battered bastion 43′ high, surmounted by a small domical kiosk and between the bastions there were other towers. The chief entrance is through a high gateway in the middle of the south wall and there were other smaller entrances through the east and west walls. The arched edifice on the north corresponding to the south gate or those in the middle of the east and the west sides are false gates. Edmund Smith [3] draws our attention to the fact that the surrounding walls were built in two stages and mentions that the lower stage, 12′ 9″ in height, was built by Akbar and that the upper stage was built by Jahangir when it was discovered that the passers-by, mounted on elephants, could notice what was going on inside the enclosure. From the south entrance gateway a raised causeway, 75′ wide, leads to the mausoleum, situated in the middle of the garden and there are similar causeways leading to the three other blind gates. In the centre and at its end the causeway broadens to contain tanks and fountains.

Footnotes, p. 104:

[1] See the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I, 152.

[2] He had ascended the throne on the 24th of October, 1605.

[3] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II, 298.

[4] *Indian Architecture*, 176.

[5] Agra, 168.

[6] *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 180.

[7] See his article on 'the builder of Akbar's tomb' in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, January, 1934.

[8] See the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 549.

Footnotes, p. 105:

[1] Babur's tomb is on the 14th terrace of the hill.

[2] As some of his sayings on pp. 386, 387, 388, 394, 395, 398 and 399 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* prove. They are too many to be quoted.

[3] In his monograph on Akbar's tomb, 7.

The mausoleum itself measures 339′ square standing on a platform 496′ square and has five storeys, each successive storey gradually lessening so that the whole looks pyramidal in form. There are numerous kiosks on each terrace and the alcoved entrance to the building is raised higher than the first storey and corresponding constructions have been made on the other sides.

The mortuary chamber lies below the ground, measuring 40′ square, and is covered by a dome 60′ in height. Originally the chamber was adorned with paintings in colour but now the whole has been whitewashed and looks severely plain. Subdued light is admitted by small openings high up the wall and the entrance to the chamber is by a dark passage, 105′ in length, the walls of which 'are finished in polished stucco'.

The entrance archway to the building is of considerable height and reaches the fourth floor. Its noble pendentive and architrave in black and white marble, the abutments in mosaic panels and the marble kiosks with decorations in the Maltese crosses make it an impressive adjunct.

The mortuary chamber is surrounded on the ground floor by cloisters which are provided with an octagonal tower at each angle. Adjoining the southern entrance on the two sides are the cloister bays which have been enclosed to contain the tombs of some Akbar's daughters and of Sulaiman Shikoh, Shah Alam II's son, and his wife. The excellent marble, its arabesque tracery, the beautifully carved Quranic texts, the rosettes and the floral ornamentations of the upper tiers of the plinths of the tomb, attract the attention of a visitor.

Each storey lessens in area, e.g. the ground floor occupies 339′, the first floor 182′ 7″, the second 109′ 8″, the third 88′ and the top floor 87′ 7″, in each case the corridors surrounding the floors being included. The last has an open terrace and a raised platform 38′ square evidently meant for a domed kiosk over the cenotaph. Both Fergusson and Smith think that the building without the dome looks truncated, as here the four corner towers overlook the central terrace and we know that according to the Muslim artists the centre of a building should be its highest point.

The southern vestibule on the ground is cruciform in shape and elaborately decorated; the ceiling is groined and in its centre is an exquisite medallion with a sunflower in its centre surrounded by a gilded arabesque scroll on deep blue ground, the outer edge being in red. The lower portions of the walls are covered with geometrical dados. There are other ornaments, illuminated Quranic verses and representations of plants on the two sides of the vestibule. Altogether the vestibule and its entrance with its *jālī* work are gorgeous examples of Mughal ornamentation where every decoration is in order and eloquently proclaim the taste of its founder, Jahangir.

Not only are the Maltese crosses noticeable on the north pavilions at the top of the entrance archway but there are other kiosks with Hindu domes on the lower terraces. Even the profuse decoration is in accordance with the Hindu spirit of architecture.

The sarcophagus of the emperor in an underground crypt measures 13′×8′ and is comparatively plain. It was desecrated by the unruly Jats in the eighteenth century who scattered the bones of the dead emperor and it is possible that the original stones were as gorgeously decorated as the rest of the building and the present tomb is only a poor substitute set up by his indigent descendants of the eighteenth century.

The glory of the mausoleum lies in its top floor. In contrast to the red sandstone of the lower terraces, the topmost one and the two staircases leading to it are of marble. The open floor, 70′ square, made up of a variety of stones contains in the middle an exquisite cenotaph, 6′ 10″ × 2′ 7″ × 3′ 3″ inscribed with ninety-nine names of *Allāh* and at the head and foot are carved the words *Allāho-Akbar*, 'God is Great' and *Jalla-Jalāluhū*, 'exalted be his glory', surrounded by the most delicate floral ornamentation. Edmund Smith points out that among the flowers the lily, the almond and the dahlia are noticeable and concludes from the cloud-forms on the panels that the artists were the Chinese. As these flowers and cloud-forms are also noticed in the decorations of some of the buildings at Fatehpur,[1] it is possible that the artists were the same or descendants of those that had worked there.[2] Even the *qalamdān* or pen-box at the top of the cenotaph is splendidly chiselled in arabesque patterns. The butterflies and insects noticed flitting from flower to flower in the north and south panels give a realistic touch to the decorations. At the head of the cenotaph is a pedestal which used to hold a *chirāgh* or the incense burnt in honour of the dead. Altogether the cenotaph attests to the skill and ingenuity of the Mughal artists and maintains the reputation of Jahangir as a connoisseur of art.

The topmost courtyard is surrounded by cloisters closed on the outside by beautiful marble open screens. Their trellis work is marvellous and patterns are numerous in design. As mentioned above, the central area, 38′ square, of the open floor is raised probably to be covered with a dome. The intention was never carried out because on second thought Jahangir probably found the open area more suited to an assembly of mourners in honour of the dead[3] and the iron rings on the surrounding walls were provided for the awnings to protect the mourning audience from the sun, rain, dew or cold. The open space was also more in accordance with the active life led by the Mughal chiefs in their original home in Central Asia.[4] Jahangir must also have remembered Akbar's veneration for the sun and his statement when Birbal's corpse could not be discovered that it was well that sun itself purified the Raja's bones.[5] It is not possible to uphold the view that the absence of the dome was due to Jahangir's neglect after his marriage with Nur Jahan for more than one reason:

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[1] e.g. in the Turki Sultana's house.

[2] There is an interval of 30 to 40 years in the dates of construction of the two sets of buildings.

[3] The absence of the central dome in the Diwan-i-khas at Fatehpur-Sikri is similarly explained.

[4] This point has been over-emphasized by some of the historians. More than a hundred years had passed since Babur left C. Asia for Kabul in 1504.

[5] See the *Badauni*, II, 362.

1. Jahangir must have completed this mausoleum before undertaking the construction of the south gateway and the other blind gateways and since the former entrance has two inscribed dates corresponding to 1612 and 1613, it is clear that the construction had continued after his marriage in 1611 and that the mausoleum had been completed according to Jahangir's plan.

2. Nur Jahan was a talented lady who, in the years following her marriage with Jahangir, was a great help to her husband in the development of art and some of the artistic productions of this reign were due to the joint efforts of the two.[1] Such a lady would never have allowed her husband to leave such a unique representation in stone as Akbar's mausoleum in a state of incompletion.

There are four sets of distiches inscribed all round the courtyard, the first one on the west cloisters praises God and the sense of justice that He bestows on the kings. One couplet is

> 'And whilst choosing the path of justice, they might look upon strangers as upon themselves.'

On the south and east cloisters are the praises of Akbar who is wrongly put down ascending the throne in 962 instead of 963 A.H.[2] Some of the verses are:

(1) 'He (Akbar) adorned the world with his justice and equity.'
(2) 'At the foot of his throne had gathered eminent men of all nations.'
(3) 'He took kingdoms in war on the first attack and in the twinkling of an eye again gave them away to feasts.'[3]
(4) 'Whoever took refuge under this throne rose . . . .'
(5) 'His fame filled entirely the world and he ruled for fifty-two years with glory.'

The verses on the north cloisters regret the faithlessness of the fate and of the world:

> 'Although the age through the justice of Shah Akbar became like the highest paradise and although the world was happy in his time and earth yielded to his rule, unfeeling fate led (him) to eternal life.'

Incidently Akbar's love for Shaikh Sādī's poems is mentioned.

Next to the mausoleum, the noticeable work is the southern gateway with its four marble *minārs*.[4] It is built in two storeys, is 75′ in height, 137′ across and 100′ deep and has an open platform in front. There is a small arched stone gate, 8′ 7″ wide, in the middle of the south side of the platform which is the only remnant of the railings that surrounded the platform. The alcoved archway is 61′ high and 44′ wide, the spandrels of the bigger arch in front and the smaller arch at the back are adorned with rich arabesque scrolls

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[1] As for example the construction of the Itimāduddaula of Agra or the Shālimār of Kashmir.

[2] It is strange that Jahangir made a mistake about the date of accession of his own father.

[3] After his conquests Akbar either returned them to the foe as in Rajputana or distributed them among his mansabdārs.

[4] They had been broken by the Jats in the eighteenth century but were restored in 1905 by Lord Curzon's order.

in white and black marble mosaic. The panels of geometrical figures with their inlaid borders on the two abutments are other illustrations of the superb mosaic work.

It has several inscriptions, while a few others have been lost. They are either too long and verbose in language or mere poetical effusions. It will suffice for us to notice the following points about them:

1. The south façade was completed in 1612 and the north a year later, both being the work of the famous calligraphist, Abdul Haqq bin Qāsim Shīrāzī.

2. Sikandara was called Bihistābād[1] probably after the death of Akbar who was entitled *Arsh Āshiānī*.

3. All sorts of compliments and titles have been bestowed on him among which the title of *Sāhibqirān* was one. As at the time of his birth there was an unusual constellation of stars, he deserved the title even better than Tīmūr or the later Shāh Jahān.

4. Akbar died on the twelfth of *Jumāda* II, 1014 A.H. (17th October, 1605).

5. 'His empire was safe from ruin because the emperor had no ties with the perishable world', signifying that his spiritual zeal and not mere worldly ambition had strengthened his hold on his subjects.

6. 'He was by long descent a Padshah, had established the regulations of pomp and government and under his shelter God's creatures are at rest.'

7. All kinds of hyperbolic praise have been bestowed on Jahangir, e.g. 'he has the grandeur of Darius, the triumphs of Alexander, the justice of Naushirwān, the pomp of Sulaimān, the power of the fate, the strength of the destiny, the height of Saturn . . . . ; he possesses the world; he is a lord of the happy conjunction who with regal splendour has carried the banner of conquest beyond the heights of Simak'.[2] How fulsome the praises were will be realized by those who know the defects in Jahangir's character.

8. Akbar's love for the sun and moon was inherited by his son, Jahangir,[3] also, and this was expressed by the verse

> 'May his (Akbar's) soul shine like the rays of the sun and moon in the light of God.'

To conclude:

(*a*) Akbar's tomb is another illustration of the garden-tombs of the Mughal rulers and the massive gateway with its four *minārs*, the noble mausoleum, the broad causeway and the extensive garden produce a spatial effect eminently suited to the environment;

(*b*) there are five storeys to the building, a sarcophagus and two cenotaphs, one on the third floor and the other on the top floor;

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[1] See also the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, 249.

[2] The name of two stars.

[3] Jahangir writes in the *Tuzuk*, I, 61: 'Honour the luminaries (the sun, moon, etc.) which are the manifesters of God's light......'

(c) the mortuary chamber rises up to the second floor where openings have been made in the sloping galleries to allow light to reach the chamber; hence the central area of the ground floor and the next two floors are hollow and not approachable; the third and the fourth floors which are approachable have cenotaphs in the centre;

(d) the numerous kiosks, arcades and balconies have made the building look somewhat light and to that extent it has lost its mourning outlook. P. Brown, while calling it unsurpassed in delicacy and finish, considers it disappointing as it lacks the mass effect and the quality of coherence;

(e) while the same writer is not sure whether Akbar or Jahangir was responsible for the design of the structure, he thinks that the latter interposed to introduce modifications in his father's plan more suited to a summer palace than to a royal mausoleum; the statement that Akbar had made a plan of the building and built some portion is a mere surmise and rests on no solid foundation except that the garden existed in the great emperor's time;

(f) the building has many peculiar features:

(1) no approach to the centre of each terrace for the three lower storeys, (2) the two cenotaphs instead of one, (3) the four marble *minārs* which are attached not to the central mausoleum but to the south gateway, adorned by superb mosaic work, (4) the three blind gateways and the small openings on the east and west walls, (5) the construction of the lower portion of the mausoleum in red sandstone and the upper in marble, (6) profuse use of the various colours which have been so skilfully combined that whereas one of them alone would have offended the eye, their combination pleases it, e.g. the medallion in the centre of the ceiling of the vestibule on the ground floor in gold or blue background with a red border, (7) the numerous geometrical patterns in the trellis work of the topmost floor, (8) the inscriptions which are more or less meaningless, (9) the beautiful traceries on the central and other cenotaphs, (10) the three false gates have decorations including representations of the Persian jugs and Indian birds and plants.

(g) One may be permitted to remark that the parsimonious Akbar would have been loth to so lavishly spend on his mausoleum. Not only would the plans have been different to make it look more substantial but the marble decorations would have been mostly avoided. Jahangir, the connoisseur of the lighter arts, made the building look original and suited to his taste but according to the artists of today, it looks frivolous, a grave defect for such a costly and solemn work.[1] It is possible that in the construction of the tomb he was imitating his father's *Panch mahal*. But what suited a pleasure resort for the royal ladies did not look appropriate to a mausoleum. Jahangir fails as an architect though in other branches of art, e.g. painting, he was eminently successful.

(h) Sayyid Muhammad Latif has stated that Akbar was buried with his head towards the west.[2] We do not know his authority for the statement; if it be Badāūnī, then the author has made a slight mistake. What the contemporary historian writes is that Akbar's orders were for burial of a corpse with his head towards the east and feet to the west. Actually at Sikandara the head lies towards the north and feet to the south and face probably turned to the west, for Jahangir would not deviate from the established practice of the Muslims at the time of his accession when Prince Khusrau was making a bid for the throne. Of course, after the desecration of the tomb by the Jats, the sarcophagus did not contain any remains of the great emperor.

KALA-AZAR AND ITS CONQUEST

By

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Kala-azar was once one of the most terrible of tropical diseases. It is due to an infection by a kind of parasites which are allied to those of a peculiar boil met with in Delhi and western parts of Asia. It occurs in children and adults and is characterized by a high death rate in cases not treated with antimony. The disease may last for a few months to two or three years, or rarely more.

It is accompanied by irregular fever and enlargement of spleen and frequently also of liver, a gradual downhill course, with progressive emaciation, diminution of white and red cells of the blood, and tendency to bleeding in different parts of the body. It is usually terminated by extensive destructive ulceration of the cheeks and gums or some other disease, such as, dysentery, pneumonia or tuberculosis. The disease was confounded with malaria for upwards of one hundred years. Eight years ago, I discovered certain skin

[1] Jahangir mentions that he had spent fifteen lacs of rupees from the royal treasury. See the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, 152.

[2] See Latif's *Agra*, p. 170.

manifestations due to the parasites of this disease, which may have a very important bearing on the problem of its transmission.

The first epidemic manifestation of the disease in Bengal could probably be traced to a peculiar type of fever occurring in Jessore in 1824 or 1825, called 'Jwar-Vikar', which, Elliot considered, was very similar to 'Burdwan Fever' in 1882. Clarke pointed out that there was a disease occurring in Assam known as kala-azar or black sickness, from the darkened colour which the skin assumed in chronic cases, the ravages of which decimated and in some instances depopulated numerous districts in the Garo Hills as far back as 1869.

The disease occurs extensively in the eastern parts of India, especially in the districts through which the rivers Ganges and Brahmaputra pass. The provinces of Assam, Bengal, parts of Madras, especially the city, Bihar and Orissa, and the eastern parts of the United Provinces are the chief endemic areas. Outside India there are endemic areas in certain parts of China, Asiatic Russia, Russian Turkestan, Arabia and Mesopotamia.

It is endemic in parts of Europe bordering on the Mediterranean, e.g. the southern parts of Italy and in Sicily. It occurs in Greece, chiefly in the islands of Spetsa and Hydra. Isolated cases of the disease have been reported from southern Spain and Portugal and from southern France. Cases have also been described in Moscow as well as in Vienna and Riga.

It is endemic in almost the whole of the Mediterranean coast of Africa, and recently the disease has been discovered in Kenya Colony.

In India epidemics of kala-azar once acquired a home in Assam, but such epidemics are unknown in Assam in more recent times due to intensive mass treatment of the disease.

Among the various theories advanced for the propagation of the disease are the two following: (1) infection by bites of infected insects, and (2) infection by contaminated food.

Among the possible carriers of the disease by biting insects may be mentioned the flea, the bed bug and the sandfly. In the case of fleas it was once suggested that the dog flea may be infected by biting infected dogs, and in the case of the bed bug or the sandfly by biting an infected person. The flea and bug theories have now been exploded, though they were once regarded as most plausible ones, the dog flea being held responsible for infantile kala-azar in the Mediterranean basin. More recently, a certain variety of sandfly has been regarded to be the carrier of the disease. This theory is based upon certain observations that the parasites undergo some forms of development in the stomach of the sandfly.

For some time there was no other experimental evidence in favour of the possibility of the infection taking place through bites of infected sandflies. Thus Shortt, Director of the Kala-azar Commission, found that experimental animals, subjected, in thousands of experiments, to bites of sandflies known to be infected with parasites of kala-azar, in no case contracted the disease. In his earlier experiments he found that no single human volunteer could be infected by the bites of even heavily infected sandflies.

More recently, however, hamsters and a few human volunteers have been infected by means of infected sandflies. On the other hand, some new experiments of Shortt leave no option but to reopen the possibilities of food infection which was once discarded. Certain experiments on mice also led to the same conclusion. It is known that the parasites of kala-azar escape in the urine in living form and it is most probable that they also escape in the faeces. The obvious line of future experimentation, therefore, is to determine the avenues from which living forms of the parasite may leave an infected person and how far these forms will exist in various food materials, such as milk.

Clinically I observed years ago that double infection of kala-azar and typhoid or paratyphoid is not uncommon. These observations also lead to the conclusion that infection with the virus of kala-azar may take place through the intestinal tract by means of food. I throw out the suggestion that an individual who has had typhoid or other forms of ulcers in his intestines may be infected with the parasites of kala-azar through these ulcers by contaminated food.

There are, therefore, two lines of investigations for the future: (1) Does infection take place through food? or (2) Does it take place through bites of an infected insect, say the sandfly? The recent consensus of opinion is that the disease is propagated by the bites of some kind of sandflies.

The recent discoveries in the treatment of the disease constitute one of the greatest advances in tropical medicine. They have revolutionized our ideas about its mortality which has been reduced from 95% to 5% or even less. It was doubtless a very great advance in the treatment of the disease from massive doses of quinine to that of tartar emetic which was the first antimony compound introduced for the treatment of kala-azar by Rogers in India, by Castellani in Ceylon, and by Cristina and Caronia in Italy. Soon after its introduction, I conceived the idea of using sodium antimonyl tartrate, sometimes called Plimmer's salt, and the original bottle containing the first sample of this compound used by me more than 25 years ago is still preserved. Tartar emetic was soon replaced by this compound.

The next method of treatment introduced by me was the intravenous administration of metallic antimony in a state of very fine subdivision, which was attended with remarkable benefit. I have pointed out in a paper that I read in the Calcutta Medical Club that when injected intravenously the particles of antimony are picked up by the same cells in the spleen as those that harbour the parasites of kala-azar and thus the two contending agents come in closest contact with each other in these tissue cells, and the fight ends most remarkably in the complete destruction of the parasites in the speediest way.

The next further advance in the treatment of kala-azar was the introduction of certain organic compounds of antimony. The use of these compounds in kala-azar infection has been the subject of my research for many years. In 1920, soon after I had been financed by the Indian Research Fund Association, some of these compounds were prepared for the first time in India in my

laboratory in the Calcutta Campbell Hospital, and I immediately brought to the notice of the Governments of Bengal and India and the Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association the potentialities of these compounds in the treatment of Indian kala-azar.

Early in 1921, in the course of my research, I discovered an urea antimony compound for the treatment of kala-azar. Its introduction and my other researches on antimonial compounds opened up a new vista in the treatment of the disease in India, by means of therapeutic organic antimonials. This urea compound I named 'Urea stibamine'.

I shall not detain you here with the romance of urea stibamine, however interesting it may be. But I recall with delight that memorable night in the Calcutta Campbell Hospital at Sealdah when after a very hard day's work at about 10 p.m. in a little room with a smoky, dimly-burning kerosene lamp, but with Heaven's light as my guide, I found that my experiments in the preparation of this compound were up to my expectations. But I did not know that night that God had put into my hands a wondrous thing and that this little thing would save the lives of millions of my fellow-men.

I soon found its toxicity to be low. I gave my first injection to my patient with a dubious mind. The results were remarkable and surpassed all my expectations. Feelings of hope, however, alternated in my mind with those of depression, as it was a matter of extreme difficulty to prepare the compound in its purest state and sometimes I despaired of success. My assistants always stood by me in my moments of despair and with youthful hopes strengthened my mind. I carried on my observations incessantly at great personal sacrifice and not without much inconvenience to the practice of my profession as a physician. My first series of cases treated with this compound were published early in 1922; soon after this, most remarkable results were obtained with it by Major Shortt in Shillong to whom I sent the compound for trial at the request of Col. Greig, Director of Medical Research in India.

The Governing Body of the Indian Research Fund Association quickly recognized its value from the reports of my cases in Calcutta as well as of those obtained from Shortt and other Directors of the Pasteur Institute, Shillong, from Christophers, Director of the Kala-azar Commission, from medical officers of tea estates in Assam, and from the Government of Assam. In Calcutta its value was quickly recognized. Its reputation quickly spread all over Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and to more distant places in India, such as Madras, Sanawar, Simla Hills and other places too numerous to mention, and every observer who used the drug was convinced of the great advance made by its discovery in the treatment of kala-azar.

It was introduced, soon after its discovery and after a preliminary experimental trial, by the Government of Sir John Kerr, as a preventive measure against the disease in Assam.

While discussing with the Director of the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine the therapeutic value of this compound, soon after its discovery, I

pointed out and suggested to him the possibility of obtaining therapeutic aromatic antimonials from the Chemische Fabrik von Heyden, the only compound of that nature then available in England being stibenyl, and this suggestion of mine was followed by the introduction of von Heyden's preparations into this institution for the treatment of kala-azar.

Today urea stibamine stands pre-eminent in the treatment of kala-azar in India and as a powerful prophylactic against the disease, and I have now the supreme satisfaction in my mind that the treatment that has been evolved out of my research has saved the lives of millions of sufferers in my country. A disease which for centuries was considered incurable, destroyed millions of human lives, ruined families, decimated villages and retarded prosperity in the affected parts of India, has now lost its terrors and the sufferings of the afflicted have been mitigated. Epidemics of the disease have been forgotten and the places formerly affected are becoming healthy localities.

The following extract from the speech of His Excellency Sir John Kerr, while bidding farewell to the Legislative Council in Assam in 1926, shows the value of the campaign against kala-azar by mass treatment of the disease. His Excellency remarked: 'We may now say that victory, if not in sight, is assured. The progress in the campaign against kala-azar in Assam has been phenomenally rapid, and if it continues at the present rate, there is an excellent prospect of the dread scourge being brought under complete control in a few years.'

The last word about the treatment of kala-azar has not, however, yet been said, though we are nearer to it than in the case of any other tropical disease. I hope that an antimony compound will be discovered which it will be possible to administer with benefit by the mouth, thanks to the progress of synthetic chemistry.

The economic effect of the discovery of the cure of kala-azar must be very great in the provinces of Assam and Bengal, and in other parts of India and abroad where the disease occurs.

This disease in its epidemic manifestation constituted, according to Rogers, the old 'Burdwan Fever' which raged in Bengal in the 'sixties and 'seventies, and converted many parts of Bengal into a 'valley of the shadow of death'. Its terrible nature is well described in the following words of a contemporary writer: 'The devastation of the epidemic has a very sad tale to tell. Countries that once smiled with peace, health, and prosperity, have been turned into hot-beds of disease, misery and death. Villages that once rang with the cheerful, merry tunes of healthful infants, now resound with loud wailings and lamentations. Huts which offered too little space for their occupants, are left without a tenant. The skulls of human beings now strew the fields at every few yards' distance. The fell disease has mocked every human effort and absorbed in its powerful grasp, day by day and inch by inch, every blessed spot which once used to be prized for its salubrity.'

General Gorgas, speaking in 1914 on yellow fever control, stated that its eradication would command the attention and the gratitude of the world and

the thing could be done. Today yellow fever is in full retreat in the Americas. The same will one day be said of kala-azar, and it may be hoped that before long the disease will be completely banished from India and other parts of the world where it occurs. The signs of its retreat in Assam are already within sight, thanks to intensive mass treatment with urea stibamine which, at the present day, is the most effective prophylactic against the disease.

That day will be the happiest and proudest day of my life, if it falls to my lot to see it. I shall never forget that little room where urea stibamine was discovered, the room where I had to labour for months without a gas point or a water tap, and where I had to remain contented with my old kerosene hurricane lamp for my work at night. The room still remains but the signs of a laboratory in it have completely disappeared. To me it will ever remain as a place of pilgrimage, where the first light of urea stibamine dawned upon my mind. Let me tell you that this light did not emanate from inside marbled halls with crystal doors; and other lights may emanate for the well-being of mankind from still more insignificant and unfrequented corners of the boundless atmosphere of scientific research, where there is pride and pleasure to work in the midst of difficulties.

BUDDHISM IN GUJARATI LITERATURE

By

DIWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B., J.P.

Asoka chose the rock at Girnār as one of the places for his propaganda. Buddhists selected places like Kanheri, Jogeshwarī and Elephanta near Bombay, for their cave residences. Girnār is in Kāthiāwāḍ, i.e. Saurāshtra, the other places are in the ancient Lāta province. Modern Gujarat and Kāthiāwāḍ, therefore, had not wholly been ignored by the followers of Buddha. However, Brahmin and Jaina influence was so powerful on this side of India that the religion of Buddha could not eradicate it effectively. For this reason, Buddhism is hardly referred to in old or even mediaeval Gujarati literature, excepting where Avatārs (Incarnations) are mentioned. The Brahmins had very shrewdly incorporated Buddha in their list of Avatārs, as an Avatār, and along with other Avatārs, he too is mentioned as one of them by the poets. But it was left to the present times to study and bring forward the good points of one of the greatest religions of the world and its propounder. It began with the late Mr. Narayan Hemchandra, a voluminous writer who flourished half a century ago, and who was a devotee of Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore and a companion of Keshav Chandra Sen. He knew Bengali well. From Bengali sources he gave us details of the life of Buddha (*Buddhadeva charitra*). A few years thereafter, another Gujarati writer, a deep student of different religions, Mr. Monilal N. Doshi, B.A., prepared a Life of Buddha (A.D. 1901) and his Upadesha (A.D. 1912) from various sources, and the same were published by the late Bhikshu Akhandānand, who spent his whole life in the cause of making literature as cheap as possible. This was the first systematic attempt of spreading knowledge about Buddha and Buddhism in Gujarat. Later, the work was taken up by the *Gujarat Purātattva Mandir* of Ahmedabad, which owed its existence to the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, when he was residing at Sabarmati. Dharmanand Kosambi, who is a student of Buddhism and a scholar of international fame, has contributed the largest number of books bearing on this subject. In 1924 were published the Dhammapada translation from the original with notes, in collaboration with Prof. R. V. Pathak, and the *Buddha Līlā Sār-sangraha*,[1] and *Abhidhammattha sangaho*. This was followed by the *Samādhi-mārga* and *Bauddhasanghno Parichaya* (1925). H.H. The Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda had invited Prof. Dharmanand Kosambi to deliver a series of lectures on Buddha in A.D. 1910. Based on the subject matter of that series and on other materials he gave to Gujarat his *Buddha Charitra* in A.D. 1937, a book which till now is the final work on the subject. The Jain Sāhitya Prakāshak Samiti of Ahmedabad published this book. In between Gujarati poets were trying their best at versifying the salient incidents in the life of Buddha. The late Kavi Botadkar had in simple but pathetic lines versified the Return Home (Grihāgamana) of Buddha, and the late Mr. Narsinha Rao Divalia, one of the best lyric poets of Gujarat, had begun to turn his attention to this fascinating topic.

On 18th May, A.D. 1924, Buddha Jayantī was celebrated on the Sea-Shore at Juhu, a suburb of Bombay, where Gandhiji was staying at the time. He took part in the proceedings and verses composed for that occasion were sung by little girls giving an outline of the life and preachings of Buddha. They were written by Narsinha Rao. Later, *the Light of Asia* by Sir Edwin Arnold attracted him and he selected about seven prominent events of his life, like the parting from Yashodharā, incidents with Kisā Gotamī and Sujātā, and versified them in lines, which, due to their pathos and sentiment, have found an abiding place in Gujarati literature. He has published the collection in book-form—*Buddhacharit*—with coloured illustrations and copious notes (A.D. 1934). Another celebrated poet of Gujarat, Kavi Nānālāl, has absorbed the spirit of his life, and still younger writers, who are rising and coming into light and fame like Sundaram and Uma Shanker Joshi, have taken to the subject as full of possibilities for the exercise of their imagination and pen and have been writing on it. On the whole, modern Gujarati literature has dealt with the life of Buddha and his teachings (*Upadesha*) and there is no likelihood of its being neglected in the future.

[1] This work had passed through three editions by A.D. 1930 and it has proved very popular. It was originally written in Mārāṭhī (A.D. 1914) and translated into Gujarati by Nilkantha Mashruvala.

A BASIC TENDENCY OF PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES

By

A. M. Ghatage, M.A., Ph.D.

Compared to Sanskrit, the Prākrit languages show a bewildering variety of changes in their phonology, morphology and syntax, and produce an impression of artificiality by the extent and regularity of such changes. On the other hand, we find them used for a vast literary activity with the avowed purpose of coming closer to the speeches of the populace. The way to reconcile these two positions can only be found in an attempt to trace some fundamental principle of linguistic change at the basis of all changes introduced in the Prākrits, which would render them more intelligible.

One such principle we may hope to find in the phonology of the Prākrits which would make us understand how such changes have occurred and are made possible. In the whole range of the bewildering changes of sounds, both vowels and consonants, which one meets in the Prākrits, there appears to be one thing which remains constant and guides all these changes. This principle can be briefly formulated as *the tendency to preserve the syllabic quantity of a word*. We may now examine the working of this tendency in Prākrit phonology to appreciate the full extent of its operation and effectiveness.

The best illustration of this tendency may be found in the changes of the conjunct consonants. Thus whether the assimilation observable in them is progressive or regressive, the syllabic nature of the word remains in tact. So Sanskrit *tapta* becomes *tatta* and *yatna* may change into *jatta*, but the syllabic values of the words are in no way affected. They continue to have a long syllable followed by a short one. In fact, a change involved in *tapta* becoming *tatta* can only be explained by a consideration of the following kind. The usual explanation that the first consonant *-p-*, being purely implosive, was less audible than the explosive second consonant *-t-* and so it had a better chance of surviving as it actually does and assimilates the first, is not the whole truth. We find not only the loss of the first mute but also the gemination of the second and say that it has assimilated the first. But what exactly do we mean by this assimilation ? Obviously it is not that the mind of the speaker regards the first stop as a *-t-* by mistaken identity, nor does his anticipatory movement of *-t-* satisfies him for the sound of *-p-*, though this is the starting point of the change. If the speaker had known that his inability to pronounce the sound *-p-* were harmful to the nature of the word, it would have remained a mere mistake and would have been duly corrected. What appears to happen actually is that the mind of the speaker has identified the essence of the word not so much with the acoustic effects of the individual sounds making up the word, a feeling for *-p-* and that for *-t-* following a short vowel but more with the sequence of two syllables, a short vowel sound followed by a group of consonants so as to render it heavy by position. This essential nature of the word impresses the mind to such an extent that it forms the focus of attention at the time of uttering the word leaving all other constituents vague and

unimportant. In other words the syllabic structure of a word is for the speaker a distinctive variant while all others are non-distinctive. Once these others are freed from the essential nature of the word they have less chance of survival and drop out to the extent that they in no way affect the essential nature of the word. Thus after uttering the first syllable which is by nature short, the speaker has a vivid consciousness that it must be followed by a group of consonants or more accurately by a long consonant so as to give it its required syllabic value of length by position. When the stop is uttered, the choice falls naturally on the explosive *-t-* as clearer of the two and the tendency is to lengthen it to satisfy the demands of the preceding syllable and when once it is satisfied the speaker has no further inclination of reproducing the other elements of the original word.

The same principle appears to explain more accurately the cases of assimilation where the original conjunct is made up of a mute and a fricative, a liquid or a semi-vowel. When a Sanskrit word like *putra* becomes *putta*, or a word like *tatra* becomes *tattha*, or even a word like *satya* becomes *sacca* we are accustomed to call the changes as ordinary cases of assimilation and we say that the mute assimilates to itself the other sound. But the actual fact is more complex. In the first place the Sanskrit orthography does not appear to represent the actual sounds of the Sanskrit words in their totality and is to some extent responsible for the usual view of regarding them as cases of assimilation. It is easy to see that a conjunct like *-tr-* or *ty-* is not strictly of the same type as *-kt-* or *-tp-* where two mutes are involved. While in the latter type of groups there will be a syllabic division in the body of the conjunct consonant separating the two sounds into two syllables marked by the plosion between the two, no such syllabic division is possible in the earlier type. In fact *-tr-* is nothing but the sound *-t-* the explosion of which takes the form of the sound *-r-* and a conjunct like *-pl-* has the explosion of the mute *-p-* in the form of a lateral sound. *ty-* would normally be a palatal *-t-* sound. In all these cases the sound would not be such as can be strictly called a conjunct which can be split into two parts the first of which attaches itself to the preceding syllable and makes it a close one. In other words, if the sounds are exactly what they are written, they would not make position and make the preceding syllable long. That some of the Sanskrit groups were and are of this type is evident from the fact that groups like *tr-*, *pl-* can begin a word in the language as in *trāyasva*, *plavate* or *tyāga*. But when such groups occur in the body of a word they necessarily make position and are always so treated. This can only be possible on the supposition that in actual pronunciation they were real conjunct consonants and involved a long consonant as the first member. In ordinary orthography they were as good as **puttra*, **sattya*, **vipplava* and so on. Such a sound of these words can also be inferred from the fact that there was no difference of sound in the groups of words like *sattra* and *putra* though, following etymology, we write *sat-tra* (from *sad-* and *tra*) but *pu-tra* (from *pu-* and *tra*). In view of the rules of doubling given by the Sanskrit phoneticians, which pertain more to sounds than to writing,

it cannot be imagined that the long consonant in *sattra* was shortened, and we are led to think that the simple *-t-* in words like *putra* was geminated. And this is in full agreement with the actual sounds. Once this thing is clear we can see that the change of these groups into Prākrit *-tt-*, *-pp-* or *-cc-* does not involve a case of assimilation but only that of simplification. The double consonant is found sufficient for keeping the syllabic structure of the word and the following peculiar type of explosion is superfluous for that purpose, with the result that it gives place to the normal type of explosion. In short, it disappears leaving behind a long consonant. Such a supposition alone can explain the change of *ty-* to *cc-* where the consonant itself is palatalized.

This principle is best verified on a limited type of change like the development of a glide of a sound like *-b-* in words of the nature of Sanskrit *tāmra, āmra* becoming Prākrit *tamba, aṁba*, etc. That in a group like *mr-*, *ml-* a glide sound like *-b-* is prone to arise is obvious from the physiological point of view. It is the natural result of the lack of a very fine adjustment of the vocal organs; where the soft palate goes up a moment too soon and gives rise to the glide. This same glide is observable in the change of Anglo-Saxon *slumerian* into English *slumber* and Latin *numerum* into French *nombre*. Though the two cases are quite parallel as regards the development of the glide the change illustrated by English and French shows a vital difference from the change in Prākrit. In both the European languages the two members of the group (for we must assume an intermediate step where the groups arose) are kept along with the glide in the words *slumber* and *nombre*, but the Prākrit words drop one of the members of the original groups. The preservation was possible in the earlier case because the English word has developed a new syllabic sound (ə) while in French the nasal sound has only nasalized the preceding vowel. On the contrary in the absence of both these possibilities, in the Prākrits the group of two consonants was all that was needed to preserve the syllabic nature of the word and quite naturally the additional sound of *-r-* or *-l-* was lost. From this it is but an obvious deduction that such a conception of the essential nature of a word would not allow a group of three consonants, which is actually the case in Prākrit. Similarly a conjunct at the beginning of a word served no useful purpose for the syllabic structure of the word and was uniformly lost.

This very principle would explain that striking change of dropping most of the intervocalic consonants which gives these languages their distinctive appearance. As in other languages, notably in French, the intervocalic consonants became voiced, turned into spirants, and as spirants were rare in Indo-Aryan, were finally lost. But their loss was in no way detrimental to the conception of the word as viewed by the speakers who stressed above all the number and sequence of the syllables which were kept in tact in spite of the loss of the consonants. As compared to the vast number of words where the syllables are preserved, the cases showing the loss of syllables are quite negligible and most of them are simple cases of contraction. It is only when the Middle Indo-Aryan period is over and the New Indo-Aryan period has begun that we

find a change in the idea of the nature of the word and the consequent loss of syllables accompanied by other changes.

Most of the vowel changes follow the same principle. It is obvious that the diphthongs *-ai-* and *-au-* and the long vowels *-e-* and *-o-* are not different in their metrical length and following a primitive Sanskrit tendency the former are reduced to the latter in Prākrits. But more interesting is the creation of two new sounds, the short *-ĕ-* and *-ŏ-* under the pressure of the same tendency. In Sanskrit the long *-ē-* and *-ō-* when followed by groups of consonants preserved their long quantity. Thus in a word like *veṣṭana* or *oṣṭha* the vowels of the first syllables were necessarily long and were so pronounced. But these words were in no way different as regards quantity from words with the vowels *-i-* and *-u-* with a following group of consonants as in *mitra* or *uṣṭra*. The qualities of the vowels were no doubt different but the metrical value of the words was the same in spite of the difference of quantity of the vowels in the first syllables. Now the difference between the two can only be about the length of the following conjunct consonant. If *-e-* and *-o-* were pronounced long in the first two words and *-i-* and *-u-* were pronounced short in the other two and yet the words had the same metrical scheme, it follows that in the first group the first member of the group was of a shorter duration than in the second set of words. This was possible because the first member of the group in Sanskrit was able to show some amount of variation in its length to preserve the quantity of the preceding vowels distinct. With the assimilation of the groups in the Prākrit stage no such possibility existed and the natural result was that the preceding long vowels were shortened. They, however, preserved their distinctive quality and resulted in short *-ĕ-* and *-ŏ-*.

A host of other changes will be found to confirm this principle. Thus cases of anaptyxis like *śrī = siri*, *sūkṣma = suhuma*, gemination of consonants like *taila = tella*, *khāta = khatta*, *dukūla = dugulla*, simplification of groups like *varṣa = vāsa*, *gātra = gāya* and most of the Sandhi rules can be taken to illustrate this principle.

One such change based on this principle is of greater importance in the explanation of the morphology and syntax of the Prākrit languages. It is the regular alternance between a long vowel and a short vowel with an anusvāra after it. Both have the same metrical value and both appear to alternate with each other as a purely phonetic variant. Cases of spontaneous nasalization like *vayasya = vayaṁsa*, *aśru = aṃsu* and changes like *viṁśati = vīsā*, *siṁha = sīha* fall under this alternance.

This alternance would explain a number of individual words which are otherwise obscure. So in Pāli *akaṁsu* for *akārṣuḥ*, *bādh-* in the sense of *bandh-* 'to bind', *siyaṁ* for *siyā* as potential third person singular of *as-*, *siriṁsapa* for *sarīsṛpa*, *niraṁkatvā* for **nirākṛtvā*, the proper name *vaṁgīsa* which may be the same as *vāgīśa*, the form *caṁkī* probably Sanskrit *cakrī*, *khaluṁka* from Sanskrit *khalokṣa-*, *bhiṁsanakaṁ* for *bhīṣaṇaka*, *sanaṁtano* for *sanātano* and in Ardha-Māgadhī *vikanthayai* for *vikatthate*, *saṁbalī* for *śālmali*, *ghiṁsu* for *grīṣme*, *saṁḍāsa* for *saṁdaṁśa* and a number of other words.

More interesting is the fact that this type of alternance makes a number of anomalous constructions in the Prākrit syntax quite understandable and regular. Thus *chamā* for the regular *chamaṁ* of the Acc. sing. would explain Pāli sentences like *tattheva nipatiṁ chamā* | 'she fell there on the ground', *bījāni pavapaṁ chamā* | 'sowing seeds in the ground', *pāsādatale chamā patitaṃ* | 'fallen on the ground on the floor of the palace' which is comparable to a sentence occurring soon after *disvāna chamaṁ nisinne* | which would make the equation of *chamā* and *chamaṁ* quite apparent. Similarly often a form of the Acc. appears to be replaced by the form of the Nom. because of this alternance. So Pāli: *imā girā abbhudīresuṁ* | 'they uttered these words', Ardha-Māgadhī: *itthī pumaṁ pavvaiyaṁ gihiṁ vā* | . On the other hand the long vowel of the Nom. is replaced by the short vowel with an anusvāra which produces a semblance of a form of Acc. Thus Pāli: *taṁ bhūmiṁ rāmaṇeyyakaṁ* | for *sā bhūmi*, etc. Ardha-Māgadhī: *nāsanti appāṇa paraṁ ca naṭṭhā* | or *tāranti appāṇa paraṁ ca tiṇṇā* | .

Two very frequent constructions are best explained by this alternance. Thus the use of *sakkā* as a predicate when the subject is Neuter or an Infinitive is only a phonetic variant for the regular form *sakkaṃ*. So in Pāli: *na sakkā balimuddhattuṁ* | *dubbacanaṁ kiṁ sakkā kātuye* | *na ca sakkā aghaṭamānena* | or AMg. *sakkā saheuṁ āsāi kaṇṭagā* | . Equally frequent is the use of *aṭṭhā* for *aṭṭhaṁ* in AMg. to express the purpose of an act. Thus we read *appaṇaṭṭhā paraṭṭhā vā* | or *annassa aṭṭhā ihamāgao mi* | . This is probably the real explanation of the apparent use of the Acc. where we should expect an Abl. which ends in *-ā*. Thus Pāli: *kālaṁ kālaṁ bhavā bhavaṁ* | *akataṁ dukkataṁ seyyo* | or AMg. *jai paraṁ maraṇaṁ siyā* | .

A further investigation would reveal many such facts both in the morphology and syntax of the Prākrit languages which would find their explanation in such phonetic alternances based on the fundamental principle of syllabic quantity. That this principle would also shed some light on the problem of derivation can be seen in the explanation of the plural forms of the Neuter nouns like *phalāĩ* or *mahūĩ* which correspond to Sanskrit *phalāni* and *madhūni*. The equation is often denied on the phonetic ground that a loss of a nasal should nasalize the preceding vowel and not the following one as it does in these cases. One can compare the development of the French nasal vowels in cases like *chanter* from Latin *cantare* or *vent* from Latin *ventus*. That as in the present case the nasal can nasalize the following vowel can be explained on the ground that it was always kept in its own syllable, and the persistence of all the three syllables and their separateness may explain the nasalization of the final syllable and not the preceding one. In the parallel cases from French, one can see that the nasal nasalizes the preceding vowel only when it is followed by another consonant and thus properly belongs to the preceding syllable. In other cases we find that Latin *amare* gives rise to French *aimer*.

The investigation of this one principle underlying a number of phonetic changes would suggest that in the apparent welter of linguistic changes of the Prākrits there does run as an undercurrent some well-marked principle which

cannot be possible in a group of artificial changes produced by grammarians and literary men. On the contrary it suggests strongly that it was the result of the unconscious tendency of the speaker to value the syllabic structure of the word more than anything else. This is probably the strongest proof in favour of regarding the Prākrit languages as having a natural origin. Because they have been preserved to us only in literary documents they are bound to show some deviations from the actual spoken forms on which they are based.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF *ŚEṢA*

By

DR. K. C. VARADACHARI, M.A., PH.D.

In the Philosophy of Śrī Rāmānuja we find that he calls his system Viśiṣṭādvaita, and further that he considers the nature of the souls and matter to be one of body to the Supreme Divine Being, and also that he prefers to call the soul as *śeṣa* or *dāsa*.

Tracing the history of the word *Śeṣa* we find that it has been derived from the root *Śiṣ*: *śiṣyate*: that is left or that which is progeny, since it is this that is left over after the parent perishes: (NIRUKTA, III. 2). Though the NIRUKTA of Yāska explains *Śeṣa* as offspring (III. 2),[1] in deriving the word *Śivam* in X. 17 it traces it to the root *śiṣ*, meaning obviously that it is happiness, and therefore *maṅgalam*, auspicious and *śivam*.

The BṚHAD-DEVATĀ (VIII. 50) explains *śeṣa* as that which remains or the remainder, not in the sense of the *Nirukta* but generally all that is left over (cf. VII. 37).[2]

The above clearly shows that whatever may have been the general root from which this word of technical importance has been derived, it later signified that which is left after or produced. The BṚHADĀRAṆYAKA Upaniṣad [3] clearly uses this word '*śeṣa*' as that which remains not in the sense of progeny but as that which is left over:

Pūrṇasya pūrṇamādāya pūrṇamevāvaśiṣyate |

To say that the individuals are the remains or those which have been left over is to affirm that *śeṣa* has not a root that would play the fundamental rôle which has been granted to it by later philosophical schools (*darśanas*).

Thus we have to drop the meaning normally given to *śeṣa* as almost identical with *avaśeṣa*,[4] and seek to give it a meaning that is traceable in the philosophical usage to which it has been put by Jaimini and Rāmānuja.

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[1] The relationship thus expressed leads to the enunciation of the creator-creature relationship as ground and consequent, as cause and effect. *Śeṣa* means a creature, an effect, or attribute or mode or part of the Cause, Creator, Substance, or Whole. Cf. Whitney: ROOTS, VERB-FORMS AND PRIMARY DERIVATIVES, pp. 173-4.

[2] BṚHADDEVATĀ, VIII. 50: *Trāyantām vaiśvadevyṛk tu śeṣastvabdaivataḥ paraḥ* |

[3] Śānti mantra of the VĀJASANEYOPANIṢAD (ĪŚĀVĀSYOPANIṢAD).

[4] Cf. *pariśiṣyate*: KAṬHA UP., IV. 3 and V. 4 and *atiśiṣyate*: CHĀN. UP., VIII. 4. 5.

The evolutions of the concept of '*śeṣa*' at the hands of Jaimini is that it is considered to be the subordinate or auxiliary to the main or the *pradhāna*. *Śeṣa* means an *aṁśa*, a part of the whole rite, and the several parts are interchangeably parts or mains according to the different kinds of rites. Just this kind of relationship is what is realized in our life. It is not always that a man remains the main or leader in respect of a function or station in society. It happens that under different conditions or circumstances a man may have to be just a part of a bigger situation, in which another person plays the rôle of the Chief or Leader, however much he may be eminent in his own sphere. It is usually said that an egotistic person is one who would like to be in the limelight all the time, even as a wit remarked, 'In the marriage a bridegroom and in the funeral the corpse'. Such is the tragedy of fixing up the part *śeṣa* as part at all times or the *śeṣi* the main as main at all times and circumstances. The Bradleyean view of Ethics as the definition of a man's station and duties, no less than his master Hegel's, is to be refuted because they fix the individual into a static scheme of the Absolute, and the dynamic is not taken into consideration, not merely because the main or the *śeṣi* is the Absolute.

The dynamic concept of *Śeṣa-śeṣi* relationship is capable of a wide and interesting application even in respect of constantly changing situations which is the characteristic of the evolving Society. The main-subsidiary relationship is thus a valuable development that departs from the Theory of Remainder or Progeny or Creatureliness. But it is sought sometimes to explain this by saying that the root *śis* could somehow be made to explain this *aṅgāṅgī-bhāva* since the *aṅga* is other than the *aṅgī*; thus *śeṣa* is that which is other than the *śeṣi* which alone focusses our attention in any dynamic context. We know that in the example of firing of a revolver or gun we always consider the last term or rather the last overt cause, the pulling of the trigger, as the cause of the firing of the revolver, whilst in fact a host of other co-operating circumstances have gone towards bringing about the effect. Do we say, however, that the last link in the chain of causes is the main and the others subordinate or subservient to this?

Yet this is precisely the meaning implied in the definition of Jaimini (PŪRVAMĪMĀṀSĀ, III. i. 2): *Śeṣaḥ parārthatvāt—śeṣa* because dependent on or existing for another. Rāmānuja when explaining the relation between the individual soul and God goes to the extent of interpreting the *para* in the above sūtra as God, the Transcendent, the true Other of the individual. In the VEDĀRTHA SAṀGRAHA, Rāmānuja writes: *Paragatātiśayādhānecchayā upādeyatvameva yasya svarūpam sa śeṣaḥ paraḥśeṣī*: The definition of the principal and the subsidiary or the subordinate which is said to exist for or do action for the sake of that principal or in some way assist it, is not quite clear in PŪRVAMĪMĀṀSĀ and hence what is needed is that we should be able to define the words *śeṣa* and *ṣeṣi* in such a manner that there cannot and should not occur the reciprocality in the relationship between the Divine and the human, that is to say, the Divine should never be made an instrument or subordinate or *śeṣa*,

so far as the human goes, for that is to make God less than the individual. One thing has become clear in the course of our above discussion, namely, that *śeṣa* means that which serves or subserves another, and is to be considered to be *always* dependent upon or existing for and in that Other, and this should certainly not be in respect of other individuals but only to the total. This, of course, is very difficult since considered from the point of society and nature, this individual and unique loyalty to the Other, the Divine, may have to be and indeed is forced to be *via* the other individuals in the succession of hierarchy of causes and uses. This will show that spiritual philosophy demands the unique direct loyalty to the One Supreme Divine, whilst it may symbolically or exteriorly or objectively be expressed in the indirect way through the other individuals placed to the comprehension of the individual in his spiritual experience as the terms in the hierarchy of temporal manifestation, higher or lower as the case may be. There is thus a supreme demand to understand the truth that the Hegelian system has in objectifying Reason or the Absolute in the State lost grip with the foundational reality of the individual's spiritual nature as demanding the unique revelation of the Divine relationship within itself. This is the true spirituality or living in the Spirit, the Divine, the Life Divine.

The next step has been taken by some writers that *śeṣa* must be interpreted as *viśeṣaṇa*, particular attribute of a substance and not merely as *śeṣa*—a dependent or subsidiary. It would mean that *vi-śeṣa-ṇa* is that which is not the *dravya* or substance as such, but only its invariable and indispensable attribute through which alone we can know the substance but which is not the substance itself. This relation will represent the *apṛthaksiddha-saṁbandha* between the particular parts and the Whole or Organism. The usage above stated is possible according to some because they hold that affixes, though they alter the meaning of the roots to which they are affixed, can in some cases be dropped in respect of meaning whilst the root itself will shoulder the meaning of the elided affixes. Thus we have pointed out the word *śeṣa* in Vedic usage really expresses the meaning of *avaśeṣa*, whilst in the Sūtra-period it denoted the meaning of the subordinate or auxiliary and *aṅga* or part, integral with the whole or the principal or the main.

The next development shows that the meaning of the word underwent a further orientation in so far as it was made to stand for or express the relationship of creature, effect, attribute, mode, and servant or slave all in one complex structure. There seems to have resulted even a confusion due to the root *śaṣ*: to control and ordain, and both the meanings were incorporated in the concept of *śeṣa*.

Thus we find that in the concept of *śeṣa* there has occurred a gradual importation of more than one meaning,[1] till finally we have the concept of the

[1] One more importation into this term has to be mentioned. This is the meaning that is derived from the root *śi*: to lie, which is used to denote that the *śeṣa* is that which is lying; Indian mythology calls the Supreme Divine as *Śeṣa* and also the *Adiśeṣa* is the serpent-couch of the Divine: RV., I. 174. 4: *śeṣān nu ta indra sasmān yonāu*; VIII. 60. 15; AV., XVIII. 2. 10,

Organism versus its Self. It is the soul or *puruṣa* that endows the individual's body with growth, adaptation and mutational possibilities, whose 'why' has not been answered by any theory of Nature or outer evolution or law or chance. Nor is there any possibility of determining the 'wherefore' of these growths and manifestations or mutations arriving at any end, if the end is something of which these organisms and organs are not aware of unconsciously or subconsciously or superconsciously. The theory of the Unconscious is fertile only to a limited extent as in the case of perpetuation and self-preservation through the structural memory; but it is incapable of leading to the assertion of human evolution into the vaster and wider consciousness of the integral whole, even if indeed this Unconscious be, as Von Hartmann and C. G. Jung held it to be, universal. It is the universal lower rather than the universal higher. As to the doctrine of subconscious awareness, it is only a feeling again of the presentiment of the future, anticipation of the future organized on the principle of biological memory even like the Unconscious, and it cannot help very much except in so far as it might happen to be the field in which the superconsciousness erects itself in some measure. But it is rather a thin field for such a vigorous manifestation as the Superconscious. The true and divine ends of man are beyond his present apprehension and yet he has faint gleams of the great future—his goal or end through it in his most intelligent moments of anticipation; there is at the back of his consciousness another light that guides him to his own superb destiny, his true self, his supraconscious existence, of which this waking life of his is but a remainder, however full it may appear comparatively speaking. That does not lose itself in the appearance of the unconsciousness, so as to become an automatic process which is precisely what we should call the remainder in a consciously executed act. Comparing for the sake of clarity the expressions of Bergson in this context we may say that matter is that which is left behind by the process of change, is that which is registering its uniform beat of fugitive experiences, is that which does not permit the full manifestations of the Spirit having become an obstructive medium through which it has to pierce through. Equally the individuals are remainders in a sense caught up as diverse foci of Consciousness, made fugitive in matter as possible forces, when so required, to break through into the open life of the Supermind, or manifest themselves with the increased power and light that belong to it. Then when Rāmānuja stresses the identity of *viśeṣa-ṇa* and *śeṣa* (*śarīra*), where the *viśeṣaṇa* is *apṛthaksiddha*, the meaning of the organic conception becomes clear. Not only that, *śeṣa* becomes a general concept which embraces both the inconscient matter and conscient soul, though the name '*dāsa*' becomes more appropriate

etc. Cf. VEDIC CONCORDANCE, Bloomfield, p. 935: and ROOTS, VERB-FORMS AND PRIMARY DERIVATIVES, Whitney, p. 174.

Cf. *Notes on the Kaṭhopaniṣad*: Ananda K. Coomaraswami, *N.I. Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 47, note 3. He writes: 'We have shown elsewhere that it is by no means accidentally that *śeṣa* and *Ananta* are designations both of the World-serpent and of the Brahman. See my "Angeland Titan", JAOS., 55, 1935 and "Janaka and Yājñavalkya", IHR., XIII 1937.'

in the case of the conscient soul, according to Śrī Venkaṭanātha.[1] Thus the word *śeṣa* becomes essentially a technical term denoting the body that cannot exist apart from the Self or the Divine, who is the ultimate Self of all souls and bodies.

AMBAṢṬHA, AMBAṢṬHĀ AND ĀMBAṢṬHA

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I

Bhāgavata-Purāṇa X. 43. 2, 4 read:—

(*a*) apaśyat kuvalayāpīḍam kṛṣṇo'mbaṣṭhapracoditam |
(*b*) ambaṣṭhāmbaṣṭha no dehy apakrāma mā ciram ||

Sudarśana explains 'ambaṣṭhapracoditam' as 'hastipakaprocoditam' and Vallabha 'ambaṣṭhena saṃkarodbhavena jātihīnena'. On (*b*) Vallabha writes:—

nindāyāṃ vīpsā | pratilomajo'mbaṣṭha iti tasya sahajadoṣakīrtanenaiva tiraskāro bhavati ||

They do not attempt a derivation of the word. The word occurs in Pāṇini 8. 3. 97 and is left unexplained by all the commentators except Jayanta, who adds in his Padamañjarī[2] 'ambe tiṣṭhaty ambaṣṭhaḥ'. He, however, does not explain 'amba' and hence is of no help in the elucidation of the word. Ambaṣṭha occurs, in its feminine form, in Amara (II. 4. 72f.) as a synonym of certain plants and is explained by Kṣīrasvāmin as 'ambe śabde tiṣṭhaty ambaṣṭhā'. Since the plant (*Jasminum auriculatum*) does no more live in word than any other plant, the derivation seems void of point. A prima facie derivation would be 'ambāyām mātari tiṣṭhatīty ambaṣṭhaḥ' and the same is adopted by Śabdakalpadruma for ambaṣṭha and by Bhānujīdīkṣita for ambaṣṭhā in Amara. But both the ambaṣṭha man and ambaṣṭhā plant do no more reside in mother than any other man or plant and hence do not, in particular, deserve that name. The real explanation of the word may therefore be sought somewhere else.

[1] Cf. my article '*Śrī Rāmānuja's Philosophy of Society*'. (*Vedānta Kesari*, May 1943), where I have pointed out that there are nine names by which the soul is designated in the Philosophy of Śri Rāmānuja—namely, *amśa, prakāra, viśeṣaṇa, śarīra, śeṣa, dāsa, kaustubha, śakti, bhāgavata*. *Śeṣatva* is the abiding quality of the conscient and the inconscient; the consciousness of the individual soul is *śeṣa-bhūyiṣṭha—śeṣatve sati jñātṛtvam* : NYĀYASIDDHĀÑJANAM (mem. ed., p. 113) disposed as it is towards the Divine the *Śeṣi*. But it is of atomic dimensions also. But this *jñātṛtva* is increased to the fullest limit of omniscience when the individual soul becomes attuned to the Divine through devotion or love that is the fulfilment of its knowledge of His *śeṣitva* (cf. my article on '*Spinoza* and *Rāmānuja*—a comparative study').

[2] ambe tiṣṭhaty ambaṣṭhaḥ | supi stha iti kapratyayaḥ | ṅyāpor iti hrasvatvam | āmbaṣṭha iti sañjñeyaṃ janapadaviśeṣasya || On Kāśikā, 8. 3. 9.

Brugmann,[1] while discussing the words for service and servant in the IE. languages, cites, among others, upa-s-tí (√as 'be'), abhi-ṣ-ṭí (√as 'be'), pari-cār-a and eṣ-aṇā for service and ceṭa (*ceṣṭa ?), veṣ-á, dū-tá, pari-kar-a, pari-car-á, pari-cār-a-ka, abhi-car-a (Gk. amphi-polo-s, Lat. an-cul-us) for servant.

To this list may be added Cymr. amaeth, ammaeth (*ambaeth), Celt. amb(i)aktos meaning 'husbandman, tiller of the ground', a cognate of Latin ambactus 'a servant', specially one who is sent on a message, applied by Caesar to the vassals or retainers of the Gallic chiefs and found in OHG. as ambaht, ampaht 'a servant', Goth. andbahts 'a servant', AS. ambeht, ombihit 'a servant', ON. ambott, Ice. ambatt 'a bondwoman, a handmaid'. Walde explains ambaktos [2] as ambi (= abhi) actus = axtos ppl. of √ag (= √aj).

It is possible that the Celtic word ambaeth travelled to India as it did to other countries and was Sanskritized in the form of ambaṣṭha; of this we have a striking example in the Sanskrit suraṅgā, which is admittedly the Gk. syrinx.[3] The Celtic ambaeth meant 'a servant' and in the same meaning it was applied, in India, to an elephant-driver, a retainer of the sāmanta.

There is another possibility. The Hindi word 'mahāvat' means an 'elephant-driver'. It is derived from Sanskrit 'mahāmātra'[4] which means 'great in measure' and is applied to—

(*a*) an elephant-driver or keeper;

(*b*) a man of high rank, a sāmanta, the *mamartai*[5] of the Greeks.

Now, an elephant-driver is not essentially a man of 'great measure' and the epithet seems to be a transferred one: from the elephant,[6] 'who is invariably of large measure', to—

(*a*) an elephant-driver, a keeper;

(*b*) the possessor of elephant, a sāmanta, a man of fortune.

In this it may be compared with ibha 'elephant' and ibh-ya 'deserving or possessing an elephant'. And although 'mahāmātra' occurs in both these meanings, the word is not quotable in its primary sense, i.e. an elephant; and this is important.

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[1] Indogermanische Forschungen, 1906, pp. 377–91.

[2] Vergl. Worterbuch under √ag°; so Brugmann, Grundriss, 3. 7; Whitley Stokes, Urkeltischer Sprachschatz., p. 34; Macbain, Etymol. Dict. of the Gaelic Lang. under amhas; Morris Jones, A Welsh Grammar, p. 3; John Murray, Etymol. Dict. of Mod. Eng., 1921. According to Oxford Dict. (under ambassador) a compound of Goth. prefix and-, anda- and the Sb. bahts 'a servant'. The prefix answers to OHG. ant- (later ent-), Lat. ante, Gk. antí, Skt. anti 'over, against'. bahts 'devoted' = bhakta √bhaj. Details: Uhlenbeck, Got. et. Wtb., 13f.

[3] Sanskritization of Pāli and Pkt. forms: Morris, Ac., 1892, 30 July, 94-95.

[4] Kāmasūtra, I. 3. 12: santy api khalu śāstraprahatabuddhayo gaṇikā rājaputryo mahāmātraduhitaraś ca || Yaśodhara on it: mahāmātreti, mahatī mātrā yeṣām iti sāmantā mahāsāmantā vā hastiśikṣāyāṃ vā tallakṣaṇam anusartavyam ||

[5] Lüders, Eine indische Glosse des Mesychios KZ., 38. 433ff.

[6] Cp. AV. III. 22. 6: hastí mṛgáṇāṃ suṣádām atiṣṭhávān babhúva hí |
Whitney: 'possessing superiority either of strength or of position'; superiority of size is more probable.

Ambaṣṭha (= ambhas[1]+stha) is an exact parallel to 'mahāmātra' inasmuch as the word 'ambhas' (= of large measure = mahāmātra) is not quotable in the sense of 'elephant' and yet its compound 'ambaṣṭha' means 'an elephant-driver', a sāmanta, a Kṣatriya, a mighty fighter.

That 'ambhas' means 'of large measure' is implied in the following. RV. I. 133. 5 reads:—

piśáṅgabhṛṣṭim ambhṛṇám piśā́cim indra sáṃ mṛṇa |
sárvaṃ rákṣo ní barhaya ||

Sāyaṇa explains ambhṛṇá:

atibhayaṃkaraṃ śabdāyamānam | bhraṇ śabde | yad vā mahāntam atipravṛddham ity arthaḥ | ambhṛṇa iti mahannāma | ambhṛṇaḥ māhinaḥ (Ni. III. 3. 16) iti tatra pāṭhāt ||

Sāyaṇa seizes the vital point. Vedic ambhṛṇá, Pkt. ambhaṇa equate with Gk. ombrimos,[2] obrimos 'massive', Goth. abrs 'strong', and may be derived from ambh-, ombh- or abh-, obh-. The same ambhas (*-bhos) occurs in Latin triumpus,[3] Gk. thríamphos (*tri-) meaning 'across (or thrice ?) the massive', the prefix tri, Ved. tirás, (?) Lat. trans, Goth. thairh+upus (= ambhos, -bhas) meaning 'massive', being an epithet of Bacchus, Dionysos, Mars or the victorious general in whose honour the dance or procession was organized; and with this we incidentally settle the much-debated etymology of the English word triumph[4] (= tri+umphus, tri+ambhos, -bhas).

The same base should now explain Latin omnis from *ombhnī- or obhnī-, the development of meaning 'all, every' being exactly like Gk. pas 'all', IE. *kuā-nt = Ved. svā 'swell'. Connection may exist between ambhas[5] and amba-ra 'sky', abh-ra 'cloud', Pahl. namb-nam 'moist', nambitan 'moisture', Lat. nimbus 'cloud'.

And just as it is customary to divide Gk. ampho, amphi (= Ved. abhi) 'around' into am+phi (= Goth. bi 'around, about'), so we may analyze Gk. obrimos into o+bri-mos, om-bri-mos, the second element being met with in brime 'anger', brimós, brimáo, brimaino, brimoomai, brimosis; and this at once explains the Vedic bhṛ-ṇīyate, bhṛ-ṇā-ti (Ni. II. 12) in the meaning 'to be angry' and bhṛ́-ṇiḥ, ghṛ-ṇiḥ and bhṛ-ṇiḥ.

Connection between ambhas, Hindi ambār 'a large heap', Pāli ambho 'a stone' and Santāli ambao 'stout, full', is patent.

The above discussion yields ambha in the sense of elephant: ambaṣṭha (= ambhas+stha) would mean 'one sitting on the elephant', i.e. a driver, a keeper or a sāmanta, a Kṣatriya.

The following paragraphs develop ambaṣṭha in the meaning of a Kṣatriya. Rājaśekharasūri[6] in his Prabandhakośa assigns prominent place to hastividyā

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[1] Disaspiration by dissimilation. Cp. vidátha, √vidh: Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. I, p. 129.

[2] Details: Ferdinand Johanson, Indogermanische Forschungen, 1894, 239ff.

[3] Details: von Grienberger, *op. cit.*, 1906, 165ff.

[4] Variety of derivation: Oxford Dict.; Wyld, Univ. Eng. Dict.

[5] Details: Osthoff, IF. 4, 139ff., 275ff.

[6] Singhī Jainagranthamālā, VI, p. 28.

in the list of seventy-two kalās, indispensable for an accomplished Kṣatriya-kumāra. He reads:—

tvaṃ gṛhāṇa kalāḥ | kās tāḥ ? likhitam, gaṇitam, gītam, nṛtyam, paṭhitam, vādyam, vyākaraṇam, chandaḥ, jyotiṣam, śikṣā, niruktam, kātyāyanam, nighaṇṭuḥ, patrachedyam, nakhachedyam, ratnaparīkṣā, āyudhābhyāsaḥ *gajārohaṇam*, *turagārohaṇam*, tayoḥ śikṣā, mantravādaḥ, yantravādaḥ, rasavādaḥ, khanyavādaḥ, rasāyanam, vijñānam, tarkavādaḥ, siddhāntaḥ, viṣavādaḥ, gāruḍam, śākunam, vaidyakam, ācāryavidyā, āgamaḥ, prāsāda-lakṣaṇam, sāmudrikam, smṛtiḥ, purāṇam, itihāsaḥ, vedaḥ, vidhiḥ, vidyānuvādaḥ, darśanasaṃskāraḥ, khecarīkalā, amarīkalā, indrajālam, pātālasiddhiḥ, dhūrtaśabalam, gandhavādaḥ, vṛkṣacikitsā, kṛtrimamaṇikarma, sarvakaraṇī, vaśyakarma, paṇakarma, citrakarma, kāṣṭhaghaṭanam, pāṣāṇakarma, lepakarma, carmakarma, yantrakarasavatī, kāvyam, alaṃkāraḥ, hasitam, saṃskṛtam, prākṛtam, paiśācikam, apabhraṃśaḥ, kapaṭam, deśabhāṣā, dhātukarma, prayogopāyaḥ, kevalīvidhiḥ etāḥ sakalāḥ kalāḥ śikṣitavān ||

Accomplishment in the art of driving elephants may bestow the title 'ambaṣṭha' on a Kṣatriya, who is indicated to have received this appellation for other reasons in the following statements.

Dīghanikāya (Sāmaññaphalasutta 14, PTS. I, p. 51) enumerates the chief occupations as follows:—

yathā so imāni bhante puthusippāyatanāni seyyathīdaṃ hatthārohā, assārohā, rathikā, dhanuggahā, celakā, calakā, piṇḍadāvikā, uggā, rājaputtā, pakkhandino, mahānāgā, sūrā, cammayodhino, dāsakaputtā, ālārikā, kappakā, nahāpakā, sudā, mālākārā, rajakā, pesakārā, nalakārā, kumbhakārā, gaṇakā, muddikā yāni vā pan aññāni pi evaṃgatāni puthusippāyatanāni ||

The occupations up to 'cammayodhinaḥ' are doubtless those of the Kṣatriyas and *Celakā* of the list has been rendered by Franke [1] as Fahnenträger, i.e. bannerbearers. That the bannerbearers were a class of the Kṣatriyas is shown below.

Vinayavijayagaṇi,[2] describing 'dīkṣāmaha', writes:—

prathamaṃ maṅgalāny aṣṭau saṃpūrṇaḥ kalaśas tataḥ |
bhṛṃgāracāmarachatravaijayantyas tataḥ kramāt ||
pādapīṭhānvite ratnasvarṇsiṃhāsane tataḥ |
tataḥ pṛthak sāṣṭaśatam anārohebhavājinām ||
rathānām astrapūrṇanāṃ dhvajaghaṇṭāvalīspṛśām |
pradhānapuruṣāṇāṃ ca pratyekaṃ śatam aṣṭayuk ||
gajāśvarathapādātyasainyāni ca tatas tataḥ |
sahasrayojanottuṅgo dhvajo dhvajasahasrayuk ||
khaḍgagrāhāḥ kuntapīṭhaphalakagrāhiṇas tataḥ |
hāsyādikārakāḥ kāṃdarpikāś ca sajayāravāḥ ||
ugrā bhogāś ca rājanyāḥ kṣatriyādyās tataḥ kramāt |
saṃ caraṇti tato devā devyaś ca svāminaḥ puraḥ ||

[1] Dīghanikāya ubersetzt, pp. 52-53.
[2] Lokaprakāśe Kālalokaprakāśaḥ, p. 436.

The raising of Indradhvaja, decked out with thousands of small banners, was an important feature of the battle in ancient times; so much so that its raising was enjoined on kings by the author of Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra,[1] who says:—

surāṇām arthasiddhyarthaṃ vadhāya ca suradruhām |
yathā śakradhvajotthānaṃ prāha brahmā tathocyate || 111 ||

*   *   *   *   *   *   *

itthaṃ śakradhvajotthānaṃ kṛtaṃ rājño jayāvaham |
paurajānapadānāṃ ca kṣemārogyasubhikṣakṛt || 147 ||

The above authorities imply the raising or carrying of dhvaja by a particular class of people, presumably the Kṣatriyas; the Vaikhānasagṛhya [2] defines the carrying of dhvaja as one of the occupations of the Ambaṣṭhas (X. 12):—

ambaṣṭhaḥ kakṣyājīvy āgneyanartako dhvajaviśrāvī ceti ||

A slight change of *v* into *y* (-vī—yī) explains the difficult word -viśrāvī and enables us to postulate that the Ambaṣṭhas were Kṣatriyas and their chief occupation was the carrying of banner in certain ceremonies and in the battlefield, preferably on the back of an elephant.

The statement of Manu (X. 43-44) that Pauṇḍras, Auḍras, Draviḍas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khaśas were originally Kṣatriyas, who, later on, became Śūdras, owing to non-observance of Vedic sacrifice is an historical truism and may, with equal force, apply to those other tribes who, being situated on north-western frontier, could not properly perform the prescribed Brahmanical ritual.[3] To the mid-Indian Aryans these were Āryans only in name. Among such jāti-aryas,[4] taken in a slightly different sense, the Jaina Upāṅga [5] mentions Ambaṣṭhas:—

se kiṃ taṃ jātiariyā ? chavvihā pannatta | taṃ
Ambaṭṭhā ya kaliṃdā videhā vedamāiyā |
Hariyā vaṃcuṇā ceva cha eyā ibbhā jātito | se jātiāriyā ||

It was probably this type of tribes, about whom Kauṭalya says in Arthaśāstra (XI. 1):—

kāmboja saurāṣṭra kṣatriyaśreṇyādayo vārtāśastropajīvinaḥ (licchivika-vṛjika mallaka madraka kukurakurupañcālādayo rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ) ||

These jātiaryan Ambaṣṭhas were ever associated with warfare and are explicitly stated to be Kṣatriyas by Nāgeśa on Patañjali+Pāṇini (II. 4. 62):—

Pat. āmbaṣṭhyāḥ striyaḥ | sauviryāḥ striyaḥ ||
Kaiyaṭa: āmbaṣṭhyāpatyāni bahvyaḥ striya iti vṛddhetkosalājādāññaṅ ||

[1] King Bhojadeva, Vol. I, Ch. 7, 9–147.
[2] 'dhvajābhṛto dāsayoniḥ'. Maskari on Gautamadharmasūtra 20. 4.
[3] Vrātya communities, called White Indians. Details: my Introduction to Kāṭhaka-Saṃkalana, pp. xi ff.
[4] Cp. Pat. II. 2. 6: 351, V. 1. 115. 22:

tapaḥ śrutaṃ ca yoniś ca etad brāhmaṇakārakam |
tapaḥśrutābhyāṃ yo hīno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ ||

Vasiṣṭhasmṛti III. 7: avratānām amantrāṇāṃ jātimātropajīvinām, etc. Cp. also Vyāsasmṛti 4. 39–44. For the traditional interpretation of jātiārya cp. Jacobi, ZDMG. 60. 316.
[5] See Weber, Ind. Stud., XVI, p. 399.

Nāgeśa[1]: ambaṣṭhasyeti kṣatriyanāmedam | ato vā nāmadheyasyeti vṛddhatvam | āmbaṣṭhasyeti pāṭhe tu samyag eva ||

To sum up: Ambaṣṭhas were Kṣatriyas; they lived on warfare, presumably as 'gajārohas' and bannerbearers.

Till now we have based our discussion on 'ambhas' meaning 'massive' (= elephant) and have taken ambaṣṭha to mean 'one sitting on elephant', i.e. a driver, a Kṣatriya. But ambhas in its cognates also means 'strength, power'; taking ambhas in this sense, we may analyze ambaṣṭha as 'ambhas tiṣṭhaty asminn iti', i.e. 'one in whom strength resides', i.e. a Kṣatriya, a fighter.

In the latter analysis ambaṣṭha may be compared with ugra:—

ambaṣṭha	ugra
(1) ambhas = power, strength;	(1) terrible, an epithet of Indra in the Veda and of tejas, etc. in Pāli;
(2) ambaṣṭha = a Kṣatriya, a fighter;	(2) a Kṣatriya, a śreṇī, a saṃgha;
(3) a mixed caste.	(3) a mixed caste.

Fick[2] has detailed the confusion and conflict regarding the origin of ugra, a mixed caste; no less confused and conflicting are the statements regarding the origin of 'ambaṣṭha'. This is typified in:—

(a) brāhmaṇād vaiśyakanāyām ambaṣṭho nāma jāyate (Manu X. 8).

(b) viprān mūrdhābhiṣiktaṣ tu kṣatriyāyām ajāyata |
vaiśyāyāṃ tu tathāmbaṣṭho niṣādaḥ śūdrayā tathā ||
(Vṛddhahārītasmṛti VII. 151.)

(c) viprād vaiśyāyām ambaṣṭhaḥ kakṣyājīvy āgneyanartako dhvajaviśrāvī śalyacikitsī (Vaikhānasagṛhya X. 12).

This is accepted by Amara, Śabdaratnasamanvaya (Gaekwad Series 7. 12), Kalpadrukośa (202. 5) and Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, etc.

Against these cp.:—

anulomāḥ anantaraikāntarādvyantarāsu jātāḥ savarṇāmbaṣṭhograniṣādadauṣyantapāraśavāḥ ||
(= Gautamadharmasūtra IV. 16 = Yājñavalkya I. 91-95, quoted by Bhaṭṭoji (Manoramā) on Pāṇini IV. 1. 126.)

Maskari writes on it:—

kṣatriyeṇānantarāyāṃ jātaḥ ambaṣṭhaḥ vaiśyenānantarāyāṃ jātaḥ ugraḥ ||

As in the case of Ambaṣṭhas and Ugras, so in the case of Yavanas[3] and other mixed castes the authorities greatly differed. This shows that the real origin of these castes had long been forgotten, and their systematization into caste system[4] by Manu and others was an attempt at assimilation of these castes

[1] Already in Jaina works: 'dem Geschlechte nach die Ikṣvākuś, Videhaś, Hariś, Ambaṣṭhaś, Jñātaś, Kuruś, Vuṃvunālaś, Ugraś, Bhogaś, Rājanyaś, und andere'. Jacobi, ZDMG. 60. 316.

[2] Festschrift M. Winternitz, pp. 279-286.

[3] Cp. Manu X. 43-44 with Gautamadharmasūtra. 4. 21, pāraśavayavanakaraṇaśūdrāṇ śūdrety eke. On this Maskari writes: kṣatriyāc chūdrāyāṃ jāto yavanaḥ.

[4] Details: Oldenberg, Zur Geschichte des indischen Kastenwesens. ZDMG. 51. 277ff.

into Hindu fold, the nature of their origin being chiefly concocted in the light of the position they held in society at that time and the occupation they happened to follow in that period of flux and reflux.

Manu assigns a low status to the Varṇasaṃkaras and, accordingly, they are placed in Śūdravarga by Amara and others.

Manu records the following occupations for the Varṇasaṃkaras (X. 47ff.):—

sūtānām aśvasārathyam ambaṣṭhānāṃ cikitsanam |
vaidehakānāṃ strīkāryaṃ māgadhānāṃ vaṇikpathaḥ ||
matsyaghāto niṣādānāṃ tvaṣṭis tv āyogavasya ca |
medāndhracuñcumadgūnām āraṇyapaśuhiṃsanam ||

Now, occupations like driving horses and service in the woman's apartments may be contemptuous, and it was probably on that account that these were assigned to the Varṇasaṃkaras, but the occupation of medicine was not so. It was, on the contrary, a profession of honour, so much so that admission into it was restricted to the first three varṇas in the words of Suśruta (II. 1-2):

athātaḥ śiṣyopanayanīyam adhyāyaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśyānām anyatamam . . . . śiṣyam upanayet | ato viparīta-gunaṃ nopanayet ||

This is confirmed by Caraka (Sūtrasthāna XXX. 17):

tasyāyurvedasyāṅgāny aṣṭau | tad yathā | kāyacikitsāśālākyaṃ śalyahartṛkaṃ viṣagaravaiṇedhikapraśamanaṃ bhūtavidyā kaumārabhṛtykaṃ rasāyanāni vājīkaraṇam iti | sa cādhyetavyo brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiṣyaiḥ ||

Thus, the calling of medicine was reserved for the first three varṇas, while Manu assigns it to the Ambaṣṭhas, a mixed caste, and this contradiction demands explanation.

In Khuddakacatuṣpāda Caraka divides medicine into four divisions:

bhiṣag dravyāṇy upasthātā rogī pādacatuṣṭayam ||

Medicine (like a cow; so metre) has four feet: doctor, medicines, nurse and patient. It is possible that the glorious office of doctor was reserved for the first three varṇas, while the duties of a nurse were assigned to the Ambaṣṭhas.

There is another possibility: the science of medicine consists of medicine and surgery. Among present-day Hindus the first is virtually reserved for the first three varṇas, while the latter is practised by the people of low castes.[1] It may have been so even in Manu's time, as it was definitely in the time of Vaikhānasa, who puts down surgery as an occupation of the Ambaṣṭhas.

Rājaśekharasūri[2] places hastividyā along with aśvavidyā, and so the two are coupled by other authorities. Manu (X. 47ff.) assigns aśvasārathya to the sūtas, but leaves hastisārathya unassigned, while Bhāgavata (X. 43. 2, 4) puts it down as an occupation of the Ambaṣṭhas.

[1] Cp. also Vasiṣṭhasmṛti III. 4:
nānṛg brāhmaṇo bhavati na vaṇiṅ na kuśīlavaḥ |
na śūdrapreṣaṇaṃ kurvan na steno na cikitsakaḥ ||
Here cikitsā is definitely put down as something detestable.

[2] Cp. the list of 72 kalās referred to above.

Such an omission in Manu may be serious and I would explain it by assuming the original reading of Manu (X. 47) to have been:

sūtānām aśvasārathyam ambaṣṭhānāṃ *ca hāstinam* ||

A change of 'ca hāstinam' into 'cikitsanam'[1] is conceivable and the motive for such a change is not far to seek. The Ambaṣṭhas of Bengal, called Ambaṣṭha Vaidyas, have a leaning towards medicine; they have materially advanced through medicine and agriculture. Now, the occupation of elephant-driving set by Manu for the Ambaṣṭhas may not be liked by them after their material advancement, and it is feasible that they turned this profession of contempt into one of status by effecting a change of 'ca hāstinam' into 'cikitsanam'.

II

The interesting history of ambhas+ambaṣṭha continues in the following paragraphs:—

Amara enumerates the synonyms of yūthikā (*Jasminum auriculatum*) as follows:—

(*a*) gaṇikā yūthikāmbaṣṭhā sā pītā hemapuṣpikā ||

(*b*) Coming to pāṭhā (*Stephania hernandifolia*) he says:

pāṭhāmbaṣṭhā viddhakarṇī sthāpanī śreyasī rasā |
ekāṣṭhīlā pāpacelī prācīnā vanatiktikā ||

(*c*) On cāṅgerī (*Auxalis cariculata*) he reads:

cāṅgerī cukrikā dantaśaṭhāmbaṣṭhāmlaloṇikā ||

No commentator has offered any explanation worth the name of the word ambaṣṭhā and the word invites discussion.

To start with: we may analyze the word as ambhas+sthā and not amba+sthā as proposed by some commentators. 'ambhas' means water, but the three plants in question have no more to do with water than many other plants and so the derivation from ambhas in the sense of 'water' may be void of point.

Kṣīrasvāmin, the commentator on Amara, quotes a truism in the beginning of Vanauṣadhivarga:—

rasavīryavipākebhyo mūlāt puṣpāt phalād dalāt |
ākārād deśakālāder vanauṣadhyartham unnayet ||

It means that the names of plants are based on the particularities of their juice, strength, maturity, root, flower, leaves, size, locality and time; and these are exactly the things on which modern philologists are basing their explanation of the Greek and Latin plant-names.[2]

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[1] For a similar change in the Veda cp. RV. X. 18. 7 = AV. XII. 2. 31, XVIII. 3. 57:—
imā nā́rīr avidhavā́ḥ supátnīr ā́ñjanena sarpíṣā sáṃ viśantu |
anaśrávo anamīvā́ḥ surátnā ā rohantu jánayo yónim ágre ||
The Paṇḍitas changed ágre into agneḥ in order to justify the system of satī.

[2] Typified in Thisalton-Dyer's 'On Some Ancient Plant-names', Journal of Philology, XXXIII, 195ff.; XXXIV, 78–96, 290ff.

Taking our clue from the above we note that the chief characteristic of the plants in question is the sharpness or bitterness either of their smell or juice and if we could trace the word ambhas in the sense of sharp or bitter we shall have arrived at the correct etymology of the word ambaṣṭhā (= containing sharp smell or bitter juice).

We have already seen that ambhas means 'massive' strong, and that it is cognate of the Gk. obrimos, ombrimos, Goth. abrs 'strong'. The idea of strength could be well evolved in abstract things like smell and juice; and this we actually find to have been the case in German ampfer,[1] OHG. ampfero, AS. ompre, all meaning sharp, bitter, unripe; Swed. amper 'sour, sharp, bitter' all alike going back to ambh, ombh.

This clears the etymology of the word ambaṣṭhā as ambhas+sthā meaning 'having sharp smell or bitter juice'.

III. Āmbaṣṭha

Before venturing an explanation of the word āmbaṣṭha we may straightaway state that āmbaṣṭha is not a derivative of ambaṣṭha or ambaṣṭhā and that according to Pāṇini the two words are basically different.

Pāṇini 8. 3. 97 reads:

ambāmbagobhūmisavyāpadvitrikuśekuśaṅkvaṅgumañjipuñjiparame-barhirdivyagnibhyaḥ sthaḥ ||

The sūtra prescribes that -stha becomes -ṣṭha, when preceded, among others, by amba and āmba. Now, if Pāṇini considered āmbaṣṭha to be a derivative of ambaṣṭha he ought not to have included āmba in the sūtra as the change of -stha into -ṣṭha in such a derivative would have been implied by that in its base ambaṣṭha. The distinct inclusion of both amba and āmba in the sūtra therefore shows that in Pāṇini's opinion the word āmbaṣṭha was fundamentally different from ambaṣṭha.

The basic distinction between the two words was forgotten in post-Paninean period and the two words got contaminated thus causing a uniformly persistent confusion among scholars, both Indian as well as European. The following paragraphs may clear this confusion.

While discussing the word ambaṣṭhā we have referred to the principle, laid down by Kṣīrasvāmin, which connects plant-names, among other things, with the names of localities wherein they grow. Of this the striking examples are:

haimavatī = himavati jātā = harītakī, *Terminalia chebula*.
haimavatī = himavati jātā = vacā, a kind of aromatic root good for voice.
haimavatī = himavati jātā = sarvakṣīrī, Hindi Mako.
drāviḍakaḥ = draviḍadeśe jātaḥ = karcūrakaḥ, *Curcuma zerumbet*.
māgadhī = magadhadeśe jātā = yūthikā, *Jasminum auriculatum*.
oḍrapuṣpa = oḍradeśodbhavam = japā, *Hibiscus Rosa sinensis*.
śaikharikaḥ = śikhare jātaḥ = apāmārgaḥ, *Achyranthes Aspera*.
vaidehī = videhadeśe jātā = pippalī, long pepper.

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[1] Different derivation: Walde, WTB. under *omo, *ōmo.

udīcyam = udīci jātam = keśāmbu.
śaileyam = śilāyām jātam = aśmapuṣpa, benzoin.
kāmbojī = kambojadeśe jātā = māṣaparṇī, *Glycine Debilis*.
kāśmīram = kaśmīradeśe jātam = puṣkaram.

Thisalton-Dyer [1] has shown that the Greek Ozainitis is a plant-appellative based on Ujjayinī, the modern Ujjain; that Perséa [2] meant the Persian tree which the Persians brought to Egypt (Indian dhaturāh, Arabic tatourah) and that sikúa [3] (bottlegourd) derived its name from Sicyon, an industrial city, where a minor industry of the products of bottlegourd was in vogue.

Conversely many place-names derive from plant-names; and Murr [4] has studied in detail a large number of Greek place-names based on plant-names. Among English place-names derived from plant-names [5] may be cited Derwent, Darwen (Derna = Oak), Lean (OE. limene 'wa'), Lymn, etc. perhaps Levon (from a word meaning elm, cp. Welsh Llwyf, Ir. leamh), Corse (cp. MBret. cors 'rushes', Welsh cors 'bog', corsen 'reed') and Willonghby (OE. welig 'willow').

In India the process was typified in Āmrāvarta 'name of a mountain' (Rāmāyaṇa IV. 44. 23), Āmrāvatī 'a town' (Rām. IV. 41. 14), Barhiṣmutī 'a town' (Bhāgavata III. 22. 29) and Āmrakūṭa 'a mountain' (Meghadūta 17).

Buddhists took fancy to āmra and they derive the following place-names from it:—

Ambatthala [6] a 'plateau in the Missaka mountain in Ceylon', Ambadugga-mahāvāpī [7] 'a tank in Ceylon', Ambagāma [8] 'a village between Vesali and Bhojanagara', Ambagaṇa [9] 'a locality in Ceylon', Ambalala [10] 'a place in Ceylon', Ambavana 'a common place-name' (for example, a Padhānaghara [11] in Ceylon built by King Kassapa III), Ambavāpī [12] 'a tank in Ceylon', and Ambasaṇḍā [13] 'a Brahmin village east of Rājagaha'.

Mention may also be made of Ambālā (= āmrālaya, a district in the Punjab) and Amethī (= Āmra+sthī, a town in Oudh).

This should indicate the derivation of Āmbaṣṭha: it is a place-name; it is based on the plant-name āmba. That Āmbaṣṭha is the name of a janapada is fixed by Jayanta [14] on Pāṇini; that it is derived from āmba is attempted below.

āmba grass is known to the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā (XV. 5):

somāya vanaspataye śyāmākaś carur bṛhaspataye vācaspataye naivā-raś carur aindrāya jyeṣṭhāya hāyanānām ekādaśakapālo mitrāya satyasya pataya *āmbānāṃ carur* varuṇāya dharmaṇaspataye yavamayo daśakapālaḥ ||

[1] Journal of Philology, XXXIV, 78-79.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 87ff.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 297ff.
[4] Reported by Thisalton-Dyer in *op. cit.*, p. 303.
[5] Details: Eilert Ekwall in Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names, I, p. 24.
[6] Samantapāsādikā I. 73. 21.
[7] Mahāvaṃsa XXXIX. 33.
[8] Dīghanikāya II. 123. 20–22.
[9] Samantapāsādikā I. 101. 15.
[10] Mahāvaṃsa LXXIV. 58.
[11] Mahāvaṃsa XLVIII. 25.
[12] Mahā. XLVI. 20.
[13] Dīgha. II. 263. 3.
[14] Jayanta on Kāśikā+Pāṇini 8. 3. 9.

This corresponds to Taittirīya-saṃhitā I. 8. 10. 1:

mitrāya satyāyāmbānāṃ caruṃ varuṇāya dharmapataye yavamayaṃ carum | etc.

Sāyaṇa explains āmbāḥ with 'dhānyaviśeṣāḥ'.

Patañjali [1] explains āmba on Pāṇini 6. 1. 9 and 8. 2. 25:

tad yathā tubhyedam agne, tubhyam idam agnaya iti prapte | āmbānāṃ caruṃ, nāmbānāṃ carum iti prāpte | ā vyādhinīr ugaṇāḥ, sugaṇā iti prāpte | iṣkartāram adhvarasya, niṣkartāram adhvarasyeti prāpte | śivā udrasya bheṣajī, śivā rudrasya bheṣajīti prāpte ||

I have connected ambhas with *nambh (*n̥mbh) and have drawn Pahl. namb, nam, MPers. nem, Pahl. nambītan, Lat. nimbus to *ambh *embh. Patañjali [1] equates āmba with nāmba [2] and so it occurs in the corresponding passages in Maitrāyaṇī and Śatapatha:

(*a*) mitrāya satyasya pataye nāmbānāṃ caruṃ varuṇāya dharmasya pataye yavamayaṃ carum (MS. II. 6. 67. 9).

(*b*) atha mitrāya satyāya nāmbānāṃ caruṃ nirvapati tad evaṃ mitra eva satyo brahmaṇe suvaty atha yan nāmbānāṃ bhavati varuṇyā vā etā oṣadhayo yāḥ kṛṣṭe jāyante'thaite maitrā yan nāmbās tasmān nāmbānāṃ bhavati || (Śatapatha V. 3. 3. 8.)

Harisvāmin, the commentator, writes on nāmba:

nāmbā nāma akṛṣṭapacyāḥ svayaṃjātā vrīhayaḥ | kṛṣṭakṣetrotpannā oṣadhayaḥ varuṇyāḥ karṣaṇādilakṣaṇahiṃsāsaṃbandhād varuṇā-rhāḥ | akṛṣṭapacyās tu tadvirahān maitrāḥ ||

Nāmba is adopted by Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra (XV. 4. 12):

nāmbo mitrāya satyāya ||

Karka explains nāmba by 'svayaṃ jātā vrīhayo nāmbāḥ' and Vidyā-dhara by 'akṛṣṭapacyā vrīhayo nāmbāḥ'.

Thus the equation of āmba with nāmba (*n̥mba) is established in the Saṃhitās and a janapada could very well derive its name from āmba meaning 'abounding in āmba grass'.

This solves the puzzle: Pāṇini considers Āmbaṣṭha and Ambaṣṭha as two basically different words: āmbaṣṭha primarily a place-name, ambaṣṭha 'an elephant-driver, a Kṣatriya, a mixed caste'.

The Āmbaṣṭha janapada is located in the north-west by:

(*a*) Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra (III. 103):

kāśmīrahūṇāmbaṣṭhasindhavaḥ śatamātrāś caturaśrāś ca ||

(*b*) Viṣṇupurāṇa (II, Ch. III, 14–17):

āsāṃ nadyupanadyaś ca santy anyāś ca sahasraśaḥ |
tāsv i me kurupañcālā madhyadeśādayo janāḥ ||
pūrvadeśādikāś caiva kāmarūpanivāsinaḥ |
puṇḍrāḥ kaliṅgā magadhā dākṣiṇātyāś ca sarvaśaḥ ||

[1] Noted as a passing reference by Weber, Ind. Stud. 13. 436-37; 9. 269.
[2] Cp. a-gāra: Gk. agorá *n̥-gōro: nagara: Karl F. Johansson, Indogerm. Forsch. VIII. 174ff.

tathāparāntāḥ saurāṣṭrāḥ śūrā vīrās tathārbudāḥ |
kāruṣā mālavāś caiva pāripātranivāsinaḥ ||
Sauvīrāḥ Saindhavā hūṇāḥ śālvāḥ śākalavāsinaḥ |
madrārāmās tathāmbaṣṭhāḥ pārasīkādayas tathā ||

(*c*) Mahābhārata[1] II. 52. 13–16:

kairātā daradā darvāḥ śūrā vai yamakās tathā |
audumbarā durvibhāgāḥ pāradā bahlikaiḥ saha ||
kāśmīrāś ca kumārāś ca ghorakā haṃsakāyanāḥ |
śibitrigartayaudheyāḥ rājanyā bhadrakekayāḥ ||
ambaṣṭhāḥ kaukurās tārkṣyā vastrapāḥ pahlavaiḥ saha |
vaśātalāś ca mauleyāḥ saha kṣudrakamālavaiḥ ||
pauṇḍrikāḥ kukkurāś caiva śakāś caiva viśāṃ pate |
aṅgā vaṅgāś ca puṇḍrāś ca śāṇavatyā gayās tathā ||

(*d*) Uśīnara was a northwesterner: his posterity is given by:

(1) Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (74. 18–21):

Uśīnarasya patnyas tu pañca rājarṣivaṃśajāḥ |
Nṛgā Kṛmī Navā Darvā pañcamī ca Dṛṣadvatī |
Uśīnarasya putrās tu pañca tāsu kulodvahāḥ ||
tapasyataḥ sumahato jātā vṛddhasya dhārmikāḥ |
Nṛgāyās tu Nṛgaḥ putro Navāyā Nava eva tu ||

. . . .

Śiveḥ Śivapuraṃ khyātam Yaudheyaṃ tu Nṛgasya ca |
Navasya Navarāṣṭraṃ tu Kṛmes tu Kṛmilā purī ||
Suvratasya tathāmbaṣṭhā . . . .

(2) Matsyapurāṇa (48. 16–21):

Uśīnarasya patnyas tu pañca rājarṣisaṃbhavāḥ |
Bhṛśā Kṛśā Navā Darśā yā ca devī Dṛṣadvatī ||

. . . .

Śives tu Śibayaḥ putrāś catvāro lokaviśrutāḥ |
Pṛthudarbhaḥ Suvīraś ca Kekayo Madrakas tathā ||
teṣāṃ janapadāḥ sphītāḥ Kekayā Madrakās tathā |
Sauvīrāś caiva Paurāś ca Nṛgasya Kekayās tathā ||
Suvratasya *tathāmbaṣṭhā* . . . . |

[1] Ed. Dāmodara Satvalekar, Vol. II, p. 242. Compare with this the Southern recension ed. by P. P. S. Shastri, Vol. III, p. 425:

kālavyā daradā dārvyaś śūrā haimakayās tathā |
audumbarā durvibhāgāḥ pauravāḥ saha bahlikaiḥ || (II. 52. 128.)
kāśmīrāḥ kundamānāś ca gaurakā haṃsakās tathā |
śaibyās trigartā yaudheyā rājanyā madrakaiḥ saha || 129
vasātayaḥ samauleyāḥ saha kṣudrakamālavaiḥ |
śauṇḍikāś codarāś caiva sālvāś caiva viśaṃ pate || 130

A comparison of the two recensions shows that the real origin of these races was forgotten in early times, so much so that the very names greatly differed; no wonder then if we find *ambaṣṭhāḥ* in place of the correct *āmbaṣṭhāḥ* in Northern recension.

(3) Vāyupurāṇa (II. 37. 19-22):

Uśīnarasya putrās tu pañca tāsu kulodvahāḥ |

. . . .

Mṛgāyās (Nṛ-) tu Mṛgaḥ (Nṛ-) putro Navāyā Nava eva tu |
Kṛmyāḥ Kṛmis tu Darvāyāḥ Śuvrato nāma dhārmikaḥ ||
Dṛṣadvatīsutaś cāpi Śibir Auśīnaro dvijāḥ |
Śibeḥ Śivapuraṃ khyātam Yaudheyaṃ tu Mṛgasya (Nṛ-) ca |
Navasya Navarāṣṭraṃ tu Kṛmes tu Kṛmilā purī ||
Suvratasya *tathā vṛṣṭā* (tathāmbaṣṭhā?) . . . . . ||

(*e*) Bṛhatsaṃhitā: Kūrmavibhāga:

nairṛtyāṃ diśi deśāḥ pallavakāmbhojasindhusauvīrāḥ |
Vaḍavāmukh*āravāmbaṣṭha*kapila nārīmukhāvartāḥ ||

In all these passages āmbaṣṭha is preceded by a word ending in -ă and the analysis of Saṃdhi should be -ă+ā- and not -ă+a- as has till now been proposed. Āmbaṣṭha is the name of a janapada; its inhabitants will, of course, be Āmbaṣṭhas (and not Ambaṣṭhas like Pañcālāḥ from Pāñcāla), and the epithet will apply to all the varṇas alike, while the term Ambaṣṭha has already been shown to mean the people of military class, i.e. the Kṣatriyas. This basic distinction was aptly typified by Pāṇini by including both amba and āmba in 8. 3. 97; it was observed, in the main, by Pāli works, which use Ambaṭṭha alike for Brahmins,[1] Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, with only this difference that while Sanskrit preserves both Āmbaṣṭha and Ambaṣṭha as two basically distinct words, Pāli phonetically reduces both to Ambaṭṭha; and it may be mentioned here that it was chiefly from Pāli that the Greeks[2] borrowed the Indian names. The contamination of Āmbaṣṭha with Ambaṣṭha has led scholars, both European and Indian, to a uniformly persistent confusion and they have, accordingly, read Ambaṣṭha in all those passages, where grammar and history explicitly demand Āmbaṣṭha.

With this definition of the distinction between the two words I would commend to scholars the material indexed by Raichaudhuri[3] and others[4] under Ambaṣṭha.

One word more: the equation of Ptolemy's Ambastai with Arrian's Abastanoi is telling. The latter stands for āmbasthāna, which, in turn, equates with Āmbaṣṭha and not Ambaṣṭha. This settles that by Ambastai the Greeks meant Āmbaṣṭhas and not Ambaṣṭhas.

[1] Ambaṭṭha—a Brahmin: cp. Ambaṭṭhasutta (in Dīghanikāya) running down the traditional caste system. According to Jātaka IV. 363 there were also Āmbaṣṭhas (not am-) who were not Brahmins by birth, but farmers, cp. Daśabrāhmaṇa Jātaka (Fausböll IV. 363, 366):

samā ambaṭṭhavessehi tepi vuccanti brāhmaṇā |
akkhātā te mahārāja tādise nipatāmase ||
kasiṃ vāṇijjaṃ kārenti posayanti ajeḷake |
kumāriyo pavechanti vivāhant āvahanti ca ||

[2] Details: O. Franke, Beziehungen der Inder zum Westen, ZDMG. 47. 595ff.

[3] Political Hist. of Anc. India, p. 157.

[4] Surendranath Majumdar, Notes on Anc. Geogr. by Cunningham, p. 669; McCrindle: Invasion of India, 155, N. 2, corrected by R. G. Bhandarkar: Ind. Antiquary, I, p. 23; Wilson on Viṣṇu Purāṇa, II, Ch. III, note on 14–17.

There is a hitch in the location of the Āmbaṣṭhas; Sanskrit texts, in no way infallible in such matters, locate them in the north-west. By the Greeks, Alexander is said to have come in contact with Abastanoi at the confluence of the Punjab rivers; according to some they were settled on the lower Akesines. But no trace of the name Āmbaṣṭha has, as yet, been detected by any in any part of these regions.

I would hazard a suggestion. There is an ancient town, named *Ambahaṭā* in the Nakur tahasil of Saharanpur district. It is not touched by any railway line and has been fast deteriorating like many other ancient towns round about. It presents an exceptionally old look and can still boast of several ancient Brahmin families, families which have sent out worthy representatives to such far off places as Lahore and Kashmir. I incline to identify this *Ambahaṭā* with the Āmbaṣṭha and would fix it to have once been the seat of the Āmbaṣṭha power. Centralized in *Ambahaṭā*, the Āmbaṣṭha power could have very well operated up to the middle of the Punjab and even beyond that. It may be added that Ambahaṭā is about 40 miles east of Kurukṣetra, the seat of so many kingdoms one after another.

ELEMENTS OF HINDU ICONOGRAPHY AND ITS SOURCES

By

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Since the time that the late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao published the two volumes of his voluminous and monumental work 'Elements of Hindu Iconography' (EHI) in 1914 and 1916 respectively, it is ever being held and praised as a standard work on that subject and the same will continue to be supposed and praised that way so long as no rival work is brought out by somebody else. The extracts from many an old Sanskrit work on sculpture, architecture, etc., which describe the several icons from the Hindu pantheon and which are given by him at the end of each volume of his work (Appendices C and B respectively), are especially valuable to researchers in the field of iconography as they are quoted *in extenso* and as they supply practically a bibliography of Sanskrit works on the subject.

He has given about 700 extracts from about 150 different works describing about 325 icons, which numbers inspire an awe about the gigantic work done by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao and one becomes rather disappointed when he comes to believe that a majority of those works are in MSS. form and consequently cannot get the chance of having an access to many of them.

But when a student goes a step further and tries to verify some of the extracts given in the work, a doubt at once rises in his mind as to whether the late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao actually ever went through all those works from which he has quoted. Some of the works he must have indeed gone through.

For instance, the Āgama works such as Uttarakāmikāgama, Pūrvakāraṇāgama, Vaikhānasāgama, Suprabhedāgama and others, he must have read in the original as the extracts from those were never culled together according to the subject-matter before his time so far as I know. But many others, I assure, he did not have a look at even. He might not have even known whether they were available in either MSS. or printed form. For those he solely depended on Caturvargacintāmaṇi [1] (CC) and Śrītatvanidhi [2] (STN) from which he extracted profusely; but instead of mentioning the debt to these two works, he has tried to give the references of original works which they have cited and consequently an impression is created that he had gone through all those works. But somehow or other he committed errors while doing this and this defect of his is at once exposed.

In Appendix C to the first volume of his work he gives a variety of iconographic descriptions of Gaṇēśa among which there is one which he has taken from CC and not from Viṣṇudharmottara [3] (VD), the original source of CC. Accordingly he has noted that way at the end of the extract (हेमाद्रिव्रतखण्डे विष्णुध०). With respect to a description each of Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī which he has extracted from CC and which originally belonged to VD, he has followed the same method, viz. he has cited his source as (हेमाद्रिव्रतखण्डे विष्णु०). But after these three descriptions, for reasons unknown to me, he left this rather laborious but praiseworthy method and began to cite the original work of reference without mentioning CC or STN.

In the case of STN the descriptions with their references to the original sources are printed in such a way that there is very little possibility of mistaking the source of one description for that of another. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao could not, therefore, commit any error when he extracted from STN in reality but cited the original source referred to by STN at the end of each such extract as his own source.

But the case is quite a different one with regard to the extracts from CC. In it the source from which an extract is taken is generally noted at the beginning, then comes the extract proper and it is followed by the name of the deity which it describes. If this method is borne in mind there is no chance of committing an error. Unfortunately this was not well heeded to by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao and his defect was easily detected. For instance, the quotation describing Brāhmī and other mothers that occurs in CC is evidently taken from Viśvakarmaśāstra (VKS) as the name precedes the extract. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao, however, overlooking the above method, thought from the reference to VD following the description that it was taken from VD instead of VKS. He, therefore, cited the reference that way. But we have got VD in a printed form in which the description is not to be traced. On the contrary VD only tells us in

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[1] By Hemādri, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Vol. II, Part 1, व्रतखण्ड, 1878.

[2] Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, Śaka 1823.

[3] Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay, and an English translation of a part of it by Stella Kramrisch, Calcutta University Press, 1928.

general terms that the iconography of the mothers should very closely follow their male counterparts. The quotation, therefore, cannot be from VD. Thus he has overlooked the real sources with respect to the descriptions Nos. 4, 7–21, 31, 32, 34–36, 38, 66, 109, 117, 120–122, 128 also from the following table. Similarly in the case of the descriptions of Nos. 4, 7–20, 32, 34, 59, 60, 109, 117, 118, 120–122 and 128 from the following table the sources shown by him are evidently wrong and the extracts are borrowed from CC as the same are not to be traced in the sources indicated by him and are to be found in CC. With regard to the descriptions of Nos. 5, 30, 35–38, 65, 66, 94–104 and 108, he must have borrowed from CC as the sources shown by him are not available in either MSS. or printed form, as far as I know, and the extracts are to be found in CC with the indication of sources as shown by me in the table. With respect to the descriptions of Nos. 21–29, 31, 39–56 and 58, the sources are available; but as the references given to the sources by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao are defective ones, it is not possible to verify them. But I very much doubt whether he has actually gone through those sources. He must have borrowed from CC though his sources in a place or two seem to be different ones apparently. But the simple fact that the sources of the descriptions of Nos. 1–3, 5, 6, 21–29, 33, 39–55, 57, 61–65, 67–108, 110–116, 119, 123–127, 129–143 and 145–147 indicated in EHI are identical with those in CC and STN is alone sufficient to prove that the late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao must have borrowed from the two works on a very large scale.

I now tabulate below all the descriptions which the late Mr. T. A. Gopinathrao has really borrowed from CC and STN but to which he has tried to give references of the original sources cited in the two works.

No.	Name of the deity	Reference in EHI, vol. and page	Source cited in EHI	Reference in CC or STN, vol. and page	Source given in CC or STN
	(M = Matsya; MK = Mārkaṇḍeya; P = Purāṇa).				
1	Gaṇeśa	I/5	VD	II/76	VD
2	Sarasvatī ..	I/37	,,	II/77	,,
3	Lakṣmī ..	I/134	,,	,,	,,
4	Śrī	I/136	,,	II/78	Pa(Ma)yasaṅgraha [1](VKS).
5	Mahālakṣmī ..	,,	VKS	,,	VKS (VD)
6	Bhadrakālī ..	I/116	VD	II/79	VD (VKS)
7	Caṇḍikā ..	I/112	,,	,,	VKS
8	Durgā	I/106	,,	II/80	,,
9	Nandā	I/116	,,	,,	,,
10	Ambā	I/117	,,	II/81	,,
11	Sarvamaṅgalā ..	I/118	,,	,,	,,
12	Kālarātri ..	I/119	,,	,,	,,
13	Lalitā	,,	,,	,,	,,
14	Jyeṣṭhā	I/159	,,	,,	,,

[1] The name of a work in the parentheses in the last column denotes the source mentioned below the particular extract. It has, however, no connection whatsoever with the extract. It is generally connected with the extract that follows it.

No.	Name of the deity	Reference in EHI, vol. and page	Source cited in EHI	Reference in CC or STN, vol. and page	Source given in CC or STN
15	Nīlajyeṣṭhā ..	I/159	VD	II/81	VKS
16	Gaurī	I/119	,,	,,	,,
17	Bhūtamātā ..	I/121	,,	II/82	,,
18	Surabhi	I/130	,,	,,	,,
19	Yoganidrā ..	I/122	,,	,,	,,
20	Brāhmī and other mothers ..	I/145	,,	,,	,,
21	Nine Durgās ..	I/114	Bhaviṣya Purāṇa	II/84	Same as in EHI
22	Vāmā	I/122	,, ,,	II/85	,,
23	Jyeṣṭhā	,,	,, ,,	,,	,,
24	Raudrī	,,	,, ,,	,,	,,
25	Kālī	I/123	,, ,,	,,	,,
26	Kalavikarṇī ..	,,	,, ,,	II/86	,,
27	Balavikarṇikā ..	,,	,, ,,	,,	,,
28	Balapramathanī ..	,,	,, ,,	,,	,,
29	Sarvabhūtadamanī ..	,,	,, ,,	,,	,,
30	Manonmanī ..	I/124	VKS	,,	,, (VKS)
31	Kṛṣṇā	I/130	Mārkaṇḍeya P.	,,	VKS (MKP)
32	Mahākālī ..	I/117	VD	II/87	MKP (VD)
33	Vāruṇī Cāmuṇḍā ..	I/124	,,	,,	VD
34	Śivadūtī ..	I/125	Matsya P.	II/88	VD (Matsya P.)
35	Kātyāyanī ..	I/110	Mayadīpikā	II/89	Matsya P. (Mayadīpikā).
36	Ambikā	I/117	Lakṣaṇasamuccaya	,,	Mayadīpikā (Lakṣaṇasamuccaya).
37	Yogeśvarī ..	I/125	,,	,,	Lakṣaṇasamuccaya
38	Bhairavī ..	I/126	VKS	,,	,, (VKS)
39	Śivā	,,	Devī Purāṇa	II/90	Devī Purāṇa
40	Siddhi	I/127	,,	,,	,,
41	Ṛddhi	,,	,,	,,	,,
42	Kṣamā	,,	,,	,,	,,
43	Dīpti	,,	,,	II/91	,,
44	Rati	,,	,,	,,	,,
45	Śvetā	I/128	,,	,,	,,
46	Bhadrā	,,	,,	,,	,,
47	Maṅgalā	I/118	,,	,,	,,
48	Jayavijayā ..	I/128	,,	,,	,,
49	Kālī	,,	,,	,,	,,
50	Ghaṇṭākarṇī ..	,,	,,	II/92	,,
51	Jayantī	,,	,,	,,	,,
52	Diti	I/129	,,	,,	,,
53	Arundhatī ..	,,	,,	,,	,,
54	Aparājitā ..	,,	,,	,,	,,
55	Kaumārī	I/148	,,	,,	,, (Mayadīpikā).
56	Brahmā	II/245	Viṣṇu Purāṇa	II/103	VD (Āditya P.)
57	Prajāpati ..	,,	Āditya Purāṇa	,,	Āditya Purāṇa
58	Dharma	I/61	,,	II/104	,, (VKS)
59	Viṣṇu	I/70	Rūpamaṇḍana	II/110	VD
60	,, (Lokapāla) ..	I/71	,,	II/111	,,
61	Vāsudeva ..	I/66	VD	,,	,,
62	Saṅkarṣaṇa ..	I/68	,,	II/112	,,
63	Pradyumna ..	,,	,,	,,	,,
64	Aniruddha ..	,,	,,	II/113	,, (VKS)
65	Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa ..	I/57	VKS	,,	VKS
66	Yogeśvara ..	I/60	Siddhārthasaṁhitā	,,	VKS (Siddhārthasaṁhitā).
67	Varāha	I/31	VD	II/115	VD
68	Narasiṁha ..	I/35	,,	II/116	,,
69	Vāmana	I/37	,,	II/117	,,
70	Trivikrama ..	I/39	,,	,,	,,
71	Paraśurāma ..	I/40	,,	,,	,,
72	Rāma, etc. ..	I/41	,,	II/118	,,

No.	Name of the deity	Reference in EHI, vol. and page	Source cited in EHI	Reference in CC or STN, vol. and page	Source given in CC or STN
73	Kṛṣṇa	I/46	VD	II/118	VD
74	Balabhadra ..	I/45	,,	,,	,,
75	Pradyumna ..	I/68	,,	,,	,,
76	Aniruddha and Sāmba	I/69	,,	II/119	,,
77	Gopāla	I/47	,,	,,	,,
78	Buddha	I/49	,,	,,	,,
79	Kalki	,,	,,	,,	,,
80	Naranārāyaṇa Hari-Kṛṣṇa ..	I/58	,,	,,	,,
80*a*	Hayagrīva ..	,,	,,	II/120	,,
81	Kapila	I/54	,,	II/121	,,
82	Vyāsa	I/55	,,	,,	,,
83	Dattātreya ..	I/53	,,	,,	,,
84	Dhanvantari ..	I/55	,,	,,	,,
85	Jalaśāyin ..	I/56	,,	II/122	,,
86	Garuḍa	I/73	,,	,,	,,
87	Pañcabrahma ..	II/188	,,	II/124	,,
88	Mūrtīyāṣṭakaṁ ..	II/200	,,	,,	,,
89	Ardhanārīśvara ..	II/168	,,	II/125	,,
90	Dakṣiṇāmūrti ..	II/140	,,	,,	,,
91	Umāmaheśvara ..	II/71	,,	II/126	,,
92	Harihara ..	II/171	,,	,,	,,
93	Vidyeśvara ..	II/197	,,	,,	,, (VKS)
94	Ajaikapāda ..	II/192	VKS	,,	VKS
95	Ekapāda	II/193	,,	II/127	,,
96	Ahirbudhna ..	II/194	,,	,,	,,
97	Virūpākṣa ..	,,	,,	,,	,,
98	Revata	,,	,,	II/128	,,
99	Hara	,,	,,	,,	,,
100	Bahurūpa ..	II/195	,,	,,	,,
101	A(Trya)mbaka ..	,,	,,	,,	,,
102	Sureśvara ..	,,	,,	II/129	,,
103	Jayanta	,,	,,	,,	,,
104	Aparājita ..	,,	,,	,,	,, (VD)
105	Skanda	II/215	VD	,,	VD
106	Bhairava ..	II/92	,,	II/130	,,
107	Nandī	II/231	,,	,,	,,
107*a*	8 Vasūs	II/271	VKS	II/131	VKS
108	12 Ādityas ..	I/86	,,	II/132	,,
109	Pṛthvī	I/139	VD	II/141	Viśvakarman (VD)
110	Indra	II/252	,,	II/144	VD
111	Agni	II/254	,,	,,	,,
112	Yama	II/257	,,	II/145	,,
113	Nirṛti	II/259	,,	,,	,,
114	Varuṇa	II/260	,,	II/146	,,
115	Vāyu	II/262	,,	,,	,,
116	Dhanada ..	II/264	,,	II/147	,,
117	Sūrya (1) ..	I/87	Matsya P.	II/148	VD (Matsya P.)
118	,, (2) ..	I/89	VD	II/149	Matsya P. (MP)
119	Candra (1) ..	I/93	Matsya P.	,,	,, ,,
120	,, (2) ..	,,	VD	,,	,, (VD)
121	Bhauma (1) ..	I/94	Matsya P.	II/150	VD (Matsya P.)
122	,, (2) ..	,,	VD	,,	Matsya P. (VD)
123	Budha	I/95	,,	,,	VD
124	Guru	,,	,,	,,	,,
125	Śukra	,,	,,	,,	,,
126	Śani	I/96	,,	II/151	,,
127	Rāhu	I/97	,,	,,	,,
128	Ketu	,,	VKS	,,	,, (VKS)
129	Tulasī	I/131	Tulasīmāhātmya	p. 22	In EHI the same as in STN
130	Aśvārūḍhā ..	I/132	Mahālakṣmī-ratnākara.	p. 21	,,

No.	Name of the deity	Reference in EHI, vol. and page	Source cited in EHI	Reference in CC or STN, vol. and page	Source given in CC or STN
131	Bhuvaneśvarī ..	I/132	Mahālakṣmī-ratnākara.	p. 19	In EHI the same as in STN
132	Bālā	,,	Tripurasundarī Kalpa.	,,	,,
133	Rājamātaṅgī ..	,,	Rājamātaṅgīkalpa	,,	,,
134	Mahālakṣmī (1) ..	I/136	VKS	p. 25	,,
135	,, (2) ..	,,	Caṇḍīkalpa	p. 3	,,
136	Rudrāṁśadurgā ..	I/107	Kāraṇāgama	p. 16	,,
137	Vanadurgā ..	I/108	Āmnāya	,,	,,
138	Agnidurgā ..	,,	Śāradātilaka	p. 24	,,
139	Jayadurgā ..	,,	,,	p. 26	,,
140	Vindhyavāsinī ..	,,	,,	p. 27	,,
141	Ripumāriṇī ..	I/109	,,	,,	,,
142	Mahākālī ..	I/117	Caṇḍīkalpa	p. 3	,,
143	Tripurabhairavī ..	I/126	Śāradātilaka	p. 27	,,
144	Sarvamaṅgalā ..	I/118	Śarabhatantra	p. 10	—
145	Aparājitā ..	I/129	Nāradasaṁhitā	p. 17	As in No. 143.
146	Indrākṣī ..	I/130	Indrākṣīkalpa	p. 22	,,
147	Annapūrṇā ..	I/131	Karaṇāgama	p. 23	,,

SOME UNKNOWN OR LESS KNOWN SANSKRIT POETS DISCOVERED FROM THE SUBHĀṢITA-SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA

By

Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri

The MS. of the Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 10566, is unique as no other MS. of this work is known to exist anywhere in India or outside and as it contains the verses of 151 poets of which even the names of 34 are not known from the anthologies hitherto published. These poets are: (1) Anantabhrātṛ; (2) Bālāji Bhaṭṭa; (3) Bālamukunda; (4) Bhūdadāra (?); (5) Bindu Kavi; (6) Brahmendra Svāmin; (7) Cintāmaṇi; (8) Gaurī; (9) Ghanaśyāma; (10) Gurjara Kavi; (11) Kaśīpati; (12) Kulapaṇḍita; (13) Kūrmācala; (14) Madhusūdana Svāmin; (15) Madirekṣaṇā; (16) Maithila; (17) Mohana, probably same as Mohana Ojhāka, quoted in the same work; (18) Nāgeśa Śāstrin; (19) Nāthakumāra; (20) Rāmacandra Āgamin; (21) Rāmajit; (22) Author of the Sāhitya-sudhāsindhu; (23) Śivabhakta; (24) Śrīpati Bhaṭṭa; (25) Author of the Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya; (26) Trilocana Tribāḍika; (27) Uddāmabhānu; (28) Vajrataṅka Śāstrin; (29) Vāṅmiśra; (30) Varadācārya; (31) Veṇīdatta; (32) Veṇī Pāṇḍeya; (33) Vidhūdaya; (34) Vījāṅkura. Again, many verses by the remaining poets are not found in the printed anthologies. Therefore, the importance of the Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya cannot be overrated.

Most of the poets quoted in the Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya flourished in Mediæval India. The anthologies compiled between 1400–1700 A.D. contain

naturally quite a large number of these verses. But as very few of these anthologies have as yet been published, many Sanskrit poets still are unknown to us. We notice here the lives and literary activities of the above-mentioned 34 poets only.

(1) *Anantabhrātṛ*

The Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya (henceforth abbreviated as SSS.) records only one verse of this poet in which Viparīta-surata is described.[1] The same verse is also preserved in the Padyaveṇī[2] (henceforth abbreviated as PV.).

(2) *Bālāji Bhaṭṭa*

Only three verses of this poet are known to exist. The PV. records all of them, whereas the Sūkti-sundara, henceforth abbreviated as SS., preserves one and the SSS. another.[3] PV. 60 eulogizes a king who is similar to Kāmadeva in physical charm but differs from him in the art of archery. In PV. 81, the poet describes the fame of the king which is so white that Satyabhāmā mistakes Kṛṣṇa for Balarāma and poor women mistake the Guñjā for pearls. The third verse is devoted to the description of the Sun. Bālāji Bhaṭṭa's style is quite fascinating; his power of imagination distinctly exceeds the average.

(3) *Bālamukunda*

The SSS. is the only anthological work that records the name of Bālamukunda. Unfortunately, only one verse of this poet is preserved in it, viz. No. 259. It describes the Moon:

केचिच्छशाङ्के जगुरङ्कमन्ये पङ्कं कुरङ्गं प्रतिबिम्बितांगम् ।
धूमस्य शंके चिरमुत्थिताग्नेर्वियोगजातस्य मम प्रियायाः ॥

(4) *Bhūdadāra*

Only one verse of this poet of this peculiar name is preserved in SSS. (No. 432). The Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa, henceforth abbreviated as SA., quotes this verse but gives the name of the poet as Bhohara (V. 604). The verse is also quoted in the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati (V. 3925) under the same name. Both the names of the poet are equally unintelligible and we are left to mere guess-work, in the present stage of our knowledge, for the real name. The verse describes the Indian season Hemanta:

(5) *Bindu Kavi*

The PV. preserves eight verses of this poet, viz. verses 231, 248, 255, 263, 281, 589, 626 and 669 of which the SSS. quotes only two, viz. SSS. 250 = 589 and SSS. 351 = PV. 626. Bindu Kavi in his verse on the forehead, PV. 255, fancies that at the beginning of creation, there arose two moons from the sea; one was divided into two of which one-half found its place on the forehead

[1] Verse No. 734.
[2] PV. 473.
[3] PV. 60; PV. 515 = SSS. 58 and PV. 81 = SS. 52.

of Śaṃkara and the other-half formed the forehead of a beautiful damsel. The other was donated to Heaven. In his verse PV. 263 on the vermilion-mark on the parting line of the hair, the poet opines that the red line betrays the loving heart of the girl and the parting line of the hair is nothing but a path designed for the free coming and going of the god of love. The black mark on the moon is, according to our poet, neither a black antelope nor a *jhaṣa* (large fish), but the burnt Cupid placed as such by clever Rati on the body of the repository of ambrosia for rejuvenation and revival to life (PV. 589 = SSS. 250). In PV. 626 = SSS. 351, the poet demonstrates that the rainy season is as pleasing as a woman. In his *anyokti* on the flower *Campaka*, he blames this flower, charming and fragrant as it is, for not being able to attract the bees, connoisseurs of the art of selecting flowers (PV. 669).

(6) *Brahmendra Svāmin*

Only one verse of this poet is preserved for us today, viz.:

अस्तोदयाद्रिगतमर्कशशाङ्कबिम्बमह्नोऽतिवार्धकदशामवलम्बितस्य ।
ताराक्षराणि पठितुं तपनीय-शैलनासावसक्तमुपनेत्रमिवाऽवभासे ॥ PV. 557 = SSS. 131.

One Brahmendra Svāmin was a contemporary of Emperor Shah Jehan (1628–1658 A.D.). He honoured Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī with an address on the happy occasion of the abolition of the pilgrim-tax by the Emperor through his mediation and persuasion.[1] This Brahmendra Svāmin is probably identical with our poet. It is curious that the addresses of Brahmendra Svāmin and Brahmendra Sarasvatī[2] in honour of Kavīndrācārya partly agree word by word though it is not likely that the two persons would be the same.

(7) *Cintāmaṇi*

The PV. quotes verses of Cintāmaṇi, viz. 153, 159, 237, 562, 578, 880 and three verses of Cintāmaṇi Dīkṣita who is probably the same as our poet, viz. 279, 509 and 643. The SSS. quotes only one of them, viz. 578, devoted to the description of moon-rise:—

इङ्गाल-समार्चिरिव ज्वलित्वा सर्वं दिनं चण्डरुचिः शशाम ।
तदीय-भस्मेव नभोहसन्ती-विभ्राजमानं तुहिनांशु-बिम्बम् ॥ २०३ ॥

In PV. 153, Cintāmaṇi praises Jehangir (1605–1627 A.D.) and in PV. 159, his son Parvez. There is no doubt that our poet was a contemporary of Jehangir. Therefore, Cintāmaṇi must have flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D.

(8) *Gaurī*

The only source of our knowledge about this woman poet is the Padyaveṇī. The SS. is indebted to this work for the verses of Gaurī. A detailed account

[1] See Kavīndra-candrodaya, p. 29.
[2] *Op. cit.*

of this poetess has been given in the Introduction to Sanskrit Poetesses, Part A and therefore, the same is not repeated here.

(9) *Ghanaśyāma*

Ghanaśyāma was the Minister and Court-poet of King Tukkoji of Tanjore (1729–1735 A.D.). So there is no doubt that this poet flourished in the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D. He was a very voluminous writer and was fortunate in having two learned wives, Sundarī and Kamalā, who wrote a commentary on the Viddha-śālabhañjikā of Rājaśekhara. For a detailed account of this poet, reference may be made to my article on Ghanaśyāma published in the September issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1943.[1]

(10) *Gurjara Kavi*

One Gurjara Kavi praises Kavīndra on having the pilgrim-tax abolished by Shah Jehan [2] and it is quite likely that our Gurjara Kavi will be identical with this poet. The Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya, quoting the verses of Veṇīdatta, must have been composed after the middle of the seventeenth century A.D.—by 1675 A.D. Shah Jehan ruled from 1628–1658 A.D. and Gurjara's address to Kavīndra was composed within this period. This poet is only likely to be quoted by the author of the SSS., who was compiling his work soon after this period.

The SSS. quotes only one of his verses. It is on the Evening:

ध्वान्तकेशललितं कलयन्ती रक्तवस्त्रममलद्युति सन्ध्या ।

भासते रविमनुव्रजमाना ह्यस्तगं पतिमतीव सतीव ॥ १४७ =PV. 559.

(11) *Kāśīpati*

Out of 11 verses quoted in the SSS., three are traced in the Mukundānanda-bhāṇa of Kāśīpati,[3] viz. आलिप्ताः कुसुम०, बालातपम०, and कान्तार० being verses 72, 91 and 158 of the work. This Kāśīpati was also the author of the Saṅgīta-Gaṅgādhara-vyākhyā called Śravaṇānandinī.[4] In the Prastāvanā of the Mukundānanda-bhāṇa, Kāśīpati says that he belonged to the Kauṇḍinya Gotra:—

कौण्डिन्यवंशरत्नस्य कवेः काशीपतेः कृतिः ।

मुकुन्दानन्दनामायं मिश्रभाणः प्रयुज्यते ॥ ४ ॥

(12) *Kulapaṇḍita*

Nothing about this poet is at present known. Only one verse by him is quoted in the SSS.; it is on Sunrise:

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1 See also *Modern Review*, October, 1943, pp. 299-300, for an abridged account.

2 Kavīndra-candrodaya, pp. 32-33, V. 211.

3 Nirṇaya-sāgara Press ed., 3rd revised edition, Bombay, 1926.

4 Cat. Cat., I, 105 and Trinnical Catalogue, IV. 7596. MSS. in Mithila by Jayaswal, II. 8 and Taylor's Catalogue of Oriental MSS. in the Library of the College, Fort St. George, I. 86.

निशामशेषामुपभुज्य वारुणीं

प्राचीमुपेत्याथ तयाऽवधीरितः ।

तदङ्घ्रिलाक्षारुणरञ्जिताङ्गको

मन्दं विनिर्याति तदङ्गनाद्रविः ॥ ४५ =PV. 510.

The Padyaveṇī attributes the verse to Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita; so Kulapaṇḍita was probably a designation of our poet.

(13) *Kūrmācala*

Only one verse of Kūrmācala describing the rainy season has been quoted in the SSS.:

वसन्तविश्लेषमपारयन्त्या भुवो निदाघस्मरतापितायाः ।

आश्वासयस्याभिरुपाक्रियन्ते पयोदनीलोत्पलपल्लवानि ॥ ३६० ॥

The above is attributed to Rudrachandra in the Rasika-jīvana (Vol. II of Prācyavāṇī Mandira Sanskrit Text Series, p. 53), V. 1251 and the PV. 629 attributes the same to Kūrmācala-nṛpati. Rudracandra was probably the name of the King of Kumaun, author of this verse. Kūrmācala's name is not found in any anthology compiled before 1600 A.D.

(14) *Madhusūdana Svāmin*

The SSV. quotes two verses from Madhusūdana, viz. Nos. 3481-3482. The PV. quotes verses of Madhusūdana Svāmin as well as Sarasvatī, and it does not seem likely that they would be identical. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's only poetical work hitherto known is the Ānanda-mandākinī but none of the three verses quoted in the SSS., Nos. 111 (= PV. 537), 671 (= PV. 486) and 732 (= PV. 471 and RJ. 1137) beginning as इमा हिन्दोलास्, etc., कलानाथः कामं, etc. and विद्यायसि विद्यारिणी, etc. respectively, are traced there. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also led the life of an ascetic and it is not known whether in some part of his life he used the designation Svāmin. In the present stage of our knowledge, we cannot, however, identify them.

(15) *Madirekṣaṇā*

The SSS. quotes the verses of a few poetesses, viz. Gaurī, Madirekṣaṇā, Morikā, Padmāvatī, Phalguhastinī and Śīlā Bhaṭṭārikā. The name of Madirekṣaṇā is not found in any other anthology.[1]

(16) *Maithila*

Only two verses are attributed to this poet of Mithila in the SSS., viz. No. 572 समुत्कीर्णा तन्व्या, etc. and No. 746, नाधराद्दिगलिता, etc. The former is on the lamentations of a separated lover and the latter on Ratāvasāna. It is the same as V. 547 of Subhāṣita-padya-saṃgraha, a MS. of which has

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1 For her verse, date, etc., see Sanskrit Poetesses, Part A, 2nd edition, pp. xix and 18.

only recently been discovered and at present belongs to the Benares Sanskrit College MSS. Library. It is also quoted in the RJ. (V. 989) and PR. (43.4). Four other verses are also ascribed to this poet in the SPS., viz. No. 372, मन्ये नववधूं प्रेया०; No. 480, यानीत्युक्ते हृदय०; No. 501, कथमपि परिचित; and No. 545, अकस्मादागारे, etc. The anthologies preserve the names of such poets as Gauḍa, Gurjara, Maithila; but these names indicate merely the places where the poets flourished. The verses may really be considered as more or less anonymous.

(17) *Mohana or Mohana Ojhāka*

The PV. and the SSS. preserve 24 verses of Mohana Ojhā or Ojhāka, of which 22 are common in both the work and only two, viz. SSS. 495, अयं पीयूषांशु, etc., a verse on the lamentations of a separated lady-lover and No. 698, नीविरत्नमपहर्तुं, etc., a verse on the Ratārambha are not found in the PV. One verse of Mohana, viz. मयि प्रणयपेशले, etc., has been twice quoted both in the SSS. and the PV. under the headings प्रियस्य विप्रलम्भः and सुरतारम्भः। From a study of his verses, it appears that Mohana Ojhāka wrote a work on the Rasa-śāstra from which the verses have been quoted. We may classify his verses thus:

HEROINES: (*a*) कुलाङ्गना—PV. 319; (*b*) खण्डिता—PV. 355; (*c*) वासकसज्जा—PV. 367; and (*d*) अभिसारिका—PV. 377.

HEROES: (*a*) अधमनायकः—PV. 422; (*b*) पीठमर्दकः—PV. 430.

Tāruṇya: PV. 188; PV. 189 = SSS. 816.

Various phases of love: Rata; Ratārambha, Ratāvasāna, etc.

Romāvalī: PV. 202.

Breasts: PV. 214.

The lamentations of a lover and lady-lover: PV. 289 = SSS. 560 and SSS. 495.

Entreaties in the morning: PV. 488.

Water-sport in PV. 548 = SSS. 81.

One noticeable feature of Mohana's composition is his aversion to the *Vakrokti*. His verses, verging on alliteration, are at times quite sweet:

मनस्विनि तमस्विनी जलदजालजम्बालिनी
न सञ्चरति कुत्रचित् सुतनु पञ्चबाणेतरः ।
अनुस्मर सखि स्मरं रचय चाभिसारे मनः
प्रसिद्धमिदमासते यदिह साहसे सिद्धयः ॥ PV. 375.

(18) *Nāgeśa Śāstrin*

A poet of this name is not found in any other anthology. It is unfortunate that a single verse of this poet should be preserved for us in the SSS., verse No. 229:

कान्तयोगरहिताहितप्राणाङ्गीतभीत इव कोमलपातः ।
जैटमन्मथसहायमपीच्छन् मन्दं मन्दमयमिन्दुरुदेति ॥

Four verses of one Nāgeśa Paṇḍita, son of Somarāja Paṇḍita, are found in the Kavīndra-candrodaya, p. 10.

(19) *Nāthakumāra*

The SA. (V. 580) and the SSS. (V. 107) quote the same verse of Nāthakumāra on Dolā: प्रत्यासन्नसखी[1]कराम्बुजयुग[2]प्रेङ्खोलितं प्रेङ्खिका-[3] मारुह्येयमुदस्तहाररलिता व्यावृत्ततुङ्गस्तनी ।[4]

It is also quoted in the RJ. (V. 1269) and attributed to Kumāranāyaka there. The name Nāthakumāra is also preserved in the ŚP. and the SMV. So Nāthakumāra and Kumāranāyaka must be identical.

(20) *Rāmacandra Āgamin*

Rāmacandra Āgamin, nine of whose verses have been quoted in the PV., is to be distinguished from Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa. The former was the son of Janārdana Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Puruṣottama whereas the latter was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa and younger brother of Vallabha Ācārya. Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa is certainly a far greater, and consequently, more popular poet than Rāmacandra Āgamin.

Rāmacandra Āgamin wrote a work called Rādhā-vinoda-kāvya with a commentary on the same. In verse 19 of the Rādhā-vinoda, he says:

रामचन्द्रकविना कविनादः
पुरुषोत्तमसुतेन सुतेन ।
राधिका-हृदय-शोकदमासी-
द्राधिका-हृदय-शोकदमासीत् ॥

and again, in 21-22:

आसीदागमपारगो रविमतप्रौढप्रकाशो बुधः
श्रीमान् श्रीपुरुषोत्तमः सुरगुरुप्रख्यः सतां सम्मतः ।
भ्रान्त्वा भूमितले रसातलतलं यत्कीर्त्तिनारी श्रमम्
स्वर्गङ्गाजलगाहनादपनयत्येषा सुधास्यन्दिनी ॥ २१ ॥
तत्सूनुर्विबुधो जनार्दन इति ख्यातस्त्रिलोकीतले
यद्वाग्ब्रह्मामृतसिक्तमन्त्रनिचयः साक्षात् पुरः स्फूर्तिदः ।
तत्सूनुप्रवरेण शङ्करपुरी-श्रीरामचन्द्रेन सत्-
काव्यस्यास्य विनिर्गतस्य सुधिया भावप्रकाशः कृतः ॥

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[1] v.r. SA. प्रत्यासन्नमुखी ।
[2] v.r. SA. सखीभुजयुग ।
[3] v.r. SA. प्रेषिका ।
[4] v.r. SA. ललितव्यावृत्त० ।

Rāmacandra Āgamin appears to have composed this work at an early age; see V. 24, "बालोऽञ्जति शैलकरवैभवस्तु".

Rāmacandra Āgamin is also to be distinguished from Rāmacandra Adhvarin, son of Patañjali Makhīśvara, grandson of Keśava Adhvarin and great-grandson of Ratnakheṭa Adhvarin.

That the author of the Rādhā-vinoda-kāvya was Rāmacandra Āgamin is seen from the colophon as given in MS. No. 376 of 1892–95, now belonging to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

The verses of Rāmacandra Āgamin as quoted in the SSS. and PV. may be classified as follows:—

1. King: प्रस्थान: PV. 113 (anonymous in O.T.).
2. ,, on गज: PV. 121.
3. प्रियाविप्रलम्भ: PV. 295.
4. सूर्योदयादिकाल: PV. 519.
5. पुष्पावचय (after सूर्योदय): PV. 523 = SSS. 89.
6. हिन्दोलक्रीडा: PV. 535 = SSS. 109.
7. सूर्यास्त: PV. 550 = SSS. 126.
8. ग्रीष्म: PV. 617 = SSS. 326.
9. शरदिरहिणी: PV. 646.

(21) *Rāmajit*

The Padyaveṇī quotes six verses of Rāmajit, e.g.: (1) No. 327, चाश्वल्यं स्वदृशोरधीष्व, etc. on कुलटोपदेश; (2) No. 531, यतो यतो धावति कन्दुकोयं, etc. on कन्दुक-क्रीडा; (3) No. 552, परित्यज्य प्राचीमतिरुचिकरी, etc. on सूर्यास्त; (4) No. 597, विगलितकुसुमेषु, etc. on वसन्तसन्धि; (5) No. 659, विभावसोः सारथिरेव, etc. on शिशिरवायु; and (6) No. 800, उपभुक्तखदिरवीटक, etc. on हास्यरस. Of these the SSS. 130 is the same as PV. 552. The Cat. Cat. 1 notices one रामजित्, author of the निबन्ध-नवनीत or नवनीत-निबन्ध, a work on Dharma, Bhandarkar's Report, 1882-83, 3. 96 (102). But there is no evidence to establish any identity between the two.

In PV. 552 on the Sunset, the Sun is described as a faithless husband, who ignores his wife, the East, becomes degraded and consequently begins to fade away in life.

The thoughts of Rāmajit are sublime. In PV. 597, Kāmadeva is represented as carrying a bow without its flower-shafts as in winter flowers dropped off and the vernal flowers were still within the trees during the *Vasanta-saṃdhi*.

In his verse on the Winter-breeze, PV. 658, Rāmajit says the breeze is undoubtedly the friend of fire as even the winter-breeze, by nature cool as it is, sets the heart to fire:

विभावसोः सारथिरेव वायु-
र्जनप्रसिद्धं ननु सत्यमेतत् ।
शीतोऽपि यच्छिशिर-मारुतोऽयं
संधुक्षयन् वाति हृदि स्मराग्निम् ॥

(22) *Sāhityasudhāsindhu, Author of*

The Sāhityasudhāsindhu, a rhetorical work, was composed by Viśvanātha, son of Trimalla and grandson of Ananta of Dharmasura city on the Godāvarī before 1602 A.D., which is the date of a MS. of the work preserved at present in Kashmir and noticed by Stein in his Catalogue of MSS. in Kashmir (xxix). This Viśvanātha is also the author of the Mṛgāṅkalekhā-nāṭikā, a MS. of which is dated Saṃvat 1664, i.e. 1608 A.D.[1] As Viśvanātha quotes Caṇḍīdāsa, author of a commentary on Mammaṭa, he could not have flourished much earlier than 1600 A.D. The Sāhityasudhāsindhu consists of three Taraṅgas.

(23) *Śivabhakta*

This may be the real name or an epithet of the poet. The name of this poet is not unfortunately found in any other anthology. The only verse by him is preserved in the SSS., No. 308, अध्वन्यस्य वधूर्वियोगविधुरा, etc. in its section on वसन्तपथिक। The verse is also quoted anonymously in other anthologies.

(24) *Śrīpati Bhaṭṭa*

SSS. 176, तडिद्दा पङ्क्तौ वा, etc. is the only verse of Śrīpati Bhaṭṭa quoted in this anthology. The same verse has been quoted by Jalhaṇa in his Sūkti-muktāvalī, p. 256, v. 12, under the name Śrīṭhakkura. No other anthology quotes any verse of Śrīpati except the SUK. which quotes only one verse. This verse on दक्षिणवात, एते ते मलयाद्रिकन्दर एषः, etc. is a very good verse indeed. But whether this Śrīpati is identical with the author of our anthology still remains to be ascertained.

(25) *Author of the Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya*

It is rather strange that unlike all other authors of anthologies, the author of the SSS. should leave for us in a compilation of 844 verses only 7 verses. The verses are on Spring-breeze (No. 301); a separated lady-love during the summer (No. 339); the wife of a traveller पथिककामिनी (No. 441); two on तारुण्य (Nos. 833 and 837) and two on रतावसान (Nos. 749 and 750). Two of the verses claimed by him as his own, viz. the one on ग्रीष्मविरहिणी (No. 339)

[1] *Vide* printed edition, Introduction. The poet here says of himself: नन्विमामेव गोदावरीतीर-पवित्र-धारासुर-नगरनिवासिनः साम्प्रत-विरचित-वाराणसी-वसतेस्त्रिमल्लदेव-तनूजस्य विश्वनाथशर्मणः कृतिं मृगाङ्कलेखाभिधानां नाटिकामभिनेतुमुद्युक्त एवास्मि। Mādhavadeva, author of the Nyāya-sāra, also appears to belong to the family of Viśvanāthadeva.

and the other on पथिककामिनी (No. 441) are quite enjoyable and are, therefore, quoted here:

No. 339. चूडारत्नमपांनिधिर्यदि भवेच्चेत् कुन्तलं गण्डकी
कावेरी यदि कङ्कणं यदि पुनर्ग्रैवेयकं गौतमी ।
मुक्तास्रक् सुरनिम्नगा यदि यदि स्यान्मेखला नर्मदा
कौशेयं यदि कौशिकी शमनतनोस्तापस्तदापैति वा ॥

No. 441. रात्रिः कल्पशतायतेऽपि दिवसो मन्वन्तरं जायते
शीतांशुर्दहनायते मलयजो लेपः स्फुलिङ्गायते ।
आहारो गरलायते प्रतिदिनं कामोऽपि वैरायते
प्रेयस्याः प्रियविप्रयोगसमयः संहारकालायते ॥

The compiler appears to have violated all principles of honesty as he claims two verses of Veṇīdatta, viz. PV. Nos. 749 and 750 as his own. Again, SSS. 339 is attributed to Bhānukara in the PR. (42.17) and RJ. (942). V. 441 is also an imitation; cf. SSRB. 101.9.

As this author quotes the Padyaveṇī, it must have been composed later than that work. Veṇīdatta composed the PV. in the middle of the seventeenth century. The SSS. was in all probability composed by the end of the seventeenth century.

(26) *Trilocana Trivāḍīka*

There are sets of verses on Moon-rise by Nāgeśa Śāstrin, Trilocana Trivāḍīka (Tewari), Veṇīpāṇḍeya and others, which evidently show that they were all contemporaries and composed the verses in a competition or for some similar purpose. Otherwise, the fourth line of all verses, मन्दमन्दमयमिन्दुरुदेति, would not have been the same. They were all evidently contemporaries of the author of the SSS. and flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century A.D.

(27) *Uddāmabhānu*

The following verse is attributed to Uddāmabhānu in the SSS. 155 and to Uddāmabhāratī in PV. 564. The description is a grand one:—

दुर्वारः कालचौरो दिनमणिमहरद् यन्नभःप्राङ्गणस्थं
जागर्त्येवाखिलेऽपि स्वपिति पुनरयं नाद्भुतं नेष्यतीति ।
इत्यन्तर्भूतचिन्ता सपदि दशदिशो रोदसी-पूरसीम-
द्वाराणि ध्वान्तकूटै रजनिरपि दधे दर्विपाकैः कपाटम् ॥ १५५ ॥

Only another verse of Uddāmabhāratī or Uddāmabhānu is found in the PV. No. 565. The name of the poet seems to have been muddled somehow or other. It is not likely that the poet would be called both Uddāmabhāratī and Uddāmabhānu.

(28) *Vajraṭaṅka Śāstrin*

The name Vajraṭaṅka is unknown to anthological literature except for the SSS. where some of his verses are quoted, viz. 41 on Sunrise and 218-219 on the pangs of women whose lovers are away from them.

धौताः पांसुसमुच्चया इव तमःस्तोमो हरिद्भित्तिषु
स्रस्तास्तारकराशयो घुणशतश्रेणीव काष्ठान्तरात् ।
उद्धूतः करकूर्चकैरुपचितः शीतांशुलूतालयो
मार्तण्डेन तदेवमम्बरपरिष्कारः किमारच्यते ॥ ४१ ॥

Verses 218-219:

उच्चैस्संक्रमचारुदीर्घगगनप्रासादगर्भे पुरः
पौरस्त्याद्रिविटङ्कयष्टिशिखरोड्डीनः परिक्रीडति ।
कीर्णामिष चरन् कलङ्ककणिकाकिर्मीरकायच्छवि-
स्तारामण्डलतण्डुलप्रकृतिकां पूर्णेन्दुपारावतः ॥ २१८ ॥
पश्चच्चलकञ्चुकाञ्चलधुतैः सन्ध्याभ्रमं विभ्रमं
मन्दं कन्दलयति (?) सुन्दरि तमः सिन्दूरविन्दूत्करैः ।
सौधाङ्केषु विकीर्णकेलिकुमुदालङ्कारशङ्काहत-
स्तुण्डं ताण्डवयन्ति तण्डुलधिया तारासु पारावताः ॥

(29) *Vāṅmiśra*

The SSS. quotes the only verse of Vāṅmiśra, the subject being नायकस्याग्रे दूत्युक्तिः—

मुहुर्व्यजनवीजनैर्बहलचन्दनासेवनैः
सरोजदलवेष्टनैरपि न चेष्टते सुन्दरी ।
परन्तु तव नामनि प्रियसखीभिरावेदितं
निवेदयति जीवितं श्रवणसीम्नि रोमोद्गमः ॥ ५८५ ॥

The verse is attributed to Dehari Miśra in the Vidyākara-sahasraka, V. 647. The RJ. and the PR. attribute it to Bābumiśra and the PV. to Śaṃkara Miśra.

(30) *Varada Ācārya, Author of the Vasanta-tilaka*

SSS. 16-17 and SSS. 39-40, describing the morning and the sunrise respectively, are traced in Vasanta-tilaka of Varada Ācārya.[1] This Varada Ācārya was a contemporary of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, author of the Śṛṅgāra-tilaka Bhāṇa and the Patañjali-carita. He was the son of Sudarśana Kavi of

[1] See pp. 4-5 of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition, Calcutta, 1872.

Conjeeveram, as the poet himself says in the beginning of the Vasanta-tilaka.[1] Varadārya flourished in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In his drama Vedānta-vilāsa or Yatirāja-vijaya, Varada Ācārya describes the life of Rāmānuja in six acts.

(31) *Veṇīdatta*

The Sūkti-Sundara has quoted two verses of Veṇīdatta and the SSS. 28. All these are taken from the PV. which contains 231 of his verses. The SS. and SSS. were both greatly influenced by the Padyaveṇī as is evident from the structure as well as the series of parallel quotations in them.

Veṇīdatta composed his work Pañca-tattva-prakāśikā [2] in 1644. As the Sūkti-Sundara which must have been composed by the end of the seventeenth century quotes the verses of the PV., it must have been composed by the middle of the seventeenth century or slightly later. Again, Shah Jehan (1628–1658 A.D.) is referred to in one of the verses of Harinārāyaṇa Miśra,[3] which fixes up the upper limit of the date of the composition of the work.

Veṇīdatta was the son of Jagajjīvana and grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha. Veṇīdatta reveres Nīlakaṇṭha as the ornament of the Yājñika-family. The PV. quotes sixteen verses of Jagajjīvana and six verses from his Vrajyā. This work also quotes one of the verses of Nīlakaṇṭha and two verses of Yājñika. Probably, this Nīlakaṇṭha and Yājñika are the same as the grandfather and the ancestor of Veṇīdatta referred to in the colophons. So it is doubtless that Veṇīdatta was born in a very cultured family and reared up in environments that were very congenial to the making of a poet. In some verses Veṇīdatta praises King Nasālati; probably, he is the same as Mīramīrātmaja or son of Mīramīra referred to in some verses. In some verses, again, he praises King Rāma. This Rāma is, probably, the same as Vīrasiṃhasuta praised elsewhere by Veṇīdatta. Besides these kings, Veṇīdatta eulogizes in PV. 93 a king called Pratāpa. Veṇīdatta was certainly patronized by them. Yājñika praises one Rājīvanetra as well who was probably his patron too.

The compilers of anthologies usually incorporate some of their verses in their compilations. Veṇīdatta too has preserved for us 231 verses in this anthology out of a collection of 889 verses. Almost every section of the work contains some of his verses. Some of these verses will probably be traceable in his Vāsudeva-carita, the only MS. of which is preserved in the India Office Library and cannot, therefore, under these war circumstances, be consulted by me. The Pañca-tattva-prakāśikā which has been noticed in Rājendralāl Mitra's Notices might also contain some of these verses or at least furnish some clue to the original sources of some of them; but the MSS. noticed by Rājendralāl are mostly not procurable nowadays. It is not unlikely that Veṇīdatta composed the major portion of these verses for the work Padyaveṇī.

[1] कांचीपुरे कविरभूत्, etc., p. 2.

[2] Rājendralāl Mitra's Notices, 1436.

[3] PV. 141 = SS. 138.

Veṇīdatta was not a first class poet but nobody can doubt, after perusing the PV., that the author was a connoisseur of poetry. The weak part of the PV. is the composition of the author himself; but the verses culled by him from other sources are simply marvellous; every one of them is a gem. No other Sanskrit anthology of this age can be compared with the PV. in this respect. The verses of Veṇīdatta are pleasing to the ear, but present grammatical inaccuracies and what is more—they cannot be properly interpreted. They also abound in redundant uses which should be purged out but for metrical reasons. Still, his verses were not altogether ignored; thus, the SS. quotes two of his verses and SSS. quite a good many of them.

There are six Taraṅgas in the PV. The first on the description of gods, viz. Śiva, Viṣṇu, Bhavānī and Sūrya, consists of 52 verses. The second on the description of kings consists of 120 verses. Herein Akbar, Rāmacandra, son of Vīrabhānu, Dalapati and Gurjarendra are eulogized by Akbarīya-Kālidāsa. Bhānukara praises Vīrabhānu and Nizāmshāh; Cintāmaṇi—Jehangir and his son Shah Parvez; Harinārāyaṇa—Emperor Shah Jehan; Vāṇīkaṇṭhābharaṇa—Dillīndracūḍāmaṇi; Gaṇapati—Vāsudeva; Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa—Vīrasiṃha; Rājaśekhara—Vīrabhūpa; Śaṃkara Bhaṭṭa—Darpanārāyaṇa and Yājñika—Rājīvanetra. The patrons of Veṇīdatta have been mentioned before. The third Taraṅga consisting of 100 verses deals with women—their girlhood, advent of youth, youthful age, their limbs and various adornments. The fourth is devoted to love; herein the lovers and lady-lovers are found in their various mood-types and other categorical divisions and the eight Sāttvika-bhāvas are also beautifully illustrated. The fifth in 134 verses deals with various parts of the day and needless to say, cannot dispense with the description of love. The sixth deals with miscellaneous subject-matters; the first 67 verses are devoted to the description of six Indian seasons; then follow the verses on the forest and hermitage; then there are 78 anyoktis with reference to various animals, birds, trees, etc.; then 35 verses are found in praise or censure of the benevolent, the rogues, etc. Then 12 verses are devoted to the praise of the poetical works and poets; here in PV. 788 Gaṇapati praises highly Gaṇeśvara and in PV. 799 Bhānukara eulogizes Narahari. The following thirty verses deal with the other sentiments than Śṛṅgāra. Puzzles are dealt with in the following 39 verses; the ten Incarnations in the following 20 verses and so on.

Veṇīdatta gives us the names of 115 poets [1] whose verses he has quoted and there are many anonymous verses. Of the poets mentioned by name, only 15 poets are well known to us; the rest are more or less new discoveries to us. A few Bengali poets headed by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī are also found here. Of the women poets, Keralī, Gaurī, Padmāvatī, Morikā and Vikaṭanitambā have been quoted here. Besides these, the sources of some verses have been mentioned by Veṇīdatta, viz. the Bhoja-prabandha, Jagajjīvana-vrajyā,

[1] An account of these poets will be found in my forthcoming work Padyaveṇī of Veṇīdatta, Publication No. 1 of the Institute of Oriental Learning (Prācyavāṇī Mandira) in the Text Series.

Ratnāvalī, Subhāṣita-muktāvalī and Vāṇīrasāla-vrajyā. Thus the names of the authors or sources of only 108 verses quoted in PV. are not known to us.

(32) *Veṇī Pāṇḍeya*

As stated before under Trilocana Trivāḍīka, Veṇī Pāṇḍeya and others must have composed the verses with the fourth line in all of them as the same, certainly because they all agreed or intended to do so. Most probably, he was a contemporary of the author of the SSS. The SSS. preserves seven of his verses—all on moon-rise, Nos. 230–236.

(33) *Vidhūdaya*

One poet Candrodaya's single verse on Moon-rise has been quoted in the SSV. Presumably, this Candrodaya will be identical with our poet Vidhūdaya, but until further evidence is forthcoming, we cannot identify them. This Vidhūdaya is indeed a good poet as his verses show. His verses on Vayaḥsandhi, Nos. 803-804 of the SSS., are grand.

(34) *Bījāṅkura*

The only verse of this poet quoted in SSS. is No. 605, रजन्यामन्यस्यां, etc. This verse is attributed to Bījaka in SSV. Therefore, Bījāṅkura and Bījaka are identical.

Abbreviations

PR. = Padya-racanā.
PV. = Padyaveṇī.
RJ. = Rasika-jīvana.
SS. = Sūkti-sundara.
SA. = Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa.
SSS. = Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya.

KAMMA, OR THE BUDDHIST LAW OF CAUSATION

By

REVD. THERA NĀRADA

Inequality

What is the cause of this inequality of mankind? How do we account for this totally ill-balanced world?

Why are some vicious persons prosperous and virtuous persons unfortunate?

Why should one be brought up in the lap of luxury, endowed with fine mental, moral, and physical qualities, and another in absolute poverty, steeped to the lips in misery? Why should one be born a millionaire and another a

pauper? Why should one be made a mental prodigy and another an idiot? Why should one be born with saintly characteristics and another with criminal tendencies? Why should some be linguists, artists, mathematicians or musicians from their very cradle? Why should some be congenitally blind, deaf, and deformed?

Is this inequality due to blind chance or accident? Strictly speaking, nothing happens to any man that he does not deserve for some reason or other.

Could this be the fiat of an irresponsible God-Creator?

It is impossible to conceive of such a being either in or outside the universe.

Some writers of old authoritatively declare that God created man after his own image. Some modern thinkers frankly state that man created God after his own image. The latter seems to be more reasonable.

'What kind of a Deity must it be who creates a baby-soul, born of diseased parents, foredoomed to ill-health and a life of poverty, misery, probably crime? In these days surely no one could for a moment entertain such a lame explanation or consider it in any way satisfactory.' [1]

As Charles Bradlaugh says, 'the existence of evil is a terrible stumbling block to the Theist. Pain, misery, crime, poverty confront the advocate of eternal goodness, and challenge with unanswerable potency his declaration of Deity as all-good, all-wise, and all-powerful'.[2]

According to the theological principles man is created arbitrarily and without his desire, and at the moment of his creation is either blessed or damned eternally. Hence, man is either good or evil, fortunate or unfortunate, noble or depraved, from the first step in the process of his physical creation to the moment of his last breath, regardless of his individual desires, hopes, ambitions, struggles or devoted prayers. Such is theological fatalism.

In the words of Schopenhauer 'Whoever regards himself as having become out of nothing must also think that he will again become nothing; for that an eternity has passed before he was, and then a second eternity has begun, through which he will never cease to be, is a monstrous thought.

'If birth is the absolute beginning, then death must be his absolute end; and the assumption that man is made out of nothing leads necessarily to the assumption that death is his absolute end.'

According to Einstein 'If this being (God) is omnipotent, then every occurrence, including every human action, every human thought, and every human feeling and aspiration is also His work; how is it possible to think of holding men responsible for their deeds and thoughts before such an Almighty Being?

'In giving out punishments and rewards, He would to a certain extent be passing judgment on Himself. How can this be combined with the goodness and righteousness ascribed to Him?'

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[1] A. E. Powell.

[2] See his essay on 'A Plea for Atheism'—*Humanity's Gain from Unbelief*, p. 23.

Commenting on human suffering and God Prof. J. B. S. Haldane says:—

'Either suffering is needed to perfect human character, or God is not Almighty. The former theory is disproved by the fact that some people who have suffered very little, but have been fortunate in their ancestry and education have very fine characters. The objection to the second is that it is only in connection with the universe as a whole that there is any intellectual gap to be filled by the postulation of a deity. And a creator could presumably create whatever he or it wanted.'

In *Despair*, a poem of his old age, Lord Tennyson thus boldly attacks God, who as recorded by Isaiah, says: 'I make peace and create evil' (Isaiah xlv. 7).

'What! I should call on that infinite love that has served us so well?
Infinite cruelty, rather, that made everlasting hell,
Made us, foreknew us, foredoom'd us, and does what he will with his own;
Better our dead brute mother who never has heard us groan.'

In the Jātakas the Bodhisatta dismisses this idea of a God-Creator thus:—

'He who has eyes can see the sickening sight;
Why does not Brahma set his creatures right?

If his wide power no limits can restrain,
Why is his hand so rarely spread to bless?

Why are his creatures all condemned to pain,
Why does he not to all give happiness?

Why do fraud, lies, and ignorance prevail,
Why triumphs falsehood,—truth and justice fail?

I count your Brahma one th'unjust among,
Who made a world to shelter wrong.'

(Jātaka Stories, Vol. VI, p. 110.)

'If there exists some Lord all powerful to fulfil
In every creature bliss or woe, and action good or ill,
That Lord is stained with sin. Man does work his will.'

(Jātaka Stories, Vol. V, p. 122.)

Surely 'the doctrine that all men are sinners and have the essential sin of Adam is a challenge to justice, mercy, love, and omnipotent fairness.'

Heredity

According to some modern thinkers this variation is due to heredity and environment. One must admit that they are partly instrumental, but they cannot be solely responsible for the subtle distinctions and vast differences that exist amongst individuals. Why should, for instance, twins who are physically alike, enjoying the same privileges of upbringing, be very often temperamentally, intellectually, and morally totally different?

Heredity alone cannot account for this variation. It explains only similarities but not the differences. Physical germ explains only a portion of man. With regard to mental, intellectual, and moral differences we are left in the dark. The theory of heredity cannot give a satisfactory explanation for the birth of a criminal in a long line of honourable ancestors, for the birth of a saint or a noble man in a family rotten to the trees, for the arising of colossal characters like Homer and Plato, men of genius like Shakespeare, infant prodigies like Pascal, Mozart, Beethoven, Raphael, etc.

According to Buddhism this variation is due not only to heredity, environment, 'nature and nurture', but also to our own Kamma or, in other words, to our own inherited past actions and present deeds. We ourselves are responsible for our own deeds, happiness and misery. We create our own heavens. We create our own hells. We are the architects of our own fate.

'Every living being,' says the Buddha, 'has Kamma as its own, its inheritance, its cause, its kinsman, its refuge. Kamma is that which differentiates all living beings into low and high states.'

Alluding to this variation the Atthasālinī states:—

'Depending on this difference in Kamma appears the difference in the birth of beings, high and low, base and exalted, happy and miserable. Depending on the difference in Kamma appears the difference in the individual features of beings as beautiful and ugly, high-born or low-born, well-built or deformed. Depending on the difference in Kamma appears the difference in the worldly conditions of beings as gain and loss, fame and disgrace, blame and praise, happiness and misery.

'By Kamma the world moves,
by Kamma men live,
and by Kamma are beings bound;
As by its pin the rolling chariot wheel.
By Kamma one attains glory and praise,
By Kamma bondage, ruin and tyranny.
Knowing that Kamma bears fruit manifold,
Why say ye, "In the world no Kamma is?"'

(Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 227.)

Thus, according to the Buddhist conception, our mental, intellectual, and moral differences are mainly due to our own actions and tendencies.

Although Buddhism attributes this variation chiefly to Kamma, yet it does not assert that everything is due to Kamma. In such a case there is no difference between Buddhism and some theistic religions which attribute everything to a single cause. Kamma is only one of the twenty-four conditions enumerated in the *Paṭṭhāna*.

Refuting the erroneous view that 'Whatsoever weal or woe or neutral feeling is experienced, all that is due to some previous action', the Buddha states in the Aṅguttara Nikāya:—

'So, then, owing to a previous action, men will become murderers, thieves, unchaste, liars, slanderers, babblers, covetous, malicious, and perverse in view.

Thus for those who fall back on the former deed as the essential reason there is neither desire to do, nor effort to do, nor necessity to do this deed or abstain from that deed.'

According to Abhidhammāvatāra there are five Niyāmas or orders that prevail in the physical and mental realm of which Kamma is one.

They are:

1. *Kamma Niyāma*, order of action and result; e.g. good and bad deeds produce desirable and undesirable results respectively.
2. *Utu Niyāma*, physical (inorganic) order; e.g. seasonal phenomena of winds and rains, periodical bearing of flowers and fruits, etc.
3. *Bīja Niyāma*, order of germs or seeds; e.g. similar seeds producing similar fruits, rice producing from rice-seed, sugary taste resulting from sugar-cane or honey, etc.
4. *Citta Niyāma*, order of mind; e.g. processes of consciousness (Citta vithi), etc.
5. *Dhamma Niyāma*, order of the norm; e.g. the phenomena occurring at the advent of a Bodhisatta in his last birth, gravitation, etc.

Every phenomenon, mental or physical, could be explained by one of these five orders.

This law of Kamma, it has to be admitted, can neither be proved nor disproved *experimentally*.

What is Kamma?

The Pāli term *Kamma*—Sanskrit *Karma*—literally means 'action'. Any kind of action, whether mental, verbal or physical, is treated as Kamma. In its ultimate sense Kamma means good and bad volition (*Kusala Akusala Cetanā*).

The Buddha says: 'I declare, O Bhikkhus, that volition is Kamma. Having willed, one acts by body, speech, and thought.'

Every volitional action, except that of a Buddha and an Arahant, is called Kamma. The Buddhas and Arahants do not accumulate fresh Kamma, as they have destroyed all passions, the root of Kamma. They are delivered from evil and good.

There is no Kamma where there is no consciousness (Nāma). Plants, for instance, do not accumulate Kamma. Nor is any action a Kamma which is unintentional, for Kamma, as defined above, depends on the volition that is involved in the doing. Any deed which is devoid of willing and intention is, therefore, not regarded as Kamma.

It is evident from the above that in the working of Kamma mind is the most important factor. All our actions, words, and thoughts are tinged by the moral or immoral type of consciousness experienced at such particular moments. 'When the mind is unguarded, bodily action is unguarded, speech also is unguarded, thought also is unguarded. When the mind is guarded, bodily action is guarded, and thought also is guarded.'

'By mind the world is led, by mind is drawn:
And all men own the sovereignty of mind.'

'If one speaks or acts with an evil mind, pain follows one as the wheel, the hoof of the ox.'

'If one speaks or acts with a good mind, happiness follows one as the shadow that never departs.'

This immaterial mind is capable of producing tremendous changes in the external world. For instance, the most wonderful and powerful machines that tend to revolutionize the world today are the direct results of thoughts that originated in the minds of great thinkers.

Kamma and Vipāka.

According to the Abhidhamma Kamma constitutes the twelve types of immoral consciousness, eight types of moral consciousness pertaining to the Sentient Realm (*Kāmāvacara*), five types of moral consciousness pertaining to the Realms of Form (*Rūpāvacara*), and four types of moral consciousness pertaining to the Formless Realms (*Arūpāvacara*).[1]

The volitional activities of the supramundane consciousness (Lokuttara Citta) are not regarded as Kamma since they do not cause rebirth. They, on the contrary, tend to eradicate passions that condition rebirth. In the supramundane consciousness wisdom (*Paññā*) is predominant, whilst in the ordinary types of consciousness volition (*Cetanā*) is predominant.

The nine types of moral consciousness pertaining to the Realms of Forms and to the Formless Realms are the five Rūpāvacara and the four Arūpāvacara Jhānas (Ecstasies). They are purely mental.

Words and deeds are caused by the remaining twenty types of consciousness. Verbal actions are done by mind by means of speech. Bodily actions are by the mind through the instrument of the body. Purely mental actions have no other instrument than the mind.

These twenty-nine types of consciousness are called Kamma because they have the power to produce their due effects (*Vipāka*) quite automatically, independent of any external agency. Just as every volitional activity is accompanied by its due effect.

Those types of consciousness one experiences as inevitable consequences of one's good and bad thoughts are called resultant consciousness (Vipāka). The twenty-three types of resultant consciousness pertaining to the Sentient Realm, the five types of resultant consciousness pertaining to the Realms of Form and the four types of resultant consciousness pertaining to the Formless Realms are called the Vipāka or fruition of Kamma.

The external differences such as health, wealth, sickness, poverty, etc. are the Vipākānisaṃsa—consequences.

A mango seed, for instance, is like the Kamma; mango fruit is like the Vipāka, effect; the leaves and flowers are like the Vipākānisaṃsa.

[1] See Compendium of Philosophy, Ch. 1.

Kamma, therefore, does not necessarily mean only past actions; it may be both past and present actions.

For instance, at the moment of giving something to the poor, I experience a good thought which will have its reaction at any opportune moment in the form of a gift from another. On receiving the gift I experience a good consciousness which is the result of the past good thought of mine.

We plant a seed today. Sooner or later we will be able to reap its fruits. In the same way, according to the law of Kamma, every good and bad thought will produce its reaction when a suitable occasion arises.

Kamma is action, and Vipāka, fruit, is its reaction. It is not fate. It is not predestination which is imposed on us by some mysterious unknown power, to which we must helplessly submit ourselves. It is one's own doing which reacts on one's own self. It is a law in itself. In other words, it is a law of cause and effect in the ethical realm.

We have, for instance, the freedom to put our hand into the fire or not. But when once we put our hand, the burning is inevitable. In the same way we have complete freedom to do any act, but the reaction is inevitable.

Hence, it is as clear as daylight that the doctrine of Kamma is the very opposite of fatalism. This just doctrine holds that man can control his future by creating now what will produce good effects in the future.

It is this doctrine of Kamma which the mother teaches her child when she says: 'Be good and you will be happy, and others will love you. But if you are bad, you will be unhappy, and others will hate you.'

The Saṃyutta Nikāya says:

'According to the seed that's sown,
So is the fruit ye reap therefrom,
Doer of good will gather good,
Doer of evil, evil reaps.
Sown is the seed, and thou shalt taste
The fruit thereof.' [1]

What is the Cause of Kamma ?

This so-called 'I', which is composed of mind and matter, is compelled to act. It receives impressions from internal and external stimuli. Sensations arise thereby, and owing to lack of right understanding resulting from latent Ignorance and Craving, one accumulates deeds which consequently produce rebirth in manifold states.

Evil acts lead to misery, good acts lead to happiness. Nevertheless, good actions are necessary to escape this cycle of rebirth.

A drowning man would tenaciously cling on to a corpse which, ordinarily, he would detest, and save himself. After his escape he would no longer cling to it but throw it away. Even so a person would do good to escape this cycle of birth and death. After gaining Deliverance he would no more accumulate

[1] Compare the Biblical saying, 'As thou sowest thou shalt reap'.

fresh Kammic activities which produce rebirth. He will be beyond good and evil.

Not knowing things as they truly are does one accumulate Kamma. No Kamma is accumulated by him who has completely eradicated his craving and has understood things as they truly are.

The Doer of Kamma.

Who is the doer of Kamma ? Who reaps the fruit of Kamma ? 'Is it a sort of accretion about a soul, as is taught in Hinduism, which the soul, a part of the Divine Essence, builds about itself ?'

Says the Venerable Buddhaghosa Thera in the Visuddhi Magga:

'No doer is there who does the deed
Nor is there one who feels the fruit;
Constituent parts alone roll on . . . . .'

In the ultimate sense (*Paramattha Saccena*) a Buddhist cannot conceive of any unchanging entity, any being in the form of a Deva, a man or an animal. These external forms are merely the temporary manifestations of the invisible Kammic force. 'Being' is only a term used for conventional purposes. Strictly speaking, what we call a 'being' is nothing but a mere composition of mind and matter.

Matter, according to Buddhism, is merely a manifestation of forces and qualities. Mind, too, is nothing beyond a complex compound of fleeting mental states. Each unit of consciousness consists of three phases—genesis (Uppāda), development (Ṭhiti), and dissolution (Bhaṅga). One unit of consciousness perishes only to give birth to another. The subsequent thought-moment is neither the same as its predecessor, because it is not absolutely identical, nor entirely another, being the same stream of Kamma energy.

We Buddhists believe that there is no actor apart from action, no perceiver apart from perception, or, in other words, no conscious subject behind consciousness.

Who, then, is the doer of Kamma ? What experiences Kamma ?

Volition or will (*Cetanā*) is itself the doer. Feeling (*Vedanā*) is itself the reaper of the fruits of Kamma. Apart from these mental states there is none to sow and none to reap.

Just as, says the Venerable Buddhaghosa, in the case of these elements of a matter that go under the name of tree, as soon as at any point the fruit springs up, it is then said 'the tree bears fruit' or 'thus the tree has fructified'; so also in the case of groups (Khandas) which go under the name of Deva or man when a fruition of happiness or misery springs up at any point, then it is said 'that Deva or man is happy or miserable'. Strictly speaking, there is neither a sower nor a reaper besides the volition and the feeling.

Where is Kamma ?

'Stored within the psyche (mind)', says a certain writer on psycho-analysis, 'but usually inaccessible and to be reached only by some, is the whole record, without exception, of every experience the individual has ever

passed through, every influence felt, every impression received. The subconscious mind is not only an indelible record of individual experiences but also retains the impress of primeval impulses and tendencies which so far from being outgrown as we fondly deem in civilized man, are subconsciously active and apt to break out in disconcerting strength at unexpected moments.'

Buddhists would make the same assertion but with a slight modification. Not stored within the psyche, would we say, for there is neither a receptacle nor a storehouse in this ever-changing complex machinery of man but dependent on the Five Groups (Pañcakkhanda) or the flux is every experience the individual has passed through, every influence felt, every impression received, every characteristic, divine, human or brutal. In short, the whole Kamma force is dependent on the flux, ever ready to manifest itself in multifarious phenomena as occasion arises.

'Where, Reverend Sir, is Kamma?' questions King Milinda from the Venerable Nāgasena.

'O Mahārāja,' replies the Venerable Nāgasena, 'Kamma is not said to be stored somewhere in this fleeting consciousness or in any other part of the body. But dependent on mind and matter it rests manifesting itself at the opportune moment, just as mangoes are not said to be stored somewhere in the mango tree, but dependent on the mango tree they lie springing up in due season.'

Just as wind or fire is not stored in any particular place, even so Kamma is not stored anywhere within or without this body.

Kamma is an individual force, and is transmitted from one existence to another. It plays the chiefest part in the moulding of character and explains that marvellous phenomenon of Genius. The clear understanding of this doctrine is essential for the welfare of the world.

The Working of Kamma.

The working of Kamma is not a subject which could be easily grasped by the ordinary intellect. Only a Buddha can fully comprehend this intricate law. In order to understand the working of Kamma it is necessary to get some idea of the process of consciousness (Citta Vithi) according to the Abhidhamma.

The subject, the consciousness, receives objects from within and without. When a person is in a state of profound sleep his mind is said to be vacant, or, in other words, in a state of *Bhavanga*. We experience such a subconscious state when our minds do not respond to external objects. This subconscious state or the flow of *Bhavanga* is interrupted when objects enter the mind. The *Bhavanga* consciousness, which one always experiences as long as it is uninterrupted by stimuli, vibrates for two thought-moments and passes away. Then the consciousness of the kind that apprehends sensation (*Pañcadvārāvajjana*) arises and ceases. At this stage the natural flow is checked and turned towards the object. Immediately after which there arises and ceases visual consciousness (*Cakkhu viññāna*), but yet knows no more about it. This

sense operation is followed by a moment of reception of the object so seen (*Sampaṭicchana*). Next comes the investigating faculty (*Santīraṇa*) or a momentary examination of the object received. After this comes that stage of representative cognition termed the determining consciousness (*Votthapana*) on which depends the subsequent psychologically important stage—apperception—or *Javana*. This *Javana* stage usually lasts for seven thought-moments, or, at times of death, five. The whole process which happens in an infinitesimal part of time ends with the registering consciousness (*Tadālambana*), lasting for two thought-moments. It must be understood that at this important apperceptional stage one does both good and bad Kamma.

'The simile of the mango tree may here serve to illustrate the above process. A man, lost in deep sleep, is lying at the foot of a mango tree with his head covered. A wind now stirs the branches, and a fruit falls besides the sleeping man. He is in consequence aroused from dreamless slumbers. He removes his head-covering in order to ascertain what has awakened him. He sees the newly fallen fruit, picks it up and examines it. Apprehending it to be a fruit with certain constitutive attributes observed in the previous stage of investigation, he eats it, and then, replacing his head-covering, once more resigns himself to sleep.

'The dreamless sleep corresponds to the unperturbed current of the stream of being (*Bhavanga*). The striking of the wind against the tree is like the "past" life-moment, during which the object enters the stream and passes down with it, without perturbing it. The swaying of the branches in that wind represents the vibration of the stream of being. The falling of the fruit corresponds to the arrest or interruption of being, the moment at which the stream is "cut off" by thought; the waking of the man to the awaking of attention in the act of cognition on occasion of sense reaction of sight. The picking up of the fruit is comparable to the operation of receiving; inspection of it recalls the examining function. The simple apprehension of the fruit as such, with certain constitutive attributives of its own, corresponds to the discriminative or determining stage; the eating of the fruit resembles the act of apperception. Finally, the swallowing of the last morsels that are left in the mouth corresponds to the operation of retention, after which the mind subsides into more vital process, even as the man once more falls asleep.' (Compendium of Philosophy by S. Z. Aung, Introductory Essay, p. 30.)

If, for instance, A hits B, the latter will consequently experience some pain. This unpleasant sensation is the result of some past bad Kamma. If B is not a self-controlled person, he will, through his indiscrimination, engender thoughts of hatred towards A. The generating of those thoughts occurs in the *Javana* process. This doing of bad Kamma is his own, even if it be admitted that A acted as the cause, and he, too, did a bad Kamma on his part. Here comes the question of freewill in Buddhism.

The evil effect of the first *Javana* thought-moment being the weakest, B may reap it in this life itself. This is called 'immediately effective' (*Diṭṭhadhammavedaniya*) Kamma.

If it did not operate in this life, the Kamma becomes 'ineffective' (*Ahosi*).

The next weakest is the seventh thought-moment. The evil effect of which *B* may reap in the second birth. This is called 'subsequently effective' (*Upapajjavedaniya*) Kamma.

This too becomes ineffective if it did not operate in the second birth.

The effects of the intermediate thought-moments may take place at any time until *B* attains Nibbana. The Kamma of this type is known as 'indefinitely effective' (*Aparāpariyavedaniya*).

The working of good Kamma is similar to the above. The effect of a good Kamma generally occurs in the form of a pleasant sensation.

It is evident from this classification of Kamma that there are actions which may produce their due effects in this very life, or in a subsequent life, or in any life in the course of one's wanderings in Saṁsāra.

The above-mentioned classification of Kamma is with reference to the time in which effects are worked out.

The following classification is according to 'function'.

Every birth is conditioned by a past good or bad Kamma which predominates at the moment of death. The Kamma that conditions the future birth is called Reproductive or *Janaka Kamma.*

Our forms are but the outward manifestations of the invisible Kammic force. This all-pervading force carries with it all our characteristics, which usually lie latent, but may arise to the surface at unexpected moments. Hence it is difficult to judge another as long as one is a worldling. A person may safely be judged by the thought he experiences at a particular moment. As to his future one cannot definitely say.

The death of a person is merely 'the temporary end of a temporary phenomenon'. Though the present form perishes another form which is neither the same nor entirely different takes place according to the thought that was powerful at the death moment, as the Kammic force which propels the life-flux still survives. It is this last thought, which is technically called Reproductive Kamma, that determines the state of a person in his subsequent birth. This may be either good or a bad Kamma.

Now another Kamma may step forward to assist or maintain the action of this Reproductive Kamma. Just as this Kamma has the tendency to strengthen the Reproductive Kamma some other action, which tends to weaken, interrupt, or retard the fruition of the Reproductive Kamma, may step in. Such actions are respectively termed 'Supportive' (*Upatthambhaka*) and 'Counteractive' (*Upapīdaka*) Kamma.

According to the Law of Kamma the potential energy of the Reproductive Kamma could be nullified by a more powerful opposing Kamma of the past, which, seeking an opportunity, may quite unexpectedly operate, just as a powerful opposing force can check the path of the flying arrow and bring it down to the ground. Such action is called 'Destructive' or *Upaghātaka* Kamma, which is more effective than the above two in that it not only obstructs but also destroys the whole force.

There is another classification of Kamma according to 'the priority of effect'. The first is *Garuka* which means weighty or serious. This Kamma which is either good or bad produces results in this life or in the next for certain. If good, it is purely mental as in the case of *Jhānas* (Ecstasies). Otherwise it is verbal or bodily. The five kinds of Weighty Kamma are:

(1) Matricide,
(2) Parricide,
(3) The murder of an Arahant,
(4) The wounding of a Buddha,
(5) The creation of a schism in the Saṅgha.

Permanent Scepticism (*Niyata Micchādiṭṭhi*) is also termed one of the Weighty Kammas.

If, for instance, any person were to develop the *Jhānas* and later were to commit one of these heinous crimes, his good Kamma would get obliterated by the powerful evil Kamma. His subsequent birth will be conditioned by the evil Kamma in spite of his having gained the *Jhānas* earlier.

In the absence of Weighty Kamma to condition the future birth, a Death-proximate (*Āsanna*) Kamma might operate. This Kamma is that which one does immediately before the dying moment. Owing to the great part it plays in determining the birth much importance is attached to this death-bed Kamma in almost all Buddhist countries. The custom of reminding the dying man of his good deeds and making him do good deeds on his death-bed still prevails in Ceylon, Burma and other Buddhist countries.

Sometimes a bad person may die happily and receive a good birth, if fortunately he remembers or does a good act at the last moment. This does not mean that although he enjoys a good birth he will be exempt from the effects of the evil deeds he accumulated during his lifetime.

At times a good person may die unhappily by suddenly remembering an evil act of his or by harbouring some unpleasant thought, perchance compelled by unfavourable circumstances. Such unhappy ends are sometimes due to ignorance of the relatives who may molest or worry the dying person.

As a rule the last thought-moment is conditioned by the general conduct of a person. However, it is always advisable to remind the dying person of his good deeds and turn his attention away from all worldly bonds and worries.

'Habitual' (*Ācinna*) Kamma is the next in priority of effect. It is the Kamma that one habitually performs and recollects and for which one has a great liking.

Habits, whether good or bad, become second nature. They tend to form the character of a person. At leisure moments one often thinks of one's habitual characteristics. In the same way at the death moment, unless influenced by other circumstances, one, as a rule, recalls to mind one's habitual characteristics.

A miser will instantly think of his gold and may not be able to detach his mind from his cherished possessions. A drunkard will be worried with his glass of liquor. A social worker will be interested in his social activities. A

spiritual adviser will be always intent on his spiritual work. Thus we may be dominated by our habitual doings, especially at our death moments, in spite of the attempts of the friends and relatives to turn our attention otherwise.

The last category is the 'Cumulative' (*Kaṭattā*) Kamma in which is included all that cannot be brought under the above-mentioned three. This is, as it were, the reserve fund of a particular being.

The last classification is according to the place in which the Kamma effects transpire, namely:

(1) Evil Kamma (*Akusala*) which may ripen in the Sentient Existence (*Kāmaloka*).

(2) Good Kamma (*Kusala*) which may ripen in the Sentient Existence.

(3) Good Kamma (*Kusala*) which may ripen in the Realm of Form (*Rūpaloka*).

(4) Good Kamma which may ripen in the Formless Realms (*Arūpaloka*).

(1) *Evil Kamma.*—

There are ten evil Kammas which are caused by deed, word, and thought. Three are caused by deed—namely: killing, stealing, and unchastity. Four are caused by word—namely: lying, slandering, harsh speech, and frivolous talk. Three are caused by mind—namely: covetousness, ill-will, and false view.

Killing means the destruction of any living being. The Pali term used is *Pana* which means that which breathes. According to Abhidhamma *Pana* is the psychophysical life confined to a particular existence. The quick destruction of this life force without allowing it to run its natural or due course is *Pānātipāta*. Animals are also included in living beings, but not plant life. In plants there is a kind of life born of heat but not that kind of vitality born of Kamma found in men and animals.

(2) *Good Kamma* which may ripen in the Sentient Existence:—

There are ten moral actions—namely, generosity (*Dāna*), morality (*Sila*), meditation (*Bhāvanā*), reverence (*Apacāyara*), service (*Veyyavacca*), transference of merit (*Pattidāna*), rejoicing in other's merit (*Pattānumodana*), hearing the doctrine (*Dhammasavana*), expounding the Dhamma (*Dhammadesana*), straightening one's views (*Diṭṭhijju Kamma*).

These ten are sometimes treated as twelve. In which case 'Praising others' good works', and 'Taking the Three Refuges' (*Saraṇa*), and Mindfulness (*Anussati*) are used instead of straightening one's views.

(3) *Good Kamma* which may ripen in the Realms of Form :—

(i) Moral consciousness of the first stage of *Jhāna*. This occurs together with initial application, sustained application, pleasurable interest, happiness, and one-pointedness.

(ii) Moral consciousness of the second stage of *Jhāna*. This occurs together with sustained application, pleasurable interest, happiness, and one-pointedness.

(iii) Moral consciousness of the third stage of *Jhāna*. This occurs together with pleasurable interest, happiness, and one-pointedness.

(iv) Moral consciousness of the fourth stage of *Jhāna*. This occurs together with happiness and one-pointedness.

(v) Moral consciousness of the fifth stage of *Jhāna*. This occurs together with equanimity and one-pointedness.

These *Jhānas* have their corresponding effects in the Realms of Form.

(4) *Good Kamma* which may ripen in the Formless Realms :—

These are the four Arūpa *Jhānas* which have their corresponding effects in the Arūpa (Formless) Realms.

(i) Moral consciousness dwelling in the infinity of space (*Ākāsānañcāyatana*).

(ii) Moral consciousness dwelling in the infinity of consciousness (*Viññānacāyatana*).

(iii) Moral consciousness dwelling on nothingness (*Akiñcaññāyatana*).

(iv) Moral consciousness wherein perception neither is nor is not (*Neva saññā Nasaññāyatana*).

Nature of Kamma.

Is one bound to reap all that one has won in just proportion? Not necessarily. In the Aṅguttara Nikāya the Buddha states:—

'If any one says, O Bhikkhus, that a man must reap according to his deeds, in that case, O Bhikkhus, there is no religious life nor is an opportunity afforded for the entire extinction of sorrow (Dukkha). But if any one says, O Bhikkhus, that what a man reaps accords with his deeds, in that case, O Bhikkhus, there is a religious life and an opportunity is afforded for the entire extinction of sorrow.'

In Buddhism, therefore, there is every possibility to mould one's Kamma. Here one is not always compelled by an iron necessity.

Although it is stated that neither in heaven, nor in the recesses of a cave, there is any place in the world where one could escape evil Kamma, yet one is not bound to pay all the past arrears of one's Kamma. In such case no escape is possible. One is neither the master nor the servant of this Kamma. Even a most vicious person can by his own effort become the most virtuous person. We are always becoming something, and that something depends on our own actions. We may at any moment change for the better or for the worse. Even the most sinful person should not be discouraged or despised on account of his evil nature. We must have compassion on him for we must have also been in that same position at a certain stage. As we have changed for the better he may also change perhaps sooner than ourselves. Who can say what good Kamma he has in store for him? Who knows his potential goodness?

Who thought that Aṅgulimāla, a highway robber and a murderer of more than a thousand of his fellow brethren, would become a Saint, judging him by his external deeds? But he did become an Arahant and erased, so to say, all his past misdeeds.

Who imagined that Ālavaka, the fierce demon who feasted on the flesh of human beings, would ever become a Saint? Yet he did give up his carnivorous habits and attain the first stage of Sainthood.

Who believed that Asoka who was stigmatized Canda, the wicked, on account of the atrocities caused by him to expand his empire, would ever win the noble title—Dhammāsoka or Asoka the Righteous? But he did completely change his career to such an extent that today, 'amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines and shines almost alone, a star'. (H. G. Wells in his 'Outline of History'.)

These are a few instances to illustrate the fact that a complete reformation of character could be brought about by our own actions.

It may also happen that in some cases a lesser evil may produce its due effect, while the effect of a greater evil may be minimized.

The Buddha says:—

'Here, O Bhikkhus, a certain person is not disciplined in body, is not disciplined in morality, is not disciplined in mind, is not disciplined in wisdom, is with little good and less virtue, and lives painfully in consequences of trifles. Even a trivial evil act committed by such a person will lead him to a state of misery.'

'Here, O Bhikkhus, a certain person is disciplined in body, is disciplined in morality, is disciplined in mind, is disciplined in wisdom, is with much good, is high-souled, and lives without limitation.'

'A similar evil act committed by such a person ripens in this life itself and not even a small effect manifests itself (after death), not to say of a great one.'

'It is as if, O Bhikkhus, a man were to put a lump of salt into a small cup of water. What do you think, O Bhikkhus? Would now the small amount of water in this cup become saltish and undrinkable?'

'Yes, Lord.'

'And why?'

'Because, Lord, there was very little water in the cup, and so it became saltish and undrinkable by this lump of salt.'

'Suppose, O Bhikkhus, a man were to put a lump of salt into the river Ganges. What think you, O Bhikkhus? Would the river Ganges become saltish and undrinkable by the lump of salt?'

'Nay, indeed, Lord.'

'And why not?'

'Because, Lord, the mass of water in the river Ganges is great, and so it would not become saltish and undrinkable.'

'In exactly the same way, O Bhikkhus, we may have the case of a person who does some slight evil deed which brings him to a state of misery; or again, O Bhikkhus, we may have the case of another person who does the same trivial misdeed, and expiates in the present life. Not even a small effect manifests itself (after death), not to say of a great one.'

'We may have, O Bhikkhus, the case of a person who is cast into a prison for a half-penny, penny, or for a hundred pence; or, again, O Bhikkhus, we may have the case of a person who is not cast into prison for a half-penny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence.'

'Who, O Bhikkhus, is cast into prison for a half-penny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence?'

'Whenever, O Bhikkhus, any one is poor, needy and indigent: he, O Bhikkhus, is cast into prison for a half-penny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence.'

'Who, O Bhikkhus, is not cast into prison for a half-penny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence?'

'Whenever, O Bhikkhus, any one is rich, wealthy, and affluent: he, O Bhikkhus, is not cast into prison for a half-penny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence.'

'In exactly the same way, O Bhikkhus, we may have the case of a person who does some slight evil deed which brings him to a state of misery; or again, O Bhikkhus, we may have the case of another person who does the same trivial misdeed, and expiates in the present life. Not even a small effect manifests itself (after death), not to say of a great one.'

Good begets good, but any after repentance on the part of the doer deprives him of due desirable results.

In the working of Kamma it should be understood that there are maleficent and beneficent forces to counteract and support this self-operating law. Birth (*Gati*), time or conditions (*Kāla*), beauty (*Upadhi*), and effort (*Payoga*), are such aids and hindrances to the fruition of Kamma.

If, for instance, a person is born in a noble family or in a state of happiness, his fortunate birth will act sometimes as a hindrance to the fruition of his evil Kamma.

If, on the other hand, he is born in a state of misery or in an unfortunate family, his unfavourable birth will provide an easy opportunity for his evil Kamma to operate.

This is technically known as *Gati Sampatti* (Favourable birth) and *Gati Vipatti* (Unfavourable birth).

An unintelligent person, who, by some good Kamma, is born in a royal family, will, on account of his noble parentage, be honoured by the people. If the same person were to have a less fortunate birth, he would not be similarly treated.

Beauty (*Upadhi Sampatti*) and ugliness (*Upadhi Vipatti*) are two other factors that act as aids and hindrances to the working of Kamma.

If by some good Kamma a person obtains a good birth, but is unfortunately deformed, he will not be able to enjoy the beneficial results of his good Kamma. Even a legitimate heir to the throne may not perhaps be raised to that exalted position if he happens to be physically deformed.

Beauty, on the other hand, will be a valuable asset to the possessor. A good-looking son of a poor parent will perhaps attract the attention of a kind person, and might be able to distinguish himself through his influence.

Favourable and unfavourable time or occasion (*Kāla Sampatti* and *Kāla Vipatti*) are another two factors that aid or impede the working of Kamma.

In the case of a famine all without exception will be compelled to suffer the same fate. Here the unfavourable conditions open up the possibilities for evil Kamma to operate. The favourable conditions, on the other hand, will prevent the operation of evil Kamma.

The fourth and the last is effort (*Payoga*). If a person makes no effort to cure himself of a disease or to save himself from his difficulties, his evil Kamma will find suitable opportunity to produce its due effects. If, on the other hand, he endeavours on his part to surmount his difficulties, his good Kamma will come to his succour.

When shipwrecked in deep sea, the Bodhisatta Mahā Janaka made an effort to save himself, whilst the others prayed to the gods and left their fate in their hands, the result was that the Bodhisatta escaped whilst the others got drowned. This is technically known as Payoga Sampatti and Payoga Vipatti.

It is evident from these counteractive and supportive factors that Kamma is sometimes influenced by external circumstances.

It is this doctrine of Kamma that gives consolation, hope, self-reliance, and moral courage to a Buddhist.

When the unexpected happens to him and when he is beset with difficulties almost insurmountable and misfortunes almost unbearable, he consoles himself with the thought that they are the results of his own past doings. He realizes that the inevitable must happen. He no doubt reaps what he has sown; he can at the same time turn up the weeds and sow useful seeds in their place, for the future is entirely in his hands. Kamma enables him to shape his future as he wills.

When the wicked are successful in every walk of life, whilst the virtuous meet with ill-luck and are compelled to lead a miserable life, a Buddhist would neither accuse another of injustice nor blame the world for its unjust ways, since he knows that they are only reaping what they have sown. The virtuous are thereby not discouraged because they are convinced that their good acts will have their due effects in some future life though not in the present.

Even the most corrupted person is not condemned in Buddhism. On the other hand, he is loved and shown the way to a perfect life. He is assured that he has the chance to reform and remodel himself at any moment. Though bound to suffer in states of misery, he has the hope of attaining eternal Peace.

A Buddhist who is fully convinced of the doctrine of Kamma does not pray to another to be saved but confidently relies on himself for his salvation.

It is this belief in Kamma that validates his effort and kindles his enthusiasm. It is also this firm belief in Kamma that prompts him to refrain from evil and to do good and be good without being frightened of any punishments or tempted of any reward. He has no fear of the future, nor does he dread so-called death. He is ever kind, tolerant, and considerate.

This Law of Kamma explains the problem of suffering, the mystery of so-called fate or predestination of other religions, and above all the inequality of mankind.

As stated earlier, it is a law in itself, but it does not thereby follow that there should be a law-giver. Ordinary laws of nature, like gravitation, need no law-giver. The Law of Kamma too demands no law-giver. It operates in its own field without the intervention of an external, independent, ruling agency.

Nobody, for instance, has decreed that fire should burn. Nobody has commanded that water should seek its own level. No scientist has ordered that water should consist of H_2O, and that coldness should be one of its properties. These are their intrinsic characteristics.

Inherent in Kamma is the power of producing its due effect. The cause produces the effect; the effect explains the cause. Seed produces the fruit; the fruit explains the seed, as both are inter-related. Even so Kamma and its effect are inter-related; 'the effect already blooms in the cause'.

Happiness and suffering which are the common lot of humanity are the inevitable effects of some cause or causes. There is no doubt of the fact that both happiness and suffering have their attendant curses and blessings and that they are essential. In that well-known fable the stag admired his horns and blamed his feet, but when the hunter came his swift feet saved him; his beautiful horns, caught in a thicket, destroyed him.

But why should these disparities exist? Are they the 'rewards' and 'punishments' of an Almighty Being who sits on an imperial throne in heaven above controlling the destinies of the human race. No, they are not. They are the due effects of our own good and bad deeds. Our good actions make us happy; our evil actions make us miserable. We ourselves are responsible for our happiness and misery. We are the architects of our own fate. We are our own creators. We are our own destroyers. We build our own heavens. We build our own hells.

What we think, speak, and do, become our own. It is these thoughts, words, and deeds that assume the name Kamma and pass from life to life, exalting and degrading us in the course of our wanderings in Saṁsāra.

Says the Buddha:

> 'Man's merits and the sins he here hath wrought:
> That is the thing he owns, that takes he hence,
> That dogs his steps, like shadows in pursuit.
> Hence let him make good store for life elsewhere.
> Sure platform in some other future world,
> Rewards of virtue on good beings wait.'

('Kindred Sayings'—Vol. I, p. 98.)

MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRIT LEARNING

By

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That the Muhammadans took a keen interest in Sanskrit literature is known from different sources. At the instance of various Muhammadan princes a good many Sanskrit texts were translated into Persian and independent treatises came to be written embodying accounts of different phases of Hindu culture.[1] The importance of these works in the history of Sanskrit literature is immense. Some of them deal with Sanskrit texts that are little-known or absolutely unknown at the present day. A critical investigation of these works by students of Sanskrit is therefore expected to bring to light much valuable material.

It requires, however, to be noted that the interest the Muhammadans took in Sanskrit was manifested through other channels as well. It is noticed that more than one Muhammadan ruler followed the example of old Hindu kings in honouring scholars versed in Sanskrit and providing material encouragement towards their literary pursuits. It is significant that these rulers were not primarily actuated by the spirit of spreading Islamic culture and literature through the medium of Sanskrit. As a matter of fact no attempt appears to have been made, like the Parsis and the Christians who had their scriptures translated into Sanskrit, to get a Sanskrit version of the Koran or the teachings thereof.[2] It would thus appear that their activities in this direction were the result of a sheer love of knowledge. It will be noticed that of works composed under Muhammadan patronage we find only secular works, e.g. poems, dictionaries, grammatical works and works on music, erotics and astronomy some of which were influenced by Persian.

A complete and systematic account of the various activities of Muhammadan princes in providing encouragement to Sanskrit scholars will be interesting. Documentary evidence in this connection is found scattered mainly in Sanskrit works many of which still remain unpublished. Some of the works contain passages written to eulogize Muhammadan rulers[3]

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[1] Elliot, *History of India*, V, 570–5; J. J. Modi, *King Akbar and Persian Translations of Sanskrit Books*, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, V, 83–107; M. Z. Siddiqui, *The Services of the Muslims to the Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta Review, 1933, 215–25; N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule* (by Muhammadans), pp. 147–50, 185. It is also learnt from Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Pariśiṣṭa), I, 5. 85-6, that Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir had also a number of Sanskrit works translated into Persian.

[2] Of the few Sanskrit versions of Persian works mention may be made of Śrīvara's *Kathākautuka*, a Sanskrit rendering of Jami's story of Yusuf and Zuleikha (ed. Kāvyamālā, Bombay) done for the satisfaction of Muhammad Shah of Kashmir.

Two other works composed at the instance of Hindu chiefs may also be mentioned: (1) *Vīraratnaśekharaśikhā*, a Sanskrit version of the Akhlak-i-Mohsini made by Sahibram at the desire of Raṇavīrasiṃha of Kashmir. (2) *Āravyayāminī*, a Sanskrit version of the Arabian Nights (JASB., 1928, p. 466).

[3] Independent works are also known to have been written for the same purpose, e.g. Nabābakhānacarita (*Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. Ind. Office*, 7304), *Rājavinoda* (*Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 502), etc.

either in gratitude for their patronage or with a view to attract their attention to secure the same. It is up to students of Sanskrit literature, especially those engaged in bibliographical studies, to record pieces of evidence as they meet with them in the course of their studies, so that a comprehensive account may be drawn up some day.

Seven years back I presented the information gathered by me in the form of an article in Bengali published in the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (44, 39–46). This was followed by M. M. Patkar's paper *Moghul Patronage to Sanskrit Learning* (*Poona Orientalist*, III, 164ff.) and recently by a book entitled *Muslim Patronage to Sanskritic Learning* (Calcutta, 1942) by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. Fortunately enough all the three cover new grounds and have very little in common. Since the publication of my paper in Bengali some fresh materials have come to my hands and I present them along with those in the previous paper in an English form [1] so that they may reach the wide world of scholars who may be able to throw more light on the subject by way of supplementing facts and identifying some of the little-known chiefs left unidentified by me.

Of the Muhammadan princes who honoured and patronized Sanskrit scholars we know of at least three who flourished as early as the first half of the fifteenth century. Malik Salutā Sāhi or Malik Sarak Sulitān Sāhi of Kaḍā, near Allahabad, who was the son of Bahadur Malik, seems to have been a great patron of Indian music and the literature on it. He collected various Sanskrit works on music and assembled scholars from different directions making grants of lands and gifts of gold, cloth, etc. In 1428 A.D. this band of scholars at the bidding of the Sāhi composed the little-known work, the *Saṅgītaśiromaṇi*.[2]

In Bengal Jelal-ud-din continued the policy of his father Rājā Gaṇeśa and demonstrated his appreciation of scholars like Bṛhaspati, a deeply learned man of the time. Bṛhaspati received six titles from him and there was a regular ceremony when the title Rāyamukuṭa was conferred on him.[3]

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[1] In my paper I have generally omitted authors dealt with by Patkar and Chaudhuri (even though the names of some of them occurred in my previous paper) except when I have had some fresh materials to be recorded. For the sake of giving complete pictures of Akbar and Shajehan I have not, however, omitted Puṇḍarīka and Gaṅgādhara, and have included Nityānanda whose account is based on that given by Patkar. Incidentally reference may be made to authors treated by Patkar and Chaudhuri. Patkar refers to Rāmacandra, Puṇḍarīka, Sura Miśra, Gaṅgādhara, Nīlakaṇṭha and Kṛṣṇadāsa of the time of Akbar, Kṛṣṇa and Rudra Kavi of the time of Jehangir, Muniśvara, Bhagavatī Svāmī, Nityānanda and Vedāṅgarāya of the time of Shajehan, Īśvaradāsa and Raghunātha of the time of Aurangzeb. Chaudhuri gives accounts of Bhānukara, Akbarīya Kālidāsa, Amṛtadatta, Puṇḍarīka, Jagannātha, Harinārāyaṇa, Vaṃśīdhara, Caturbhuja and Lakṣmīpati of the courts of Sher Shah, Akbar, Shahabuddin, Burhan Khan, Shajehan, Shayasta Khan and Muhammad Shah. It will be seen that direct evidence is not available in every case to prove the patronage.

[2] एवमाज्ञापितैः प्राज्ञैः सुलुतासाहिसत्तमम् ।
अचीकरदमुं नाम्ना श्रीसङ्गीतशिरोमणिम् ॥

—Manuscript (No. 1713) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[3] *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. MSS. Ind. Office*, II, 954-55.

Zain-ul-Abidin (1420–1469) of Kashmir was another great and reputed patron of this period. Besides getting Sanskrit works translated into Persian he took pains to collect manuscripts for scholars at considerable expense.[1] He also brought back scholars presumably driven away previously and granted stipends to them.[2] He himself listened to the recitation of the *Yogavāśiṣṭha* of Vālmīki.[3]

Besides these Maṇḍana, the prime minister and protégé of Almasāhi, identified with Hoshang Ghori of Malwa (fifteenth century), composed the *Śṛṅgāramaṇḍana*, *Kāvya*°, *Sārasvata*° and *Saṅgīta*° in most of which the patron is referred to in glowing terms.[4]

Udayarāja, a court-poet of Muhammad Begarha, Sultan of Gujrat (1458–69), was the author of the *Rājavinoda*, a poem in praise of the Sultan.[5]

We may next refer to Salem Shah, a contemporary of Humayun, who honoured Candrakīrti, author of the grammatical work, the *Sārasvataprakriyā*.[6]

It was about the same time that Sābāji Pratāparāya (1500–1560 A.D.), author of the *Paraśurāmapratāpa*, *Bhṛguvaṃśakāvya*, etc., flourished. He was a protégé of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar who conferred on Sābāji the title of Pratāparāya.[7]

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[1] पुराणतर्कमीमांसाः पुस्तकानपरानपि ।

दूरादानाय्य वित्तेन विद्वद्भ्यः प्रत्यपादयत् ॥—Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 5. 79.

Previously Sikandar Shah is stated to have burnt the manuscripts and scholars fled with the manuscripts they had so that Kashmir was practically depleted of this cultural treasure.

सिकन्दरो धरानाथो यवनैः प्रेरितः पुरा ।

पुस्तकान् सकलान् सर्वांस्तृणान्यग्निरिवादहत् ॥

तस्मिन् काले बुधाः सर्वे मौसुलोपद्रवाज्जवात् ।

गृहीत्वा पुस्तकान् सर्वान् ययुर्दूरं दिगन्तरम् ॥

किमन्यद्विजवद्देशे सर्वे ग्रन्था मनोरमाः ।

कथावशेषतां याताः पद्मानीव हिमागमे ॥—Śrīvara, *op. cit.*, I, 75–77.

[2] वर्षामरुदिव क्ष्मापस्तद्विद्याप्रत्ययोत्सुकः ।

अनाययत् स तान् सर्वान् पण्डितान् निजमण्डलम् ॥

.. ..

राजा संरोपितानर्घदत्तिदानेन पण्डितान् ।

अप्याययज्जलेनेव मालाकारो महीरुहान् ॥—Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 1048, 1050.

[3] मोक्षोपाय इति ख्यातं वाशिष्ठं ब्रह्मदर्शनम् ।

मन्मुखादशृणोद् राजा श्रीमद्वाल्मीकिभाषितम् ॥—Śrīvara, *op. cit.*, I, 5. 80.

[4] P. K. Gode, *Jain Antiquary*, IX. 91–94.

[5] P. K. Gode, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, IX. 101–15.

[6] श्रीमत्साहिसलेमभूमिपतिना सम्मानितः सादरम् ।

सूरिः सर्वकालिन्दिकाकलितधीः श्रीचन्द्रकीर्त्तिः प्रभुः ॥

—Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 98, f.n. 2.

[7] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXIV, 156ff.

But among these patrons the name of Akbar probably stands foremost. It was under the orders of Akbar Sāhi that Gaṅgādhara composed his *Nītisāra*.[1] It was presumably at his instance that Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala wrote the *Nartana-nirṇaya*.[2] The same scholar composed the *Sadrāgacandrodaya* under the auspices of Burhan Khan Faruki.[3] The *Akbarasāhiśṛṅgāradarpaṇa* was also written under his orders by Padmasundara on whom great honour was bestowed by this illustrious Muhammadan ruler.[4] It was again Akbar who seems to have taken the initiative in disseminating the knowledge of Persian and to some extent the culture represented by it among the people of India. So he got Kṛṣṇdāsa to compile a Persian Grammar in Sanskrit entitled *Pārasīprakāśa* and also a lexicographical work of the same name.[5]

Various scholars received titles from him. He conferred the title of *Jagadguru*[6] on Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, a great scholar and author of many books, who may not unlikely be identical with a scholar of the same name referred to in the *Ain-i-Akbarī*.[7] Nṛsiṃha, father of Raghunātha, author of the *Muhūrta-mālā*, received the title of *Jyotirvitsarasa* from him on the occasion of the occupation of the fort of Aseri.[8] This Nṛsiṃha may be the same person as Narsing mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbarī*.[9] Akbar is stated to have honoured and bestowed the title of Upādhyāya on Bhānucandra, author of an incomplete commentary on the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.[10] Siddhacandra who completed

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[1] *Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. As. Soc. Beng.*, VII, 5505.

[2] अकब्बरनृपत्यर्थं भूलोके सरलसङ्गीतम् ।

कृतमिदं बहुतरभेदं सुहृदां हृदये सुखं भूयात् ॥—R. L. Mitra, *Notices Sans. MSS.*, VIII, 2580.

An account of the work in Bengali has been given by O. C. Ganguli in the *Haraprasāda-saṁvardhanalekhamālā*, I, 7–13. For a chronology of the works of Viṭṭhala cf. P. K. Gode, *Journal of Music Academy*, VI–VIII, 1ff.

[3] Introductory verses 7-8 of the edition of the work (Bombay, 1912).

[4] मत्वा सर्वं नश्वरं जीवलोकं

नित्यं कर्तुं स्वं यशःकायमुच्चैः ।

सोऽयं काव्यं कारयामास अशाह्-

नामाशृङ्गारादिभावै रसाढ्यम् ॥ I, 8 of the edition of the work published in the Ganga Oriental Series (Bikaner, 1943). Also see introduction, p. xxii.

[5] Edited by Weber (Berlin, 1887). Detailed account in *Ind. Ant.* (1912, pp. 44ff.). One MS. of the lexicographical work is found in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

दिव्यानामिव पारसिकवचसां कुर्वे प्रकाशं नवम्

अशाह् साहजलालदीनसदसि प्राज्ञप्रमोदप्रदम् ॥

—RASB Manuscript.

[6] *Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. As. Soc. Beng.*, III, Preface p. xxviii.

[7] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIII, 34.

[8] शाहाकब्बरसार्वभौमतिलकाद्दिल्लीमतल्लीश्वरा-

ज्ज्योतिर्वित्सरसत्वमाप पदवीमासेरिदुर्गग्रहे ॥

—*Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. As. Soc. Beng.*, III, p. 767.

[9] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIII, 33.

[10] श्रीवाचकः सम्प्रति भानुचन्द्र अकब्बरक्ष्मापतिदत्तमानः ।—Introductory verse.

पातिसाह श्री अकब्बरप्रदापितोपाध्यायपदधारकः ।—Colophon.

the work of Bhānucandra was the recipient of the title Ṣusyuhuma (?) from him.[1] Nīlakaṇṭha, the author of the *Tājik*, also is said to have received honours at his hands.[2]

The patronage of Jehangir, son of Akbar, was extended, among others to Govinda Śarman,[3] son of Nīlakaṇṭha, author of the *Tājik*, to Kavikarṇapūra, who composed the *Pārasīpadaprakāśa* at his instance,[4] as also to Keśava Śarman and Rāya Paramānanda. Of the last two Keśava appears to have been honoured with the title Jyotiṣparāya[5] and Paramānanda wrote the astronomical treatise *Jahāṅgīravinodaratnākara* at the instance of Itbar Khan evidently for the satisfaction of Jehangir.[6]

It is not known if Jehangir was a Sanskritist himself. A manuscript of Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra*, however, has a seal on it bearing the name Salim.[7] This indicates that the manuscript belonged to and formed part of the library of Jehangir.

Jehangir's son Shajehan maintained the tradition of his father and grandfather. He was the patron of Kavīndrācārya, Jagannātha, Nityānanda, Vedāṅgarāya and Paraśurāma. He conferred the title Sarvavidyānidhāna on Kavīndrācārya, a Sannyāsin and a great scholar. It is stated that on one occasion the latter with a large following waited on Shajehan on behalf of the Hindu community to protest against the system of pilgrim tax levied on pilgrims visiting Benares and Allahabad. It was on this occasion that the title was bestowed on him by the King in recognition of his vast scholarship.[8]

The great Jagannātha obtained from this King the title Paṇḍitarāja[9] and it has been supposed that it was Shajehan who conferred on a veteran scholar named Paraśurāma Miśra the title Vāṇīvilāsarāya.[10] Vedāṅgarāya composed the *Pārasīprakāsa* for his satisfaction.[11] It was at the instance of

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1 श्रीमदकब्बरप्रदत्तखुस्युहमापराभिधानमहोपाध्याय—Colophon.

2 Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 422; Patkar, *op. cit.*

3 *Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. As. Soc. Beng.*, III, p. 768.

4 श्रीमज्जहाङ्गीरमहीमहेन्द्रभूपरसास्यादौ(?) निदेशरूपम् ।

करोत्यदः संस्कृतपारसीकपदप्रकाशं कविकर्णपूरः ॥

—MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

5 *Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. As. Soc. Beng.*, III, 2724.

6 *Annals Bhandarkar Or. Research Inst.*, XXIV, p. 228.

7 Kavīndrācārya List (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), Foreword, p. iv.

8 *Ibid.*, p. v.

9 श्रीसार्वभौमसाहिजहानप्रसादाधिगतपण्डितरायपदवीविराजितेन . . . . . . Concluding portion of *Āsafavilāsa* (Chaudhuri, *Muslim Patronage to Sans. Learning*, p. 118).

10 Gopinath Kaviraj, *Saraswati Bhavan Studies*, II, 1-4.

11 नत्वा श्रीभुवनेश्वरीं हरिहरौ लम्बोदरादीन् द्विजान्

श्रीमच्छाहजहाननरेन्द्रपरमप्रीतिप्रसादाप्तये ।

कृत्वा संस्कृतपारसीकरचनाभेदप्रदं कौतुकम्

ज्योतिःशास्त्रपदोपयोगि सरलं वेदाङ्गरायः सुधीः ॥

—MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Shajehan and his minister Vāsaf Khān that one Nityānanda wrote an astronomical work, the *Siddhāntasindhu*, in 1628 A.D.[1] It should be noted that there is no reference to any royal patronage in another work of the same author, the *Siddhāntarāja*,[2] composed in 1639 A.D.

Reference may now be made to some later and less-known personages. Veṇīdatta composed the *Pañcatattvaprakāśa*[3] under orders of the son of Mīramīrā, who himself was the author of a Sanskrit dictionary called the *Asālatiprakāśa* written at the instance of Asālati Khān.[4] Kalyāṇamalla wrote the *Anaṅgaraṅga*, a work on erotics, for the satisfaction of Lāḍ Khān, son of Ahmad Khan, an ornament of the Lodi dynasty.[5]

Śabdaratnāvalī, a dictionary of synonyms and homonyms, was composed by Mathureśa under orders of Muchā Khān, son of Īsā Khan in 1666 A.D.[6] One Haricaraṇa Mallika is stated to have composed a poem in mixed Sanskrit

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The actual name of the author was Mālajit, who got the title *Vedāṅgarāya* from the Emperor of Delhi, apparently Shajehan (Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search of Sans. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the years* 1882-83, p. 35).

तत्पुत्र मानजित्संज्ञो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः ।

येन वेदाङ्गरायेति प्राप्तं ढिल्लीश्वरात् पदम् ॥ २४ ॥

—Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute MS. No. 432 of A 1881-82 of the *Gaṇakamaṇḍana* of Nandikeśvara, son of Vedāṅgarāya. I am indebted for the above extract to Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Institute.

1 Peterson, *Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. State Library, Ulwar*, Extr. No. 600.

2 *Ibid.*, Extr. No. 596.

3 पञ्चतत्त्वप्रकाशोऽयं वेणीदत्तेन धीमता ।

प्रकाशितः प्रकाशार्थी मीरमीरासुताज्ञया ॥

Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. As. Soc. Beng., VI, 4709A; R. L. Mitra, *Notices Sans. MSS.*, VI, 1437.

4 राज्ञासालतिखानेन गुणिना प्रेरितोऽस्म्यहम् ।

असालतिप्रकाशाख्यं कोशं कुर्वे महागुणम् ॥

शुभशब्दसुवर्णाढ्यं पदानुप्राससन्मणिम् ।

मीरमीरासुतः कोषं दत्ते गृह्णन्तु सद्बुधाः ॥

—Aufrecht, *Cat. Codicum Manuscr. Biblio. Bodleine, Codices Sanskriticos*, 444.

5 लोदिवंशावतंसो हतरिपुवनितानेत्रवारिप्रपूर-

प्रादुर्भूतासु सिन्धुष्वमितजवतया लीलया प्लाविताश्वः ।

सत्पुत्रः ख्यातकीर्त्तेरहमदन्टपतेः कामसिद्धान्तविद्वान्

श्रीयाच्छ्रीलाडखानः क्षितिपतिमुकुटैर्घृष्टपादारविन्दः ॥

तस्यैव कौतुकनिमित्तमनङ्गरङ्गग्रन्थं विलासिजनवल्लभमातनोमि ।

श्रीमान् कविरशेषकलाविदग्धः कल्याणमल्ल इति भूमिसुनिर्यशस्वी ॥

—Introductory verses 2-3 (Punjab Sanskrit Series, Lahore).

6 *Desc. Cat. Sans. MSS. Ind. Office*, II, 1016-17; R. L. Mitra, *Notices Sans. MSS.*, III, 1105; Aufrecht, *op. cit.*, 439-40.

and Prakrit adorned with rhymes and alliterations which earned him the title Kaṇṭhābharaṇa from a local chief called Hussain Khān.[1]

The interest taken by Muhammadans in Sanskrit is illustrated in other directions as well. Sanskrit happened to have been adopted as an official language for some time at least by the Muhammadan rulers of Kashmir. Sanskrit inscriptions have been found on a number of Muhammadan tombs there. One of these on a tomb in the cemetery of Bāhā'u-d-din Sahib at Srinagar bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1484.[2]

We know at least one Muhammadan of Bengal recording his achievements in Sanskrit. A stone inscription at Dhurail (in the district of Dinajpur) of 1455 Śaka era records the construction of a bridge by one Faras Khan, minister of ministers, the son of Nṛrarāja Khān, in the reign of Muhammad Shah.[3]

We have not much information about Sanskrit written by Muhammadans themselves. The names of a few who are believed to have written in Sanskrit are given below. To Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan are attributed two interesting works composed in a curious language—a mixture of Sanskrit and Persian. These are the *Khetakautuka* [4] and *Madanāṣṭaka*.[5] A hymn to the Ganges of some popularity in Bengal is attributed to Darāf Khān, identified with Jaraf Khan, who conquered Saptagrāma in Bengal.[6] Several verses attributed to Sayesta Khan are found in the *Rasakalpadruma* of Caturbhuja.[7] A Sanskrit letter of Dara Suko has been published recently.[8] The author of the *Asālati-prakāśa* already referred to may be a Muhammadan, the son of Mīramīrā.

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[1] कृत्वा काव्यं दशगुणयुतं प्रोल्लसद्भूरिभावम्
सानुप्रासं यमकरुचिरं संस्कृतप्राकृतश्च ।
सद्वक्तासौ बुधगणमनःकैरवाह्लादचन्द्रः
श्रीमान् कण्ठाभरणपदवीं प्राप हुसेनखानात् ॥

—*Candraprabhā* of Bharata Mallika (Calcutta, 1299 B.S.), p. 24.

[2] Stein, *Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, p. 130, f.n .2; Z.D.M.G., XL, 9; *Ind. Ant.*, XX, 153.

[3] N. Sanyal, *List of Inscr. in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi*, p. 14.

[4] Venkatesvar Stream Machine Press, Bombay, 1908.

[5] Cf. *Rahimanvilāsa* and *Rahimratnāvalī*. I am indebted for this information to Prof. Makhamlal Roychaudhuri.

[6] *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XVI, 1847, pp. 393ff.

[7] J. B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[8] *Adyar Eibrary Bulletin*, Oct., 1940, May and Oct., 1943. It may not unlikely be the work of Kavīndrācārya in whose *Kavīndrakalpadruma* it is found incorporated. Another work, a Sanskrit version of his *Majma-'ul-Baharun* under the title *Samudrasaṅgama*, may have been composed by Dara himself or by some Pandit under his supervision (P. K. Gode, *Bhārat-Itihāsa-Saṁśodhaka-Maṇḍala Quarterly*, vol. 94, pp. 75–88).

'BUDDHAKHETTA' IN THE APADĀNA

By

MR. DWIJENDRALAL BARUA, M.A.

It is both from chronological point of view and as a class of poetical composition, the Pali *Apadāna* ranks with the *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka*. According to the traditional enumeration of the Buddhist canonical texts, these are reckoned as the last three works of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. Even from the doctrinal point of view the three works together show the Mahāyāna Buddhism in the making. The *Buddhavaṃsa*, as pointed out by Professor Barua,[1] lays stress on the *paṇidhāna* (mental resolve) of the Bodhisatta to become a supreme type of Buddha and on the prediction made as to his success in future as Buddha Gotama by the twenty-four Buddhas of the past during whose dispensations he had been developing his moral being. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* emphasizes upon the triple object of moral efforts (*cariyā*), namely, doing good to oneself, doing good to one's people, and doing good to the world at large, and appropriately illustrates the way in which the Bodhisatta was fulfilling the ten perfectionary virtues (*pāramīs* or *pāramitās*), each in three degrees of intensity. The *Apadāna*, on the other hand, is, with the exception of the two chapters, Buddhâpadāna and Paccekabuddhâpadāna, mainly concerned with narrating the previous lives of the Theras and Therīs who attained arahantship and came to self-expression. It also divulges the difference between the achievements of a Perfect Buddha, a Paccekabuddha and a Perfect Disciple, all of whom are arahants, in respect of spiritual attainments, particularly the purity of their nature. It is, however, significant that the Dīghabhāṇakas, as Buddhaghosa tells us,[2] did not include in their list of works of the Khuddaka Nikāya, these four books, now found in the Pali canon, namely, the *Apadāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpiṭaka* and *Khuddakapāṭha*.

The canonical *Apadāna* was compiled as an appendix to the *Thera-Therīgāthā* or Psalms of the Early Buddhists. The psalms of some of the Therīs, e.g. that of Sumedhā, as pointed out by Mrs. Rhys Davids and others,[3] contain the elements of the Apadāna legends. But the *Apadāna* embodies the legends of many Theras whose psalms are not to be found in the *Theragāthā*, and does not include the legends of all the Therīs whose stanzas find place in the *Therīgāthā*. The psalm of Therī Yasodharā, whose legend is contained in the *Apadāna*, is, however, sadly missed in the *Therīgāthā*.

The Apadānas, ascribed to the Theras and Therīs, connect the past existences of these Theras and Therīs with the present. Thus they display at least the two main characteristics of the Jātakas or Birth-stories of the Buddha, namely, the narration of the past life by the Thera or Therī concerned and the identification of the present hero or heroine with the past,

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[1] See Barua's article entitled 'Mahāyāna in the Making' in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes* (Calcutta, 1927), vol. III, part 3, pp. 163ff.

[2] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, part I, p. 15.

[3] *Psalms of the Sisters*, Intro., pp. xvii ff.

and as such they may be treated, in a sense, as the Jātakas of the Theras and Therīs including the Buddha himself.[1] The Apadānas nevertheless differ from the Jātakas, as they are, lacking in moralizing spirit. Their whole stress is on the works of piety, such as the homage paid to a former Buddha or an offering made to him or a Buddha-shrine in the past creating an occasion for forming a mental resolve (*paṇidhāna*) to become an arahant during the dispensation of Buddha Śākyamuni. Their mental resolve, which was, in one way or other, a kind of prayer (*patthanā* or *abhipatthanā*), was augmented by the prediction made by a person of authority, namely a Perfect Buddha whom he or she pleased by worship or service (*adhikāra*).

The Buddhâpadāna, or the Tradition of the previous excellent deeds or services of the Buddhas, which forms the first chapter of the *Apadāna*, contains a vivid and charming description of the *Buddhakhetta*. *Buddhakhetta* is precisely a synonym of *Buddhabhūmi*,[2] the land of the Buddhas. According to Buddhaghosa, the *Buddhakhetta* is of three kinds: that of his Nativity (*jātikkhettaṃ*), that of his Ministry (*āṇākkhettaṃ*), and that of his Omniscience (*visayakkhettaṃ*). Of these, the last-named is infinite and boundless, where the Tathāgata knows whatever he wishes (*yattha yaṃ yaṃ Tathāgato ākaṅkhati, taṃ taṃ jānāti*).[3] It has been said that the sphere of the Buddha's omniscience is incomprehensible to others.[4]

The main interest of the Buddhâpadāna, it will be seen, centres round the romantic conception of the *Buddhakhetta*, an ideal land of art and beauty. It is an ideal educational institution, situated in the midst of the most beautiful and sombre natural surroundings, an eternal school, where, in the words of Professor Barua,[5] 'every one is a teacher and every one a pupil'. Here the Buddhas question other Buddhas about their own sphere, the sphere of omniscience, and on matters, deep and subtle. The disciples, too, ask the Buddhas, and the Buddhas the disciples about things to be known by the disciples themselves. They question each other, and they answer each other. The Buddhas and the disciples, the masters and the attendants, the speakers and the audience, the teachers and the taught, all are seekers after truth in this grand Temple of Learning. Frankly and rightly they do discuss the things for their self-edification. Skilled in the maintenance of constant self-possession, they dwell harmoniously and in peace, and exert themselves to know the unknown, to realize the unrealized, and to master over what they have not yet mastered. The sphere of knowledge being infinite and boundless, even the Enlightened Ones are eager to be more enlightened, nay to be most enlightened.

This description of the *Buddhakhetta* is indubiously entirely a creation of fine poetic imagination, and its effect is idyllic. The whole poem is composed in exquisitely elegant verses in Śloka metre which gained popularity under the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is only the first two chapters of the *Buddhavaṃsa* which bear comparison with it in respect of the imagery, the vividness of description, and the impressiveness of the theme itself. In the poetic conception of the *Buddhakhetta*, was forestalled the later Mahāyānic idea of *Sukhāvatī*, the glorious land of Buddhist Paradise. It may be noted that the Apadāna of Sāriputta gives us a similar description of the earlier Āśrama institution (*assamapada*) of the hermit teachers in the midst of which stood the leaf-hut (*paṇṇasālā*) or simple cottage which has been replaced in the Buddhâpadāna by a magnificent edifice (*pāsāda*). Though the description of this edifice as a great model of architecture is confessedly imaginary and idealistic, one cannot gainsay that in its substratum there were actualities.

Besides instructions given by the Buddha to his disciples and followers, monks and laymen, the Buddhist canonical texts contain instances of the chief disciples of the Buddha holding discussions with each other on various topics. Thus in the *Anaṅgana Sutta*,[1] Moggallāna interrogates Sāriputta regarding the 'undefiled'. The *Rathavinīta Sutta* [2] records a conversation between Sāriputta and Puṇṇa Mantānīputta as to the nature of Nibbāna which is compared to a journey of King Pasenadi from Sāvatthī to Sāketa, by means of relays of seven chariots. The *Mahāvedalla Sutta* [3] also records a series of questions, asked by Mahākoṭṭhita and answered by Sāriputta, on psychological topics, e.g. understanding, consciousness, feeling, perception, etc. On other occasions, Sāriputta is questioned by Mahākoṭṭhita as to *kamma*,[4] *yonisamanasikāra*,[5] *avijjā* and *vijjā*,[6] the fetters of sense-perception,[7] certain things pronounced by the Buddha as indeterminate,[8] the six spheres of contact,[9] and the purpose for which bhikkhus lead the *brahmacariya* life.[10] Sāriputta also questions Mahākassapa on the terms *ātāpi* and *ottāpī*,[11] and Anuruddha on *sekha*,[12] and Upavāna on *bojjhaṅga*.[13] Again, Ānanda is mentioned as questioning Sāriputta regarding *sotāpatti*,[14] and as to the reason why some beings are set free in this very life while others are not,[15] the speedy knowledge of aptness in things [16] (*kusaladhammesu khippanisanti*), and how a bhikkhu may learn new doctrines and retain old ones without confusion.[17]

An English rendering [18] of the Buddhâpadāna is, for the first time, given below so as to draw attention of the Indologists to this piece of composition which stands out as a striking specimen of early Buddhist poetry.

[1] See 'Pubbakammapiloti nāma Buddhâpadānaṃ' in *Apadāna*, vol. I, pp. 299–301.
[2] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, chap. II, v. 175.
[3] *Visuddhimagga*, vol. II, p. 414; *Path of Purity*, vol. II, p. 481.
[4] Cf. *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, vol. II, p. 199: *Buddhavisayo na cintetabbo*; also *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. II, p. 142; *Buddhavaṃsa*, I, 64; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XVII, v. 56; XXXI, v. 125.
[5] Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I (Stone as a Story-teller), p. 102.

[1] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, vol. I, pp. 25ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 145ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 292ff.
[4] *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, vol. II, pp. 112f.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 176f.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 172f.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 162f.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 384f.
[9] *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. II, p. 161.
[10] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 382.
[11] *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, vol. II, pp. 195ff.
[12] *Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 174f., 298f.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 362.
[15] *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. II, p. 167.
[16] *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 201f.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 361; cf. also Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. Sāriputta.
[18] Much of what was meant to be signified may be missed by the reader in the translation partly for want of a commentary to guide the present translator, and partly due to his unfamiliarity with the technical details of Indian architecture.

BUDDHÂPADĀNA

THE TRADITION OF THE PREVIOUS EXCELLENT DEEDS OF THE BUDDHAS

Translation

1. Now, with a pure mind, attend to the Tradition of the previous excellent deeds of the Buddhas, the innumerable kings of righteousness, replete with thirty Perfections.[1]

2. To the supreme enlightenment of the best of the Buddhas, to leaders of the world together with their Orders, I bowed down paying homage with joined hands.[2]

3. In the Buddha-realm, as many as are there the numerous jewels, both in the heaven above and on the earth below, I brought all to my mind.

4. There on a silvery ground, I built a palace, many storied, jewelled, raised high to the sky,

5. Having ornamented pillars, well executed, well divided and arranged, costly, a mass of gold, decorated with arched gateways and canopies.

6. The first storey was of lapis lazuli, shining like a bright piece of cloud; there were (the presentations of) lotuses and lilies [3] strewn over in the excellent golden storey.

7. Some (of the storeys) was of corals, some having coral-lustre, some shining red, while others resembling the Indagopaka-colour,[4] illumined the quarters.

8. They had doors, portals and windows well divided and arranged, four net-works of *vedikās* [5] and a delightful perfumed enclosure.

9. And they were provided with the excellent peaked roofs—blue, yellow, red, white and bright black—and decorated with seven varieties of jewels.

10. They had (devices of) lotuses of graceful looks, and were beautified by (the figures of) beasts and birds of prey, filled with (the presentations of) planets and stars, and adorned with (those of) the moon and sun.[6]

11. They were covered over with a golden netting joined with the golden tinkling bells, and the lovely golden garlands (on them) sounded musically by the force of the wind.

12. Festoons of banners, raised on them, were made lovely by various colours—crimson, red, yellow and gold-coloured.

[1] They consist of the ten principal virtues of Perfection (*pāramī*), such as, *Dāna*, *Sīla*, and the rest, each in three degrees of intensity, including the ten minor virtues (*upapāramī*), and the ten virtues in their ultimate sense (*paramatthapāramī*): for details, see *Cariyā-Piṭakaṭṭhakathā*, pp. 320f.

[2] Lit. '(with) the ten fingers'.

[3] Lit. 'born in, or sprung from, water'.

[4] *Indagopaka* is "a sort of insect, observed to come out of the ground after rain', cf. *Pali-English Dict.* (P.T.S.), *s.v.*

[5] Lit. 'railings', 'balustrades of the projecting windows', see *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. II, p. 210; *Mahāvaṃsa Transl.*, pp. 220, 296.

[6] For similar representation, cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, chap. XXX, vv. 62–97.

13. Diverse, numerous, many hundreds were the slabs, made of silver, of jewels, of rubies, and also of emeralds.

14. The palace was resplendent with various beds, and covered with soft Benares fabrics, rugs, silk made of the Dukula-fibre, China cloth,[1] fine cloth, fibrous garments,[2] whitish [3] garments,[4] and all this manifold covering I spread out there in my mind.

15. Adorned with jewelled peaked roofs in different storeys (the palace) stood firm, bearing torches shining like gems.

16. The wooden posts and pillars and the beautiful golden gates, made of gold brought from the Jambu river, of excellent (*sāra*) wood, and also of silver, shone forth.

17. Divided and arranged into many breaks [5] and resplendent with doors and cross-bars (the palace had) on both sides many full vases filled with red, white and blue lotuses.[6]

18. All the Buddhas of the past, the leaders of the world, together with their Orders and disciples, I created in their natural beauty and appearance.

19. Entering by that entrance, all the Buddhas together with their disciples—the circle of the elect—sat down on golden seats.

20. The pre-eminent Buddhas that are now in the world, those of the past and present, I brought them all into the mansion.

21. Many hundreds of Paccekabuddhas, self-enlightened and invincible, those of the past and present, I brought them all into the mansion.

22. Many wishing trees, divine and earthly, there were; I procured all garments and covered (them each) with three robes.

23. Filling the beautiful jewelled bowls, I offered (them) ready-made food, hard and soft, eatable and savoury, as well as drink and meal.

24. Procuring divine garments, I provided them with robes of fine cloth; I entertained the whole circle of the elect with best food and (the four) sweet drinks of sugar, oil, honey and molasses.

25. Entering the jewelled chamber, they, like lions lying down in caves, lay down in a lion's posture [7] on costly beds.

26. Mindful they rose and sat down cross-legged; they gave themselves up to delight in meditation on the way [8] of all the Buddhas.

27. Some preached the doctrines, some sported by their supernormal power, some who had gained mastery over and developed the higher psychic

[1] Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, chap. XXIV, v. 11.

[2] Cf. *Patrorṇā* in *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, ii, 11.

[3] Cf. *Pauṇḍraka* in *ibid.*, ii, 11. [4] Cf. *Paṃvarakāḥ* in *ibid.*, ii, 11. [5] *Sandhi.*

[6] For a later description of *pāsāda*, cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, chap. XXVII, vv. 24–41; *Thūpavaṃsa*, pp. 67f.

[7] i.e. on the right side.

[8] *Gocara.* Lit., 'pasture', search after food; here it evidently implies search for mental food. A suitable *Gocaragāma* is, however, mentioned, as one of the seven desiderates for one intent on meditation, see *Visuddhimagga*, p. 127.

perception, applied themselves to it, while others numbering many hundred thousands worked transformations of themselves by their supernormal power.

28. The Buddhas, too, questioned (other) Buddhas on points relating to omniscience, and comprehended by their knowledge matters, deep and subtle.

29. The disciples questioned the Buddhas, the Buddhas questioned the disciples; they questioned each other, to each other did they explain.

30. The Buddhas, the Paccekabuddhas, the disciples and attendants, enjoying thus their delightful pursuits, rejoiced at the palace.

31. 'May they hold over head (each) an umbrella, embroidered with gold and silver nets and gems, and fringed with nets of pearls!

32. May there be awnings, resplendent with golden stars, variegated, and having flower-wreaths spread over (them); may they all hold them over head!

33. Be (the palace) laid out with wreaths of flowers, fragrant with rows of perfumes, strewn over with festoons of garments, and bedecked with strings of jewels!

34. Be it strewn over with flowers, much variegated, incensed with sweet perfumes, marked with five-finger marks of perfumes, and covered over with a golden covering.

35. On four sides, be the tanks covered over with lotuses—red and white and blue; be that these having lotus-pollens coming out, appear in golden hue!

36. All trees be blossomed around the palace, and let them drooping themselves sprinkle perfumed flowers over the mansion.

37. Let the crested (peacocks) dance there, divine swans utter melodious sounds. Let the Karavikā birds,[1] too, sing out and the flocks of birds be on all sides.

38. Let all drums be sounded, all lutes be played. Let all varieties of music go on around the palace.

39. As far as the Buddha-realm, and above the horizons of the world, magnificent, lustrous, faultless and jewelled,

40. Let the golden divans be; let candlesticks[2] be lighted, and the ten thousand (worlds) in succession be of one lustre.

41. Let also courtesans, dancers and celestial nymphs dance, and various theatres be staged around the palace.

42. On tree-tops, mountain-tops, or on the summit of the Sineru mountain,[3] let me raise all manners of banners, variegated and five-coloured.

43. Let men, Nāgas, Gandhabbas[4] and gods, all approach them paying homage with joined hands, and surround the palace.'

[1] Identified with Indian Cuckooes.

[2] Lit. 'Trees of lamps'; see *Buddhavaṃsa*, I, 45; cf. also '*dipasstambha* of Indian archaeology, or "branched candlestick" in the Bible', as noted by Dr. B. C. Law in his translation of the *Buddhavaṃsa*.

[3] Skt. Sumeru.

[4] Gandhabbas (Skt. Gandharvas), as a class, belong to the demigods who inhabit the Cātummahārājikā realm.

44. Whatever good deed done, ought to be done, or intended to be done by me, I did it well by body, speech and mind in (the abode of) the Thirty.[1]

45. 'The beings who are conscious or unconscious, let all share in the result of the meritorious deed done by me.

46. To (them) whom the result of the meritorious deed done by me has been offered, it is (thus) made well known. And to those who do not know of it, the gods should go and report.

47. In the whole world, the beings that live but for the sake of food, let them obtain all manners of agreeable food by my heart's wish.'

48. Mentally I offered the gift, mentally I brought the palace. I did homage to all the supreme Buddhas, Paccekas and disciples of the conquerors.

49. By that meritorious deed, will and resolve, I, abandoning the human body, went up to the Thirty-three.

50. I have come to know (only) of the two existences, divine and human; no other destiny have I experienced—this is the fulfilment of my mental wish.

51. I have been superior to the gods, I have become the lord of men. Endowed with beauty and appearance, I am incomparable in the world in respect of wisdom.

52. Food of various kinds and best, jewels not inadequate, and garments of all fashions come to me quickly from above (lit. the sky).

53. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, divine eatables come to me.

54. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, all varieties of jewels come to me.

55. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, all kinds of perfumes come to me.

56. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, all kinds of vehicles come to me.

57. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, all kinds of garlands come to me.

58. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, (all manners of) decorations come to me.

59. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, maidens of all descriptions come to me.

60. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, come (to me) honey and sugar.

61. On earth as well as mountain, in the air, water and wood, wherever I stretch forth my hand, all varieties of solid food come to me.

62. To the poor and needy, to the professional and street-beggars, whatever excellent gift I made, (it was) for the attainment of the Enlightenment *par excellence*.

63. While making mountains and rocks roar, dense forests thunder, this world and heaven joyous, I have become a Buddha in the world.

[1] It is the round figure for thirty-three, and is used as equivalent to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven; cf. *Petavatthu*, iii, 1; *Vimānavatthu*, 18. 30.

64. In this world, tenfold is the direction of which there is no end, and in that direction are the innumerable Buddha-realms.

65. My halo is described as shooting forth rays in pairs; let the blaze of rays between them be of great effulgence.

66. In such world-system, let all persons see me, let all be joyful, and let all follow me.

67. Let the drum of immortality be beaten with reverberating sweet-sound; in the midst of it let all persons hear my sweet voice.

68. While the cloud of righteousness showers, let all be free from the defilements; let the lowest of beings be (at least) the Stream-winners.

69. Giving away the gift worthy to be given, I fulfilled the precepts entirely, reached perfection in the matter of renunciation, and obtained the Enlightenment *par excellence*.

70. Questioning the wise, I put forth the best energy, reached perfection in the matter of forbearance, and obtained the Enlightenment *par excellence*.

71. Intent on truth, I fulfilled the perfection of truth; reaching perfection in friendliness, I obtained the Enlightenment *par excellence*.

72. In gain and loss, in happiness and sorrow, in respect and disrespect, being unperturbed under all vicissitudes, I obtained the Enlightenment *par excellence*.

73. Viewing idleness from fear, and energy from peace, be energetic—this is the command of the Buddhas.

74. Viewing dissention from fear, and amity from peace, be united and kindly in speech—this is the command of the Buddhas.

75. Viewing indolence from fear, and diligence from peace, cultivate the eightfold path—this is the command of the Buddhas.

76. Assembled (here) are many Buddhas and Arahants from all quarters; to the supreme Buddhas and Arahants pay homage and bow down.

77. Thus are the Buddhas incomprehensible, and incomprehensible are the qualities of the Buddhas and incomprehensible is the reward of those who have faith in the incomprehensible.[1]

Thus the Blessed One, while developing his own Buddha-life, related the religious discourse, called the Tradition of the previous excellent deeds of the Buddhas.[2]

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[1] Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, chap. XVII, v. 56; chap. XXXI, v. 125.

[2] *Buddhâpadāna* means the previous deeds of the Buddhas, their difficult tasks of the past, and the *Buddhâpadāniya* is so called because (the tradition of) these excellent deeds or services is handed down and preached by the Buddhas.

'*Buddhâpadāniyaṃ nāmâ ti Buddhānaṃ purātanakammaṃ, porāṇaṃ dukkarakiriyaṃ adhikiccappavattattā desitattā Buddhâpadāniyan ti evannāmakaṃ.*'—*Cariyā-Piṭakaṭṭhakathā*, p. 335.

KĀLIDĀSA'S KUNTALEŚVARA DAUTYA

By

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We find in Bhoja's S.K.Ā.,[1] II, p. 168, a verse with the following comments given as an illustration for a second variety of the Śabdālaṃkāra called Paṭhiti, in which a verse gives another meaning by the mere change of a main word, or the case (Vibhakti) only.

तत्र प्रकृतितो (अन्यथाकरणं) यथा—

असकलहसितत्वात् क्षालितानीव कान्त्या
मुकुलितनयनत्वात् ज्ञातकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबतु मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

अत्र त्वयीत्यस्य स्थाने मयीति यदा पठ्यते तदैतत् प्रार्थनावाक्यमपि अनुमतिवाक्यं भवति ।—S.K.Ā., p. 168.

According to this comment by Bhoja himself, some speaker pleads to somebody on behalf of the King of the Kuntalas; and the person addressed gives the same verse as reply, changing 'Tvayi' into 'Mayi' thereby permitting the request asked for.

This verse occurs in a similar context in Bhoja's Śṛ. Pra.[2] where Bhoja gives it while illustrating Ūha naiyāyikī vyapekṣā, i.e. simply Ūha. Fortunately, Bhoja gives in the Śṛ. Pra. some more details about the speaker and the person addressed by him:

अथ नैयायिकी—यत्र पूर्वोक्तमेव वाक्यम् अर्थान्तरे वक्त्रादिभिः (वक्त्रान्तरादिभिः) ऊहयित्वा निवेश्यते, तामूहनैयायिकीम् आमनन्ति । तद्यथा—कालिदासः किं कुन्तलेश्वरः करोतीति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्टः उक्तवान्—

असकलहसितत्वात् क्षालितानीव कान्त्या
मुकुलितनयनत्वाद् व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

इदमेव ऊहयित्वा विक्रमादित्यः प्रत्युवाच

पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
मयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ।

—Śṛ. Pra., Vol. II, Ch. VIII, p. 79.

The Śṛ. Pra. is a later work of Bhoja, written with greater care, pains and knowledge of other works. It is therefore likely that Bhoja corrects himself

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[1] S.K.Ā. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa of Bhoja: Kāvyamālā edn.

[2] Śṛ. Pra. Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa of Bhoja: MS. in the Madras Govt. Ori. MSS. Library.

in the Śṛ. Pra. Perhaps, while he was quoting the verse and commenting on it in his S.K.Ā., he was quoting the verse from hearsay. We are not sure whether even in the Śṛ. Pra. Bhoja is quoting from the work itself directly, for we know him already as having borrowed considerably from Rājaśekhara; and Rājaśekhara it is who is our first writer to quote this verse असकलहसितत्वात् etc. Rājaśekhara gives it to illustrate the 'Haraṇa' of a part of a Pada, reproducing another's verse itself with only the change of just a part of the word.

पादैकदेशग्रहणमपि पदैकदेशोपलक्षणपरम् । यथा—

असकलहसितत्वात् क्षालितानीव कान्त्या
मुकुलितनयनत्वाद् व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

यथा चोत्तरार्धे—"पिबतु मधु.........................
मयि.............................. ॥"

—Kāvyamīmāṃsā, Gaekwad edn., pp. 60-61.

Here पिबति changed into पिबतु is पदैकदेश change; and त्वयि into मयि is a change only of the प्रकृति, the locative being in tact. Thus this is a case of पदैकदेश-अन्यथाकरणम्.

In the three texts from which we have above quoted, the S.K.Ā. and the Śṛ. Pra. of Bhoja, and the Kāvyamīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara, we have variations in most vital words. S.K.Ā. reads पिबतु त्वयि, the Śṛ. Pra. on the other hand substitutes पिबति and corresponding to it, we have the introductory remark of Bhoja, किं कुन्तलेश्वरः करोति इति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्टः. A करोति in the question must bring forth the answer of पिबति, and पिबतु can be justified only when we know more about the contents of this Kāvya and the mission on which Kālidāsa went. The Śṛ. Pra. further makes Vikramāditya's reply पिबति मयि which can be understood only with a questioning Kāku. The Kāvyamīmāṃsā reads the speech of Kālidāsa like the Śṛ. Pra. पिबति त्वयि and the reply of Vikramāditya like the S.K.Ā. पिबतु मयि. In the face of such variation, we are not able to decide which is correct.

If S.K.Ā.'s readings are correct, the King of the Kuntalas was inferior and subordinate to Vikramāditya, who perhaps sent his poet Kālidāsa to the Kuntalas and see how he was conducting himself. Kālidāsa perhaps smoothens the strained relations and pleads with Vikrama on Kuntala's behalf to allow him to enjoy himself. This Vikrama consents to. If Śṛ. Pra. is correct, Kālidāsa must be understood to reveal to Vikrama that Kuntala is carefree and is merry with his wives, at which Vikrama is either glad or is surprised. No clue to this personal relationship between the two kings is found here. The verse may yield the inference that very friendly relations existed between

the paramount power of Vikrama and the subordinate Kuntala; Kālidāsa was at the latter's court for no great purpose, except to be his court-poet for some time. On his return Vikrama asks about Kuntala generally and the poet eulogizes the King by this verse, in which Vikrama's valour is extolled. Vikrama is so powerful and protects the kingdoms of his vassals also, that the vassals, shifting the burden of protection to the sovereign, give themselves up to pleasure. In the Kāvyamīmāṃsā, the reading पिबतु मयि in Vikrama's reply may mean 'O! let him be enjoying'. To make any definite statement, we must have a surer textual authority, and not such a text which varies in each quotation of it. The only facts that we gather from the quotation in the Śṛ. Pra. are that poet Kālidāsa came from Kuntala to Vikramāditya and that the former was a smaller power. We cannot even infer from this that it was Vikrama who was the first patron of Kālidāsa or that he sent Kālidāsa on an embassy to Kuntala, and that this verse was spoken by Kālidāsa on his return to Vikrama's court. When we stand perplexed in this manner, Kṣemendra promises to give us some help to clarify the matter a little more. In his Aucityavicāracarcā he seems to tell us that poet Kālidāsa wrote a poem called Kuntaleśvaradautya, 'Embassy to the king of Kuntala', that he was the court-poet of Vikramāditya, the suzerain power, that he went as an ambassador to the court of a subordinate power, viz. that of the King of Kuntala, that he was not at once properly honoured, that he preferred to squat on the ground, and when, perhaps, asked to rise up and take a seat, he gave out a magnanimous verse that one should value sitting on Mother Earth more than on any other seat.

अधिकरणौचित्यं यथा कुन्तेश्वरदौत्ये कालिदासस्य—

इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्ष्माधराणाम्
इह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सप्त चान्ये ।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तंभविभ्राजमानं
धरणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम् ॥

अत्र महाराजदूतोऽपि सामन्तास्थाने स्वप्रभुसमुचितगौरवपूजार्हमासनमनासाद्य कार्यवशेन भूमावेव उपविष्टः प्रागल्भ्यगांभीर्येण एवं ब्रूते यथा अस्मद्विधानां वसुधातल एव × × स्थानं युक्तम् ।—Kāvyamālā Gucchaka, I, pp. 139-140.

Firstly, one may be tempted to doubt that Kālidāsa is simply a character in a piece called Kunteśvaradautya, he is the speaker of this verse as कथापात्र, character in the story, and that he is not the poet-author of the Kunteśvaradautya. But it must be borne in mind that Kṣemendra is citing the names of poets and criticizing or complementing them and therefore it is not possible to make Kālidāsa only a character in the theme. Secondly, it may be urged that it is not clear that Kunteśvaradautya is a poem written by Kālidāsa; Kālidāsa perhaps did go on an embassy from Vikrama to Kuntala, but he might not have recorded his embassy in a poem also afterwards; his embassy

was part of the facts people knew of the poet's life and he spoke a few verses in Kuntala's court and again at Vikrama's; all that remains of this embassy is some verses, some Muktakas relating to this embassy, current in tradition. Two of these verses are Kṣemendra's इह निवसति, etc. and असकल, etc. of Rājaśekhara and Bhoja; it is not also improbable that one of the two other Kālidāsas mentioned by Rājaśekhara[1] is meant here but he is however not the real author; the real author might be some later poet who wove out this political Dūtakāvya with the romantic figure of Kālidāsa as the centre and fathered it on Kālidāsa himself, and this embassy of Kālidāsa is only as much fact as things said of him in Ballāla's Bhojaprabandha.

If this Kunteśvara- or Kuntaleśvara-dautya is taken as a genuine work, a Kāvya of the great Kālidāsa himself, how are the consequences issuing from it to be fitted in the two prominent views on the date of Kālidāsa? Those who assign Kālidāsa to the first century B.C. and hold him as the court-poet of Vikramāditya of Ujjain who inaugurated the Vikrama Era in 57 B.C. will have to hold that it is this Vikramāditya who figures in the Kunteśvara-dautya. The Kuntaladeśa was then ruled by the Sātavāhanas, with their capital at Pratiṣṭhāna, and the Kuntaleśvara figuring in the Kunteśvaradautya is some Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna.[2] What kind of relations between the two caused a Dautya between them by such a personality as poet Kālidāsa, it is not possible to know now.

Those who take Kālidāsa as a court-poet of Candragupta II Vikramāditya easily explain things. They harness these two quotations from Kālidāsa's Kunteśvaradautya for proving this theory of theirs of Kālidāsa's date.

In an article in the *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XII, p. 458, Rev. H. Heras interprets these quotations in the Śr. Pra. and the Aucityavicāracarcā. He says that the Kuntala King referred to in Kālidāsa's Kuntaleśvaradautya is the Kadamba King Bhagīratha. Candragupta II Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa on an embassy to Bhagīratha to arrange for a marriage alliance between the two powers. The suggestion of marriage as the purpose of the embassy is said to gain strength by the fact that Candragupta II arranged for a diplomatic marriage with the family of the Vākāṭakas.[3]

R. M. Moreas states Heras' conclusion more elaborately in Chapter iii of his book on the Kadambakula (pp. 19–22). He says: 'Indeed it will not be far from the truth, if we suggest that the historic embassy of Candragupta II Vikramāditya to the Kuntala King mentioned in the Śr.

[1] एकोऽपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् । शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥

[2] Without any new evidence, we cannot say anything on the identity of these kings. From recent contributions on the Sātavāhanas, it appears that the same Sātavāhanas were ruling at two headquarters, Ujjain and Pratiṣṭhāna, that Vikramāditya of Ujjain is also a Sātavāhana and that the Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana of the Southern Kingdom who founded the Śālivāhana Śaka Era in 78 A.D. was also Vikramāditya. Confusion is thus increased by this fact regarding the two personalities, Vikramāditya and Sātavāhana.

[3] Heras wrongly gives the Aucityavicāracarcā as the work of Hemacandra. Kṣemendra is its author and Hemacandra is the author of the Kāvyānuśāsana. Moreas repeats Heras' error.

Pra., by poet Bhoja, probably took place in the reign of this king.' The King referred to is Kadamba Bhagīratha (380–420 A.D.). Kadamba kings were exclusive owners of the title of Kuntaleśvara. Moreas further suggests: Candragupta II was at this time dreading invasion from Hūṇas and was making marriage alliances with powerful kings in the south. One such marriage alliance seems to be an offer of a princess of the Gupta court to Kadamba Bhagīratha. Kālidāsa was entrusted with the delicate task of negotiating this marriage. The Kunteśvaradautya is a result of this embassy. Bhagīratha's power was then in the ascendent and so he did not offer a seat to the ambassador from the Gupta court.

Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar has discussed and drawn his own conclusions from this Kunteśvaradautya in his two articles on the Vākāṭakas in the *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 31–54 and in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, XV, pp. 160–162.[1]

Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar identifies the Kuntaleśa to whom Kālidāsa goes on embassy, according to this Kāvya called Kuntaleśvara-dautya, as Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, author of the Setubandha, contemporary and grandson of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. The fourth Vākāṭaka king named Rudrasena II married Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Deva(Candra)gupta and Kuberanāgā. Their son is Pravarasena II. Prabhāvatīguptā was regent for her young son for some time and Pravarasena came to rule himself even in his maternal grandfather's reign.

This Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, contemporary and grandson of Candragupta II Vikramāditya, is the author of the Prākṛt poem Setubandha. According to the commentary called Rāmasetu on the Setubandha, Kālidāsa revised this poem. Rāmadāsa, author of the Rāmasetu, says also that Pravarasena was in Vikramāditya's (Candragupta's) court.

Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar quotes the evidence of the verse असकलहसितत्वात्, etc. from the Kāvyamīmāṃsā, the S.K.Ā., and the Śr. Pra. and holds the embassy of Kālidāsa from Vikramāditya as one to this Pravarasena II. He justifies the name Kuntaleśa for the Vākāṭakas with the argument that the early Vākāṭaka King Prithvīsena I claims to have conquered the Kuntalas and that probably the Kuntalas were still under the Vākāṭakas. He cites the authority of a poem called Bharata-carita (canto I) which refers to the Setubandha as written by Kuntaleśa.[2]

[1] In both the articles, Dr. S. K. Ayyangar wrongly says that the verse असकलहसितत्वात् is quoted by Kṣemendra in his Aucityavicāracarcā.

In the latter article he says that he is informed by Mr. A. Rangaswamy Saraswati that the Śr. Pra. refers to the stanzas of a work of a royal poet Devagupta by name, and is given as a colloquy between this royal personage and Kālidāsa. Bhoja mentions no author named Devagupta, either while quoting the colloquy referred to or elsewhere.

See also *J.O.R.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

[2] On p. 45 of his article in the *A.B.O.R.I.*, Dr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar interprets the verse असकलहसितत्वात्, etc. wrongly. He says: 'Vikramāditya construed the त्वयि with पिबतु and charged (Kālidāsa) with making a report of an ambiguous import.' According to Rājaśekhara, the change of पिबति into पिबतु and त्वयि into मयि alters the sense completely and

In the article in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar argues that the Vākāṭakas were Bhojas. Y. R. Gupte points out (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V) that the Vākāṭakas were the old Bhojas, Vidarbhas and Krathakauśikas. Kālidāsa is traditionally represented as having been patronized by Bhoja; and taking this Bhoja as the King of Dhārā of the eleventh century, scholars laugh at the tradition. The Bhoja who patronized Kālidāsa is Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, author of the Setubandha, in the production of which work Kālidāsa collaborated (pp. 401–407).

Mr. A. Rangaswamy Sarasvati has something to say on the Kunteśvaradautya in a note on it in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, XV, pp. 168-9. On p. 271, Rangaswamy Sarasvati suggests that Kunteśvaradautya is a drama and he calls it twice a historical drama on p. 272! According to him, the Kuntaleśa in the Kunteśvaradautya was a favourite feudatory of Vikramāditya; he offered Kālidāsa a seat but the poet preferred to squat on the floor. He adds: Rāmagiri (Ramateka in the Central Provinces) was a temporary capital of the Vākāṭakas as can be gathered from a grant which Prabhāvatīguptā made for the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri. It is during Pravarasena's sojourn at Rāmagiri that Kālidāsa, who accompanied his patron, wrote his lyric Meghasandeśa, which mentions Rāmagiryāśrama as the temporary abode of the forlorn Yakṣa. It was Kālidāsa himself separated from his own wife that sent that cloud messenger.

The suggestions of Heras and Moreas cannot meet with much favour. The verse quoted by Rājaśekhara and Bhoja, असकलहसितत्वात्, etc., prohibits any suggestion of the purpose of the embassy being a marriage negotiation. Had Kālidāsa been sent to arrange for the marriage of a Gupta princess with Bhagīratha, the question of Vikramāditya on the return of the poet would not have been किं कुन्तलेश्वरः करोति ? and Kālidāsa's reply would have been different and certainly not that the Kuntala was enjoying himself happily with his harem.

More definite ideas can be made out of Kṣemendra's quotation and comments on the verse इह निवसति, etc. Firstly, Kṣemendra tells us that its author is Kālidāsa and the work is called Kunteśvara (Kuntaleśvara) dautya. As already pointed out, it is not improbable that Kunteśvaradautya does not mean exactly a poetic composition but refers to the incident in Kālidāsa's life and career, viz. the embassy he went on from Vikramāditya to Kuntaleśa; and there might have been handed down in tradition a few stray verses (Muktakas) which Kālidāsa spoke at both the courts as the ambassador. Kṣemendra's comments clearly say:—

(i) Kālidāsa was the Dūta of a suzerain power—महाराजदूतोऽपि.

(ii) The poet went as Dūta to a vassal's court—सामन्तास्थाने.

that was presumably what was suggested as an emendation by Vikramāditya. The import is not ambiguous, and Vikramāditya did not emend or venture to suggest an improvement upon Kālidāsa. The verse is cited by Bhoja as a case of Ūha and of Haraṇa by Rājaśekhara and their import has already been explained.

(iii) He however did not receive the seat of honour due to him as a representative of the Mahārāja—स्वप्रभुसमुचितगौरवपूजार्हमासनम् अनासाद्य.

(iv) Kālidāsa could not resent, for he had come for the achievement of something with the favour of the Kuntala King. The purpose of the embassy depended on a favourable reply from the Kuntala King. This is clearly borne out by the words कार्यवशेन भूमावेव उपविष्टः. So, Kālidāsa chose to sit on the ground and perhaps when Kuntala realized his discourtesy and asked him to rise up and take a seat, Kālidāsa spoke this verse, with all his magnanimity—प्रागल्भ्यगाम्भीर्येण.

We want further evidences and fresh discoveries on the subject to say anything more of the Kunteśvaradautya of Kālidāsa.[1]

[1] This forms part of the writer's Ph.D. thesis 'Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa'.

ORIYA LITERATURE IN THE EARLY STAGES

By

Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., P.R.S.

The vernacular literatures of India have not yet come into their own. They have not yet succeeded in attracting that attention which should in the normal course be paid to them. The shadow of the classical language which at one time hung over Europe still casts its gloom over the villages of India and persists in maintaining its prestige even in the 'enlightened' twentieth century, though English is now undoubtedly the language of culture, fashion and advancement. The claims of the Bengali literature have been sufficiently vindicated by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen who, though he might not have been its first historian, had at least been the first to dedicate his life to its service. His days have been a well-filled record of researches and studies in the literature of his province; to him belonged the credit of popularizing its knowledge and proclaiming its glories. The other provinces of India have not been equally fortunate and we are still more or less in the darkness of ignorance as to the nature and achievement of the literatures of our neighbours—the Oriyas and the Assamese. Recent times have witnessed the publication of useful manuals of Hindi literature.

The present attempt has been designed to narrate the story of Oriya literature, displaying various links in the chain of its early history and mentioning only those works which have been able to secure a foothold in the shifting sands of time. It cannot certainly pretend to be the first study on the subject. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, Hunter, Stirling and Beames have all made memorable contributions and as early as 1897, Manomohan Chakravarti did some considerable and valuable spade-work on this as well as other

important topics of indological interest, through his articles on Oriya language and literature published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Tarini Charan Ratha published a primer in Oriya in 1914 which contained a bare sketch of an outline of history. When Sir Asutosh Mookerjee organized the study of Indian Vernaculars under the Post-Graduate Department, in pursuance of his favourite scheme, Prof. B. C. Majumdar edited *Typical Selections from Oriya Literature* with an introduction in which he gave us something like a historical review of the literature itself; in recent times, Pandit Binayak Misra, busy with the study of Orissan inscriptions, has still found time to write handbooks on the language and literature of the province in his own vernacular. What still remains to be done is to gather the different strands and to settle them together so as to see them in the true perspective from the view-point of literary development, and the present is only the beginning of an attempt in that direction.

According to the 1931 census, the Oriya language was spoken by 8,535,805 souls in the province of Bihar and Orissa only. The boundaries of Orissa have since been widened and an attempt has been made to unite all Oriya-speaking people under the same province on the ground of linguistic homogeneity. The approximate area of the new province of Orissa is 33,000 square miles, with a population of 8,277,000 souls.

The language and literature of so large a number of our countrymen will furnish us with some means of knowing Indian culture in one of its provincial varieties, and thus form an important branch of study. The importnace of this will come home to us when we remember that the percentage of literacy in Orissa compares very favourably with its neighbouring provinces. Moreover waves after waves of foreign invasion have burst in, but the integrity of national life and culture has been comparatively unaffected and there has been a continuity of literary activities which we propose to present here historically.

Orissa boasts of a hoary antiquity, the country is full of relics of the past, plentifully displaying the long distance of time to which it reaches back. There is no mention of it in Vedic literature, but it is specifically mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* [1] as a forest country on both sides of the Vaitaraṇī, with its capital at Rajapuri. Its mention in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya in connection with the manufacture of a special variety of cotton fabric is remarkable. Kaliṅga becomes prominent again in the history of India with its king Khāravela who drove away the Yavanas then in possession of Muttra. An integral part of the Gupta Empire, it stood out as a centre of influence, both Jain and Buddhist. After an interval of disorder and confusion of political power it again emerges into prominence with a new line of kings, the Eastern Gaṅgas.[2] Orissa in the eleventh century was called South Kośala, and it was co-extensive with the area covered by the Tributary States of Orissa.[3] Kaliṅgābda was counted from 271 Śakābda or 349-50 A.D.[4]

[1] Bk. XII, Chap. 4. [2] *Orissa* by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, Pt. I.
[3] See Inscription of Rajendra Chola I.
[4] '*Early Gaṅga Kings*', G. Ramdas, B.A., *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IX, Pt. III-IV, p. 415.

This antiquity of Orissa's history makes it natural that it should boast of the Sanskrit culture, and modern historians have spoken of 'the Sanskrit literature of Orissa'.[1] But there is an occasional tendency to ignore the influence of Sanskrit on modern Indian literature, and this tendency is seen even among the present-day writers on Oriya literature. The native element is undoubtedly worthy of being treated with greater emphasis, but, with due deference to the opinions of enthusiasts, it may be submitted that to admit the influence of Sanskrit is not to ignore the genius of the vernacular. Indeed when we review the literary output, we have to acknowledge that as a model, both in form and substance, Sanskrit literature has exerted an extensive influence on the provincial. In the case of Bengali literature we find that Sanskrit is a dominant note, but native genius works upon it in ways peculiar to itself; treatises more or less free of the classical stamp are being daily discovered by our literary explorers. The Mymensingh Ballads, due to the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, have pointed to a tradition worth investigating by all interested in the history of Indian literature.

Similarly, Sanskrit seems to have an unquestioned influence on Oriya, but creative artists in all countries and in all ages give out more than they get, and in most of the men of letters we find unmistakable signs of Sanskritic influence. The word influence should be understood in its proper implication; sometimes it may merely help an inherent tendency to develop in a given direction, and in that sense it is to be understood in this context. More than any other place, Puri had been all along a centre of Sanskrit learning; the different religious sects of the Hindus had kept up there a discussion of the holy scriptures; the old culture had also been carefully preserved in the mountain stronghold of the chiefs of Orissa, and there the old atmosphere still holds in its integrity, however much the plains may be oblivious of their ancient tradition. The achievement of Orissa in point of astronomy, rhetoric, logic and law—according to the old tradition—has not been meagre; and if the Sanskritic tradition is there still a living force, it follows that the development of literature cannot have been altogether independent of such a tradition. There may be differences of opinion with regard to its degree or extent, but that is another matter and worth detailed investigation, it need not cloud the main issue.

Compilations in Sanskrit, as might be naturally expected, preceded those in Oriya, and beside stone and copper-plate inscriptions we get a number of Paurāṇic and Smṛtic works written in Sanskrit—works like *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, *Kapila-saṃhitā*, *Virajā-māhātmya*, etc., which were none earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. In addition, Raghunandan speaks of the Orissa school of Smṛtikāras whose rise corresponded with the phenomenal rise of Vijayanagar in the South where Sāyanācārya and Mādhavācārya found time, in spite of arduous duties pertaining to their high position in the State, to be actively interested in their pursuit of Vedic and classical studies. The

[1] Manomohan Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, 6.

correspondence might indicate a causal connection as well. Raghunandan refers to the *Vidyākarapaddhati* again and again.[1] Along with these schools of Purāṇa and Smṛti culture, we may mention the school of rhetoricians, who may be said to have formed, like the Kashmirians, a distinct branch, consisting of Vidyādhara, the author of *Ekāvalī*; Vidyānātha, the author of *Pratāparudriya Yaśo-bhuṣan*; Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, author of another remarkable work on Sanskrit rhetoric. Nor must we forget the great scholar Viśvanātha Kavirāj who 'sported with eighteen courtesans of languages' and whose codified work on Sanskrit rhetoric, the *Sāhityadarpaṇ*, commends itself as the standard book on the subject. Viśvanātha Kavirāj is described by tradition as having lived in a village Bir Narasinghapur or Bir Harekrishnapur, near *Aṭhāranālā puṣkariṇī*. In the same village was born the great smārta Gadādhar Rājguru who followed Raghunandan after a few years, and who was the author of a code '*Gadādhar Paddhati*'. In his ancestral line, five or six generations back, was Bishi Pat-yoshi, and of this Bishi and Chanda Rayguru, Chanda being a corrupt or abbreviated form of Chandrachūḍa, many stories are current with reference to their powers of *sādhanā*. Bishi and Chanda were expert in as many as eighteen branches of learning—the number perhaps signifying a fairly reasonable command over general knowledge. Tradition has it that a musical instrument like a drum was kept before temples, as many strokes to be given to it by a scholar as the branches of learning he was proficient in; Bishi and Chanda, it is said, both gave eighteen strokes each. Basudev Ratha, a co-villager of Gadādhar, compiled *Kālaprakāśa*, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Ācāraprakāśa*, etc., corresponding to *Kālasār*, *Dānasār*, *Ācārasār*, etc. The treatises by Gadādhar have been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and they are current in Madras and Midnapur. We may also point out the fact that Orissa claimed among its other illustrious sons a saint named Dāmodara Svāmī, to whom a *maṭh* had been dedicated and which is still in existence; and who was the guru of Madhusūdana Tīrthasvāmī. I paid a visit to this village, three or four miles in length, with two Śiva temples, dedicated to Balunkesh and Lokanātha, at its two ends, each with a tank adjoining.

It is distinctly to be understood that Sanskrit has even now divided the creative writer's attention as a medium in which to clothe the graces, etc. of his imagination, and writing in it, though gradually discountenanced by the study and culture of Oriya, has not yet gone quite out of fashion. MM. Haraprasad Sastri, an eminent scholar and a remarkably skilful searcher of manuscripts, calculated in 1915 that there were more than two lakhs of palm-leaf manuscripts in Sanskrit in Puri district alone; enquiries made by the Commissioner of Orissa at the instance of His Excellency Sir Edward Gait, himself an enthusiastic patron of letters, confirmed the estimate. Even chiefs contemporaneous with Śrī Caitanya composed and compiled in Sanskrit, and the *Sarasvatī-vilās*, not yet in print, is an instance in point. A Paṇḍit was appointed by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for instituting searches

[1] Manomohan Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, 6.

for Sanskrit manuscripts, and the following were among the new finds: (1) *Gaṅgavaṃśānucaritam*, a metrical history of the Gaṅga dynasty, composed in 1441 A.D.; (2) Sanskrit commentaries on the *Sāhityadarpaṇ*; (3) a new commentary on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc.[1]

The language of the province has developed in spite of the prevalence of Sanskrit, but what had been the earliest specimen of Oriya has been debated. Ever since the discovery of the *Caryāpadas* by late MM. Haraprasad Sastri, the literary world had been accustomed to consider them as evidently Bengali; there had been occasional differences as to whether they fell, strictly speaking, within the range of Bengali literature or whether they belonged to the Prākṛt just before the branching off into the provincial vernaculars took place. The issue was raised whether they were Oriya and in the *Utkal Sāhitya* (Māgh, 1333) the matter was broached and the conclusion reached that they rightly belonged to Oriya literature. The arguments, for all they are worth, may well be examined here.

The words in the original:

Aji Bhusu Baṅgālī bhaili
nija gharaṇī caṇḍālī leli

have been taken to mean: 'Bhusu has become a Bengali, because he has taken to wife a Caṇḍāl woman', taking Bengali in a disparaging sense, with reference to the non-Aryans who then lived in Bengal. The author of the argument unfortunately misses the point that 'Baṅgālī' means here one of the four systems of *sādhanā*, and has no reference to race. The sense pertains not to anthropology in the narrower sense of the term but to a certain religious practice.

To the argument advanced by MM. Sastri that many words occurring in these *padas* were used in old Bengali, the writer of the article under reference replies that they were and are still used daily in Oriya, and many other words current in old Bengali are still used in unchanged or slightly changed forms in Orissa. This overlooks the fact that many words now obsolete for literature are in currency in villages and other places away from the centres of modern culture. The people, for example, of Bankura use certain words which are obsolete and meaningless to the people of East Bengal, but some of these words are preserved in old Bengali. In other words, philological tests have to be applied with caution to the various dialects in use. We may also remember that many words, now peculiar to Bengali, once were regarded as common to both Bengali and Oriya.

It has been further contended that many words used in the *padas* cannot be claimed to be of Bengali speech, and words like *bulatheu*, *sankeliḍu*, *ubhilā-bāhuḍai* have been cited as instances. But any one, having the least acquaintance with books like *Kṛttivāsī Rāmāyaṇa*, will at once identify the last two as Bengali forms:

[1] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V.

bhikkhā māgi bule ghare ghare
—*Kavikaṅkaṇ caṇḍī.*

e.g., *bahudin haila puṇaḥ bāhuḍi na āila*
—Kāśīrām Dāsa's *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva.

hṛṣṭā haiā bāhuḍila daridra brāhmaṇa
—*Ibid.*

deśe bāhuḍiyā yena nā jāi bhārat
—Kṛttivāsa, *Rāmāyaṇa.*

dhāiyā dhāiyā keha dhanu bāhuḍāi
—Jñānadās.

Another line in the *padas* has been taken to be a strong proof of the *caryās* being Oriya in language:

'*Maṇikule bahiā oṛiyāne sāngao*'

explaining it as 'carry jewels and meet the Oriya woman', but the mention of the term by itself is hardly any proof at all of the language being Oriya. The correct form is *maṇikule bahiā oṛiyāne samāi* 'enters oṛiyāna having passed by maṇikula'—maṇikula and oṛiyāna being technical names of stations (or cakras) within the body according to Yogic tradition.

The photos of the script as reproduced in Sastri's edition, it has been asserted, show on inspection that the Māgadhī character was changed into the round alphabet of Oriya; the script is thus Oriya. It is, however, difficult to see how a theory like this can rest on such a weak basis. This is too much of a fragmentary application of palæontology to demand attention.

MM. Sastri had made a statement that 'he found while collecting the songs in Nepal, a fragment composed in Oriya'; this has led to the inference that the flow of thought and emotion as represented in literature ran from Orissa to Nepal. The truth seems to be that in Nepal was to be found the common stock-in-trade of the Buddhists and the Sahajiyās, and that this common stock was freely used by different dialects. The learned discoverer of the *padas* was certainly free from the bias of patriotism, otherwise he would not have emphasized that there was a solitary fragment composed in Oriya.

One of the songs ends with the colophon 'Krishnāchāryya who comes from Orissa'; but as he is described elsewhere as a *Bhāratabāsī* or Indian, Sastri is unwilling to call him an Oriya and has been made the object of a meaningless jest that in this Sastri must have been under the idea that Orissa was outside India. That men used to move about freely from province to province seems to have been difficult of comprehension even to scholars with eyes for research. As a matter of fact, there has not yet been any unanimity about Krishṇāchāryya's country of origin. Tārānātha holds him as a native of Vidyānagara in the country of Karṇa, presumably in Orissa, but his Tibetan biographers link him up with Somapuri which is believed to have been in East Bengal.[1] There is, moreover, the reasonable supposition for the theory that there was more than one Krishnāchāryya who composed the lays.

[1] Shahidullah, *Les chants mystiques*, pp. 28-29.

The name of Lui frequently occurs in these songs and as Lui is still worshipped in Mayurbhanj, the origin of the *Caryāpadas* is supposed to be Orissan beyond doubt. But then it is forgotten that Orissa is the resort of all decaying faiths, and the process of evolution is still at work. Many sects have their stronghold here, and their persistent vitality and the synthetizing power of Hinduism must both be credited with full force.

That Orissa was once a centre of Buddhism is not at all a convincing item in the argument; Bengal in the days of the Pāla kings was also predominantly Buddhistic in faith. The indications thrown out by philology are all to the position that the language of the *Caryāpadas* approximates more to Bengali than to Oriya, and the contention on this score against MM. Sastri must be brushed aside as altogether untenable.

The truth seems to be, as has already been observed, that such religious songs were a common feature of the times just as ballad literature was once the form common to all Europe. The songs found in Nepal are allied to Bengal only in their language; in all other respects they are Indian and transcend provincial boundaries.

A characteristic instance may well be cited here. Towards the close of the eighth century there ruled in Orissa a king named Śubhakara, extremely devoted to Buddha, his father was Śivakara Deva, and his grandfather Khemaṅkara Deva.[1] Prof. Sylvain Levi's notes on the subject make it distinctly clear that this king sent an autographed manuscript (the last section of the *Avataṃsaka*, on the practice of the vow of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, that is the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, of which the original is preserved among the Nepalese collections) to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong some time about 795 A.D. But these notes also make it clear that such currents then freely flowed, ignoring all geographical barriers. Prajñā, the monk who carried the manuscript referred to above, was a typical figure of the times. Born on the western borders of India, he had begun his studies in North India, continued them in Central India, resided in Nālandā, visited the sacred places, thus devoting 18 years of his life to learning; he had settled down in the monastery of the king of Orissa for the study of *yoga* there, and next, moved to China where he is known to have begun his career by translating a book in 788 A.D.

The earliest specimens of Oriya writing are very difficult to trace. In the absence of any distinct examples, Dr. S. K. Chatterji's general remark about the rise and growth of modern Indian languages may be accepted regarding Bengali, Oriya, etc. In some histories of vernacular literature, the sayings of Ḍāk and Khanā are put down as specimens of an early stage of particular literatures. Some of the sayings of Ḍāk have been collected in the *Krushi-Parāśara*, and a few examples may be as well quoted here:—

1. māghara cāsha, sunāra kāsha.
2. Anāmanā kari cāsha. Mai nika kari ghasha.
3. āge buṇa, pache buṇa
   garbhāṇaka tuṇa tuṇa.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, No. 25.

4. yebe barashai māghara sesha
dhanya se rajā dhanya se deśa.
5. uttara megha dakkhiṇe paśe
nāthe boile putā niśce barshe.
6. Ūi na diśe hasi paśe
nāthe boile putāre nisce baraśe.
7. divase huḷā huḷā, rāti ki niramalā
nāthe boile putāre e deś chāḍi anya deśaku palā.
8. śrāvana māsara krushṇa cauthi
caudiga yebe megha na uthi
pūrva pascime yebe na bahai bā
bāpā boile putāre deśantara yā.

He must be a bold man who could claim an antiquity for the style, but the ideas contained in the sayings have been current through generations, and Ḍāk has been identified with a popular Buddhist sage with practical sagacity, and there is no need to disturb the sayings from the antiquarian veneration with which they are invested. But that does not affect our position, and they are, for practical purposes, outside the scope of historical treatment.

Barring these sayings of Ḍāk and Khanā, it had long been the official belief that the inscription of Narasingha Deva II, dated 1296 A.D., contained some Oriya words. About a century later, or to be more precise, in 1395 A.D., there was another inscription, of Narasingha Deva IV; this contained several whole sentences which showed that the language was by that time fully developed, and was little different from modern Oriya in either orthography or grammar. Oriya emerged as a written language during the reign of the last kings of the Keshari dynasty which takes us to the earlier part of the eleventh century. Hunter says that even before Markanda Dasa, the author of the *Keśava Koili*, there was one Narayan Purohit who wrote *Vṛttaratnākar*, and there was also a royal poet of Ghumsara, Balabhadra Bhañja (1026–1057) by name, who wrote *Bhāvāvatī*, a book sometimes ascribed to Upendra Bhañja as well. But Narayan Purohit and Balabhadra Bhañja are enveloped in obscurity which puts a stop to the wandering imagination of the literary historian.

Before the twelfth century, then, we do not come across any Oriya inscription, or any inscription written in Oriya characters; in the absence of other works, then, we may reasonably conclude that there were no books written in the Oriya language then, and therefore worthy to be included in a history of Oriya literature. Many works written in those days have grown scarce now and may be found to be adorning manuscript libraries in far-off Europe. It is possible that works written in those centuries are now forgotten or it may be there were no works written at all in course of the years from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. A period of two to three hundred years is a time which a language requires to develop, to get power and strength enough to express ideas and receive a hearing. The article contributed to the *Nārāyaṇa* by MM. Haraprasad Sastri on Modern Buddhism is important from

this point of view and is highly suggestive, both as regards Bengali and Oriya literature. The question of priority may be examined in regard to inscription-writing both in Bengali and Oriya.

Coming to the fifteenth century we find the first warblings of poetry sweet like the cuckoo's songs and known by that name—*Koilis*. The first writer of Koilis, according to tradition, is Markanda Dasa, whose caste and birth-place have been variously surmised on slender grounds. His *Keśava Koili* and *Jñānodaya Koili* are simple lyrics—adapted to young and old alike—and shot through and through with the Vaishnav sentiment. The form of the Koili poems is peculiar: each short verse has for its refrain: 'O Cuckoo!' The whole poem consists of 34 verses, each beginning with a letter of the alphabet which consists of thirty-four letters: hence the name of the form is Caütiśā. It has been a popular, almost a conventional, form in Oriya literature. The Caütiśā is a favourite form in Bengali literature also. Kālaketu when in prison prays to Caṇḍī in this form, each letter of the alphabet, beginning with *ka*, being initially repeated four times in *payār* verse; Śrimanta on the slaughter ground prays in *tripadī* verse but in a more stingy manner with regard to the number of lines, followed by another Caütiśā in *payār*, all in the same book, *Kavikaṅkaṇ caṇḍī*:

Kahe kālaketu mātā rakkhibār tare
Kailāsa chāḍiyā mātā ūra kārāgāre
Kālī kapālinī mātā kapolakuntalā
Kālarātri kanjamukhī kata jāna kalā.

Again,

buddhi pradāyinī, bandhana-nāśinī
bādhā dūra kara mātā
bhabānī bhāratī bhavapriyā bhūti
bhairavi bhavapūjitā.

Indeed, Bharatchandra goes one better in making it run to fifty letters, vowels and consonants combined, and *li*, both long and short, being included, as well as *ang* and *aḥ*, in his *Vidyāsundar* when Sundar on the slaughter ground prays to the goddess Kali for deliverance from the extreme danger in which he stood. It has been a form in which the best and the greatest, as well as those who could not rise beyond a general level, have expressed themselves. In this sense it can be called a distinctive feature of the literature, not in the sense that it is a unique feature. Jagannath Dasa has adopted the form; Upendra Bhañja has written a Caütiśā; and there have been others who have not scrupled to use it for the display of their poetic power. The serial order of the letters of the alphabet is a mechanical device which the writer is bound to conform to, but the credit of the poet lies in overriding the mere framework and putting into it as much honey and dew as his powers afford him. To the now defunct Prachi Samiti, more than to any other literary association, belongs the credit of discovering new Caütiśās and publishing them in a separate form giving prominence to the rich poems that lie deep below the surface.

The *Koili* then is a Caūtiśā addressed to a cuckoo. The verses are characterized by puns and alliterations, in traditional form. In the *Keśava Koili* Krishna's mother Yaśoda is very much grieved at heart, for Krishna has gone to Mathura; she remembers him and pours out her feeling to the bird in verses which begin with *ka* and gradually march up to *ksha*. An idea of the poem may be had from the following English rendering of some of the verses:—

O Koili! Keshva has gone to Mathura. Who called away my son I do not know, but he has not returned, O Koili.

O Koili! To whom shall I give thick milk in cakes? The son who would have feasted on them has gone to Mathura, O Koili.

O Koili! The son that had departed had not come back. The wooded Brindabana did not seem beautiful as before, O Koili.

O Koili! My house no more pleases Nanda. Without Govinda the town does not look inviting, O Koili.

O Koili! Nanda's body is made of stone, for he dried his son's eyes and set him on the chariot, O Koili.

And so on, until the final verse:

O Koili! with folded palms, says Markaṇḍa, forgive me my faults, O Koili.

This is also known as Yaśoda Koili.

The author is supposed to be a contemporary of Sarala Das, the greatest translator into Oriya of the *Mahābhārata*. B. C. Majumdar in his *Typical Selections from Oriya Literature* records his impression that the finished form of the *Keśava Koili* is certainly of a date not later than 1450 A.D., during the reign of Kapilendra Deva.

The text of the *Keśava Koili* is given a spiritual interpretation by Jagannath Dasa, the great author of the Oriya version of the *Bhāgavat* in his *Arthakoili*. Among comparatively old Koili poems may be mentioned *Bāramāsī Koili* by Sankara Dasa and *Kānta Koili* by Balarama Dasa. The first is a season poem, much in the nature of Bāramāsyās or Barāsyas familiar to the student of Bengali literature; the second refers to Sita. Then there is *Jñānodaya Koili*; Prof. B. C. Majumdar in his *Typical Selections* ascribes this to Lokanatha Dasa, but there is nothing in the text of the Koili to help or warrant such an assumption; we have in the concluding verse the name of Natha, not Lokanatha, and that, for aught we know, is a generic name, rather than indicative of an individual.

This is the occasion to refer to a poem *Kalasa Caūtiśā* discovered by the Prachi Samiti and concluded by it to be of the fourteenth century and as the work of Batsa Dasa. It was once very popular and there are references to it in the *Sarala Mahābhārata*:

Vedamantra yugate se ye parhanti kalasa.
Vashishtha Marakanda avara Durvasa.

It is not very unreasonable to think that it must have been written about 100 years earlier to attain to such a fame. Its tune gave rise to a particular tune called *kalasa vānī*. The subject-matter of the poem is the marriage of Hara and Parvati, described with a grain of humour.

Simplicity and freshness characterize these first products of Oriya literature. They are, truly speaking, literature for the people, or folk literature. With the growth and development of thoughts and forms they have not grown out of date, but have still currency in the hamlets where rural and real Orissa lives and dwells. A number of new Koilis have been written and *Caūtiśās* discovered and circulated. It will not be out of place to mention here again the splendid collections of *Caūtiśās* published by the Prachi Samiti of Cuttack and edited with the idea of offering a counterblast to the modern craze for foreign forms and types of literature. Though this counterblast may fail of its immediate purpose, it will come as a refreshing draught to all lovers of pure poetry dressed in simplicity.

VISHVESHVARA SMRITI

By

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The Manusmriti is universally regarded as the oldest of all the Smritis. According to it, not only a widow is forbidden to re-marry but, taking into consideration the context of the subject, even a virgin, when betrothed, is forbidden to marry other person than the one to whom she is betrothed[1]; whereas in the Pārāshar Smriti,[2] a married woman is also permitted to take another man, when faced with five sorts of calamities.

At one place it is laid down in the Manusmriti that a father, on the birth of his son, is considered to have been purified by only taking bath once,[3] while, at another place, he is considered to be purified after the lapse of ten days.[4]

In the same Smriti, looking to the self-contradictory statement about the permission [5] and non-permission [6] regarding the taking of meat, it goes to show that possibly, from time to time, the later Paṇḍits (learned men) might have managed to insert their own views in the original text.

In Manusmriti as well as in other similar law-books rules are laid down about the right of a 'क्षेत्रज' [7] (son by a person other than the husband of his mother) to inherit his father's property, about the 'नियोग' (permission to a childless widow to have intercourse with the brother or any near kinsman of her deceased husband to raise up issue to him),[8] or about the authority to invite, at the time of 'Shrāddha', mother's father, maternal uncle or even

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[1] Chapter 9, verse 71.
[2] Chapter 4, verse 30.
[3] " 5, " 62.
[4] " 5, verses 61, 77, 79.
[5] Chapter 3, verses 123, 268–72 and Chapter 5, verses 16, 18, 22, 23, 27, 30–32, 35, 36.
[6] " 5, " 45–55.
[7] Chapter 9, verse 145.
[8] " 9, " 59, 60.

father-in-law to partake of the dinner,[1] but all these are quite contrary to the customs prevailing in the present day.

(Among the southerners the custom of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter also appears to be against the dictates of the old law-books of India.)

In the first chapter of Manusmriti is written:

स्वायम्भुवो मनुर्धीमानिदं शास्त्रमकल्पयत् ॥ १०२ ॥

i.e. Svāyambhuva Manu, the wise, composed this book.

In the same chapter the following is written before the above:

एतद्वोऽयं भृगुः शास्त्रं श्रावयिष्यत्यशेषतः ॥ ५९ ॥

i.e. this Bhrigu would read to you the whole of this sacred book.

It appears from the above quotations, that the book, which was composed by Svāyambhuva, the first of the Manus, was read over to the other Rishis by his own son or disciple Bhrigu at his behest.

Again, in the first chapter of Manusmriti, Manu says:

पतीन् प्रजानामसृजं महर्षीनादितो दश ॥ ३४ ॥

i.e. first of all I created these ten great Rishis as Prajāpatīs.

एते मनूंस्तु सप्तान्यानसृजन् भूरितेजसः ॥ ३६ ॥

i.e. these Prajāpatīs further created seven illustrious Manus.

In the same chapter Bhrigu further says:

स्वायम्भुवस्यास्य मनोः षड्वंश्या मनवोऽपरे ॥ ६१ ॥

i.e. in the direct line of Svāyambhuva, there were six more Manus.

स्वायम्भुवाद्याः सप्तैते मनवो भूरितेजसः ।

स्वे स्वेऽन्तरे सर्वमिदमुत्पाद्यापुश्चराचरम् ॥ ६३ ॥

i.e. these seven illustrious Manus, such as Svāyambhuva, etc., after creating animate and inanimate beings, protected them in their respective cycles.

By the above quotations from the first chapter, it appears by Manu's words that Svāyambhuva Manu created ten Prajāpatīs and they in their turn procreated seven more Manus but, according to Bhrigu, only seven Manus, including Svāyambhuva, were born up till that time. Thus the words of the one does not tally with those of the other.

From the above quoted ślokas of the first chapter as well as from the use of the word '**आपुः**', the past imperfect tense of the Sanskrit verb '**पा-रक्षणे**', it becomes evident that this book was compiled by Bhrigu during the cycle of Vaivasvata, the seventh Manu, and not in the cycle of Svāyambhuva, the first Manu.

In addition to the above, this theory is also supported by the mention in this Smriti of the names of only the first seven Manus out of the total of fourteen.[2]

[1] Chapter 3, verse 148.

[2] Chapter 1, verses 61, 62.

Further, in the tenth chapter of the same Manusmriti, it is written:

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।

वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ ४३ ॥

पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।

पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥ ४४ ॥

i.e. in course of time, with the non-observance of the religious ceremonies and with the disappearance of Brāhmaṇas, the following sub-castes of Kshatriyas, viz. Pauṇḍraka, Audra Draviḍa, Kāmboja, Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Palhava, Chīna, Kirāta, Darada and Khaśa were reduced to the status of a Śūdra.

From the above couplets it is evident that Manu's Smriti, which is available at this day, was compiled after the advent of these tribes into India, or it was about the beginning of the Vikram Era that this book was composed.

In the same (tenth) chapter of this Smriti the following couplet is found:—

व्रात्यात्तु जायते विप्रात्पापात्मा भूर्जकण्टकः ।

आवन्त्यवाटधानौ च पुष्पधः शैख एव च ॥ २१ ॥

i.e. the son born of a **व्रात्य** (a Brāhmaṇa deprived of the investiture with the sacred thread) is called sinful, Bhūrjakaṇṭaka and (according to different localities he is also known by the names of) Āvantya, Vāṭadhāna, Pushpadha, as well as Śaikha.

Here 'Śaikha' the Sanskritized form of the Persian word 'Shekh', used for a convert or as a mark of dignity, is described as the offspring of a degenerated Brāhmaṇa. This goes to prove that interpolations were being made in this Smriti up till the conquest of Sindh and Sorath provinces by the Mohammedans or up till the first half of the ninth century A.D.

Besides this the refined language used in the Manusmriti, as it is now found, also goes to show that it is not a very old work. The same is the case with the other Smritis too.

In the old Smritis, wherever, for one reason or the other, an action is permitted or forbidden, the reason thereof is not expressed and though each and every injunction has been prescribed for the direct or indirect benefit of the society yet, according to the prevalent belief, their effect is preserved for the next world. Therefore the people of old generation, being ignorant of the real motives at the root of these injunctions, follow them blindly and go astray, while the people of younger generation, interested mostly in the temporal world, do not pay any heed to them. As an instance of the first case, we may take Manu's injunction about forbidding the passing over of a cord with which a calf is tethered, '**वत्सतन्त्रीं न लङ्घयेत्**', simply to avoid a fall, as there is every probability that the calf, being frightened, might get up and this may result in the fall of the over-passer. But the aged folk, unable to grasp the real motive of the said injunction, would either give an

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ablution to a youngster, who has acted against it, even in the cold weather, or would force him to recross it to atone for his fault.

Due to the above reason as well as to the conditions produced by the change of times people have lost some amount of interest in the Smritis. Therefore, when faced with total destruction, the wise would like to save one-half even at the sacrifice of the other half and according to this saying, taking advantage of the available laws of Manu and amending the same according to the needs of the day, a fresh Smriti, named 'Vishveshvara Smriti' has been compiled for inviting the criticism of the learned intelligentsia.

From the various Smritis of the olden times we come to know that even the sages of old, with a view to safeguard the welfare of the Hindu society, adopted the method of describing the धर्म (duties) of an Aryan and amending the same to suit the requirements of the times.

Following in their footsteps I have also endeavoured to take up this task, giving also the worldly reasons and consequences for the observance of the rules, wherever necessary.

This book is divided into two parts; the first is the main Smriti, consisting of about 1,200 अनुष्टुभ् couplets, while the second part contains the old Hindu law as observed at present by the judiciary and has about 3,500 couplets.

पुरातनं मानवधर्मशास्त्रं सम्यक् परिष्कृत्य युगानुरूपम् ।
विश्वेश्वरेणाऽत्र कृते प्रयत्नेऽत्यावश्यको विज्ञसुदृष्टिपातः ॥

Below are given some of the couplets :

तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन देशा नानाविधास्तथा ।
मनुष्या यद्वि दृश्यन्ते ज्ञानवृद्धिकरं हि तत् ॥ अ. १, श्लो. ४२.
समागमश्च साधूनां मनसः शान्तिदो मतः ।
स्वास्थ्यदौ जलवायू च देहारोग्यं प्रयच्छतः ॥ अ. १, श्लो. ४३.
शान्तं पूतं च तत्रत्यं वातावरणमद्भुतम् ।
आध्यात्मिकीमुन्नतिं हि कुरुते तीर्थसेविनः ॥ अ. १, श्लो. ४४.
समाजहितसंरक्षा मनःशान्तिश्च सात्त्विकी ॥
हेतुर्यद्यपि धर्मस्य मूढैस्तदपि युध्यते ॥ अ. २, श्लो. ६.
प्रसन्नमनसा नित्यं दन्तैः संचर्व्य यत्नतः ।
यथावकाशं तु शनैः शनैर्भोजनमाचरेत् । अ. २, श्लो. ३०.
सूर्योपस्थानतो नित्यं जायते नीरुजं वपुः ।
शास्त्रविज्ञानसिद्धं तत् तत् प्रातः सायमाचरेत् ॥ अ. २, श्लो. ५७.
लब्धाभीप्सितसन्तानस्ततः परिहरन् ऋतून् ।
भार्याऽऽत्मतुष्ट्यै विहरेद् वीर्यरक्षाहिते रतः ॥ अ. ३, श्लो. १८.

शिष्टाख्यानानि च पठेच्छृणुयाद् वा समाहितः ।
पितॄणां श्रेष्ठकर्माणि श्रावयेत्पुत्रपौत्रकान् ॥ अ. ३, श्लो. ३५.
येनानुकुर्युः सिद्ध्यर्थं जगत्यां तेऽपि पूर्वजान् ।
पितॄणां स्मृतिरत्रैव श्रद्धया श्राद्धमुच्यते ॥ अ. ३, श्लो. ३६.
लोभाभावोऽतिलोभश्च द्वावेतौ हानिदौ यतः ।
अर्थप्रधाने कालेऽस्मिन् मितलोभो भवेत् ततः ॥ अ. ४, श्लो. ५.
धृतपूर्वाणि चान्येन वस्त्रादीनि न धारयेत् ।
यतः कण्ड्वादिरोगाणां न स्यात्सङ्क्रमणं तनौ ॥ अ. ४, श्लो. २२.
स्नाने प्राक् क्षालनं मूर्ध्नो यदुक्तं शास्त्रपारगैः ।
मस्तिष्काक्रामिरक्तोत्थ-पक्षाघातनिरोधि तत् ॥ अ. ४, श्लो. ३२.
क्षीरदाः पशवो ये च ये कृष्या उपयोगिनः ।
वाहरक्षोपयुक्ता ये तेऽवध्या इह कीर्तिताः ॥ अ. ५, श्लो. १०.
शावाशौचस्य जगति हेतुदव्यनुमीयते ।
संक्रामकाणां रोगाणां निरोधः शुक्-प्रकाशनम् ॥ अ. ५, श्लो. ४२.
गृहकार्ये निपुणया प्रसन्नाकारया तथा ।
आयोनव्ययया भाव्यं स्वच्छोपस्करयाऽपि च ॥ अ. ५, श्लो. ८३.
यथासाध्यं न भिक्षेत वानप्रस्थगतोऽपि सन् ।
स्वार्जितैः पुत्रदत्तैर्वा धनैः प्राणान् विनिर्वहेत् ॥ अ. ६, श्लो. ९.
अर्धकोटिप्रमाणैस्तु भिक्षुभिर्भारतेऽधुना ।
गृह्युपार्जितवित्तस्य वृथा नाशो विधीयते ॥ अ. ६, श्लो. १०.
गृहस्थाश्रमनिर्याता अपरे त्रय आश्रमाः ।
तेनैव परिपोष्याश्च श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद् गृही मतः ॥ अ. ६, श्लो. ४.
पशवो हिंसका ये स्युर्ये स्युः कृषिविनाशकाः ।
अन्यहानिकरा ये च तेषामाखेटमाचरेत् ॥ अ. ७, श्लो. ४९.
ग्रामाणां सप्तलक्षेऽत्र भारतस्य निवासिनः ।
त्रयस्त्रिंशत् कोटिजनाः संवर्ध्याः शिक्षणादिभिः ॥ अ. ७, श्लो. ८०.
व्ययं श्रमं च लाभं च परिज्ञायाथवा पुनः ।
करादिकं सुनिर्धार्यं व्यापारे कृषिकर्मणि ॥ अ. ७, श्लो. ८८.
प्रतिग्रामं निजे राज्ये सीमां निश्चित्य तत्त्वतः ।
स्थाप्यास्तत्र शिलाखण्डा मानचित्रं च कारयेत् ॥ अ. ८, श्लो. १२६.
पशुपक्षिष्वपि क्रौर्यं ये निरर्थं प्रकुर्वते ।
छिन्दन्ति फलिवृक्षांश्च तेऽपि दण्ड्या यथोचितम् ॥ अ. ८, श्लो. १३९.
स्थितेर्वशादथाज्ञानात् कुटुम्बभरणोचितम् ।
अन्नाद्यपहृतं येन दण्डयेत्तमबन्धनम् ॥ अ. ८, श्लो. १४९.

यद्वत् पतिव्रता शस्ता तद्वत् पत्नीव्रतः पुमान् ।
अतः पत्न्यां तु जीवन्त्यां नोद्वहेदपरां स्त्रियम् ॥ अ. ९, श्लो. ४७.
स्त्रीणां पुनर्विवाहाज्ञा विरलैवोपलभ्यते ।
तथापि गर्भघातेभ्यो विवाहस्त्वल्पहानिकृत् ॥ अ. ९, श्लो. ५२.
अप्रशस्तो हि बालानां विवाहो हानिकृत् स यत् ।
प्रौढानामप्रशस्तोऽथ वयसा चासमानयोः ॥ अ. ९, श्लो. ५४.
भूमिगर्भगतानां हि जीवानां नाशशङ्कया ।
निन्दन्ति कृषिमर्थ्यां ये न ते तत्त्वार्थबोधिनः ॥ अ. १०, श्लो. २७.
वैरतोऽकारणं वापि या हिंसा सा विनिन्दिता ।
नोचेदुच्छ्वासनिःश्वासक्रियापि स्यादसंभवा ॥ अ. १०, श्लो. २८.
चाण्डालादीनपि नरो मनुष्या इति चिन्तयन् ।
तिरस्कुर्यान्न लोकेऽस्मिञ्शूद्राणां तु कथैव का ॥ अ. १०, श्लो. ३६.
सीदति स्वजने योऽर्थं परेभ्यो यशसेऽर्पयेत् ।
दानं न फलदं तस्य भवतीत्यब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ अ. ११, श्लो. ६.
पोष्याणां पोषरोधेन यः करोत्यौर्ध्वदैहिकम् ।
निष्फलं तस्य तज्ज्ञेयं मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥ अ. ११, श्लो. ७.
कृतसागरयात्रोऽपि विद्याद्यर्जनकर्मणे ।
स्वाचारमनतिक्रान्तो जात्या भ्रश्येन्न कर्हिचित् ॥ अ. ११, श्लो. १५.
निरुध्य तु तमः सत्त्व-रजसी आश्रितः समे ।
बुधः कुर्याद् यथाशक्यं स्थितिं समयसंगताम् ॥ अ. १२, श्लो. २६.
आत्मवत्सर्वभूतेषु पश्यन् रागविवर्जितः ।
समदृष्टिः सुशान्तात्मा पदं याति परं जनः ॥ अ. १२, श्लो. ३५.
सर्वदेवमयो यस्तु सर्वभूतमयश्च यः ।
हृदयस्थोऽखिलव्यापी सोऽयं कर्मफलप्रदः ॥ अ. १२, श्लो. ४३.
श्रुतिस्मृतिसदाचारा विधानानां प्रवर्तकाः ।
देशभेदैः पुनस्तत्र जायते भिन्नता क्वचित् ॥ दायभाग ॥
वाराणस्यां महाराष्ट्रे विदेहे द्रविडे तथा ।
मान्या मिताक्षरा नित्यं प्रान्तिकाचारमिश्रिता ॥ दायभाग ॥
वङ्गे पुनर्दायभागः सर्वैराद्रियते बुधैः ।
अतो विधीनां मुख्ये द्वे व्यवस्थे भारते मते ॥ दायभाग ॥
द्रविडेऽथ महाराष्ट्रेऽवधावेव धनप्रदः ।
अभियुज्य सुतं तस्मात्तातांशं समवाप्नुयात् ॥ दायभाग ॥
वङ्गे दाता समादत्ते पूर्वं पित्रंशतो धनम् ।
न्यौन्ये पुत्रांशतस्तावन्मात्रं पूर्तिस्तु यावता ॥ दायभाग ॥

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES ALONG THE MAINAMATI AND LALMAI RANGES, TIPPERA DISTRICT, EAST BENGAL

By

Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A.

The find of brick structures and images of terracotta material in course of trench diggings at Mainamati, six miles west of the town of Comilla, was brought to my notice by the Collector of Tippera District. An inspection was immediately arranged and a survey of a part of the area along the Mainamati and Lalmai ranges conducted. Owing to the advanced nature of the area from the military point of view a regular survey in a strictly archaeological sense could not be attempted and can be taken up only after the cessation of war. The results obtained in the course of my brief survey [1] are sufficiently indicative, though tentative, of the importance of the area to archaeologists. The importance of the discoveries will be best known and a valuable contribution made to the history of Bengal when excavation will be possible after war.

Geology.

Five miles to the west of Comilla rises a low hill range with an average height of 90 feet above sea-level and 40 feet above the level of the surrounding plains. This low hill extends from Mainamati in the north to Lalmai Railway Station in the south, for a distance of about 10 miles, north to south, and is called Mainamati range near Mainamati and Lalmai range further down where it widens (*vide* plan, Plate XVII). To the west of the range lies Tripura State. The hill is called *Lalmai* (Rohitāgiri) from the fact that it is made up of slightly micaceous, yellow-coloured sandstone and ferruginous concretions, which when decomposed colour the top of the hill brick-red. Horizontal intercalations of clay, only a few inches thick, varying in colour from white to dark black and occasional occurrences of argillaceous nodules mark the hill. Quartz pebbles are also observed but rarely. Near Chandipur the hill is called Chandīmurā (*murā* is hill), and this part of Lalmai is of sufficient geological importance, for here the character of the rock changes. Chandīmurā contains no micaceous material but consists of a conglomerate of decomposed rocks, mainly sandstone, with lumps of soft shaly mudstone here and there. Ferruginous concretions and quartz pebbles are rare but *fossil wood* abounds, the fragments completely silicified and some of them attaining considerable dimensions with diameter of several inches. But all lie horizontally, apparently parallel to one another such as would be the case when drifted by strong current. Specimens picked up by us within our area of exploration were investigated by the experts of the Geological Survey of

[1] In this survey Messrs. K. G. Goswami of the Calcutta University and Rasmohan Chakravarti, Superintendent, Rammala Chhatravas, Comilla, were helpful, and I am thankful to them.

India and the Calcutta University and were declared as of dicotyledonous plants closely allied to the genus *Glutoxylon* already known from here.[1] Chittagong and Tippera are treated as a single botanical province, and according to Das Gupta and Sen as the Lalmai beds, where fossil woods are found, correspond to that of the Irrawaddy Division of Burma it may be concluded that the Lalmai rocks are most probably also of Pliocene Age like the rocks of the Irrawaddy Division.

Mounds of Archaeological Interest.

Like its geological importance the Lalmai area affords sufficient interest to the archaeologists. The plains are studded with what appear to be entombed ruins, a supposition which proved to be nearly correct in an area four miles to the south-west of Comilla where the Central Public Works Department cut through a few mounds and extracted a large amount of bricks from well-planned structures. The Collector's report regarding the diggings in the military area gave me high hopes of archaeological discoveries at Mainamati, as the name 'Mainâmatī' is in Bengal history and religion sufficient to conjure up a vista of archaeological wealth.

The Name Mainâmatī.

'Mainâmatī', the name by which the village and the adjoining hill are known today, recalls the name of Queen Mayanâmatī (Madanâvatī), the wife of Māṇikchandra of the Chandra dynasty that ruled in Bengal in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Many ballads are popularly sung in Bengal in which the queen and her son Gopīchandra figure. Some of these are collected in *Gopīchandrer-gāna*, Vols. I and II (published by the Calcutta University), *Gopīchandrer-sanyāsa*, edited by Abdul Sukkur Muhammad, and *Mīnachetana* edited by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali. According to Tārānātha and some of these ballads, Gopīchandra was a ruler of Mṛikula (now known as Meharkula in Tippera District).

[1] Similar fossil wood specimens have been collected from this area and studied by the late Mr. Hem Chandra Das-Gupta in 1906, by Mr. N. N. Chatterji in 1939 and by Mr. Anil Mukherji in 1942. Such studies have led experts to declare the Lalmai range as of exceptional interest because the fossil wood finds help in correlating the Lalmai or Tippera rocks with the other Indian rock systems of known age, particularly with 'the fossil wood group of Burma'. The Lalmai range has been supposed to correspond to the lower series of the Irrawaddy Division. The fossil wood that was examined so far is supposed to be of the genus *Glutoxylon* (the two species of *Gluta, G. Tavoyana* and *G. Travancorica*, show much similarity with Lalmai specimens). Its presence as fossils in the Mainamati area shows that its distribution was wider in the past. Besides Travancore and Tinnevelly in South India and Tenasserim in Lower Burma it also existed in Bengal and Assam. The total absence of the living species from Bengal is, according to geologists, either due to its extinction or migration to more genial climatic conditions and that the Quaternary Ice Age, with its world-wide effect, might have been responsible for the change in its habitat and distribution. For details see (1) *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV (1908), pp. 349–51; (2) *Quarterly Journal, Geological and Mining and Met. Society, India*, Vol. II, pp. 139–41; Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 75–81; (3) *Science and Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 7, pp. 370-71; Vol. VII, No. 11, pp. 573-74.

Sahajayāna.

In the old Bengali *Charyā-padas*, whose subject matter centres round the mystical esoteric doctrines and Yogic theories and practices of the Buddhist Sahajayāna and whose authors (twenty-two authors of forty-seven *Charyās* out of a total of fifty), according to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, belonged to a period roughly between 950–1200 A.D., we find a hierarchy of Siddha poets who figure in the Gopīchand legends also. They are Matsyendranātha, Gorakhnātha, Jālandhari-pāda or Hādī-pā and Kānha-pā, the last mentioned assignable to the end of the twelfth century. Kānha-pā's Guru was Jālandharipāda or Hādī-pā, who was himself a disciple of Gorakh-nāth, a great Saivite Yogi and Siddha. Queen Mainâmatī was Gorakh-nāth's disciple, while Hādīpā figures in the legend-cycle of her son Gopīchānda. This legend-cycle speaks of Gopīchānda's unwilling renunciation, while young, of his kingdom and his wives, Adunā and Padunā, at the request of his mother Mainâmatī, who by dint of her Yogic powers had come to know that he could not otherwise be saved from premature death, and also how he left his home as a disciple of Hādī-pā, a Guru of low caste, who is no other than Gorakh-nāth's disciple referred to in the *Charyā-padas*.[1] The Sahajayāna referred to in the *Charyā-padas* relates to mystic Buddhism like Vajrayāna. In Vajrayāna ceremonials were emphasized, while in Sahajayāna ceremonials were dispensed with, though the goal of both was the same, viz. *Mahāsukha*. The Sahajayāna is further attested to by an inscription of the thirteenth century A.D., engraved on a copper-plate found at Mainamati which records a grant of land in favour of a Buddhist monastery built in the city of Paṭṭikerā by Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva in A.D. 1220 in the seventeenth year of his reign and which speaks of a superior officer of the royal groom as practising the Sahajadharma in Paṭṭikeraka.[2]

The Kingdom of Paṭṭikerā.

Paṭṭikerā was the capital of the kingdom of that name mentioned in Burmese Chronicles as Patikkara or Pateikkara and which may be traced as far back as the eleventh century A.D.[3] A *parganā* of Tippera District which extends to Mainamati hills is still known as Pāṭikārā or Paitkārā and in older documents as Pāṭikerā or Paitkerā. This helps us to look for Paṭṭikerā of the copper-plate in this *parganā*. Of particular interest is the evidence furnished by an inscription of the seventh century A.D. referring to a royal palace or residence at Karmānta, the modern Badkāmtā, 12 miles west of Comilla and 6 miles west of Mainamati in Tippera District. Later records, such as the

[1] Refer MS. of 47 *Charyā-padas* composed by 22 poets in old Bengali with Sanskrit commentary, discovered by MM. Haraprasad Sastri; the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (ed. by R. C. Majumdar), pp. 383–86.

[2] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 282.

[3] The manuscript *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, copied in 1015 A.D., contains the picture of the sixteen-armed Buddhist Goddess Chuṇḍā with the label 'Paṭṭikere Chuṇḍāvarabhavane Chuṇḍā'.

Baghaura inscription of the time of the Pāla king Mahīpāla (eleventh century A.D.) and the Mehar copper-plate of Dāmodaradeva (1234 A.D.) establish the connection of Samataṭa with the modern Tippera District. In Samataṭa was situated the principality or the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā, whose existence according to recent finds at Mainamati can be traced as far back as the eighth century A.D. Coins similar to certain symbolical coins of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan, who had their capital at Wethali in Arakan from 788 to 957 A.D., and terracotta plaques with representations of Arakanese and Burmese men and women were found at Mainamati which throw light on the relation between India and Burma in the eighth to tenth centuries A.D. In the coins the name of the principality is given as Paṭikera while the Burmese Chronicles refer to this kingdom as Patikkara, the country of Kalas or foreigners which bounded on the west the kingdom of Anoratha (1044–1077 A.D.) and also to a king 'Pateikkara of the kingdom of Marawa'. The references in the Burmese Chronicles imply, but do not prove, that this kingdom was an independent State during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., when the Pāla and Sena kings were ruling over Bengal. An intimate intercourse between this kingdom and the kingdoms of Burma is proved by these Chronicles, and inter-marriages in the royal families between the two countries were also common. Paṭṭikerā princes and princesses figure in the romances and tragedies in Burmese annals, poems and melo-dramas, and the names of the Burmese king Kyanzittha (1084–1112 A.D.), Alaungsithu and Narathu are well known.[1] Indian Buddhism was welcomed by Kyanzittha who built the Ananda temple at Pagan after the temples of the Indian mainland. The Ananda temple is described as the best creation of Indo-Burmese art. Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla, who in 1220 A.D. was presumably ruling as an independent king, appears to have been a feudatory chief, who along with two other ruling families with name-endings *-deva* came to power after the collapse of the Sena power in the thirteenth century A.D. Strangely enough we do not hear of the principality of Paṭṭikerā after Harikāladeva; only the name survives in the modern *parganā* of Pāṭikārā or Paiṭkārā. Probably it was absorbed in the growing kingdom of the Deva family.

The Chandras of Eastern Bengal.

Another kingdom like the principality of Paṭṭikerā that flourished around modern Comilla between 900 and 1050 A.D. was that of the Chandras, whose existence is known from inscriptions.[2] This Chandra dynasty receives prominent mention at the hands of Lama Tārānātha, though there is not sufficient evidence to prove its existence from the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D. as Tārānātha attempts to. We learn from inscriptions, coins and Burmese Chronicles of a dynasty of kings that ruled in the Arakan region in the seventh

[1] Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 49-50; *History of Bengal* (ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar), Vol. I, pp. 257-58.
[2] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar), pp. 192–97.

century A.D. and even earlier. Their names end in -chandra and an account of nine of them ruling from 788 to 957 A.D. is recorded in the Burmese Chronicles.[1] Coins similar to those found in Arakan and figured by Phayre have been found near Mainamati in the present survey,[2] and like them, have to be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the seventh or eighth century A.D., if not earlier. While the coins found in Arakan speak of Dharmachandra, Prītichandra and Vīrachandra in respect of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan, exactly similar thin silver issues, also symbolical in purpose, were found at Mainamati with the legend *Paṭikērya* above couchant humped bull on the obverse, and the trident with Sun and Moon above and garlands hanging from it on the reverse. One such coin, out of a hoard of 63, found in the enclosure of Ānandarāja's palace ruins (Mound No. 5) in Mainamati is figured here (Plate V, fig. 1). Vincent Smith notices another similar coin with the legend *Śrī Śivasya* and remarks that such coins were found buried among old ruins in Arakan and were supposed to belong to the Chandra dynasty that tradition records as having ruled between 788 and 957 A.D. While the date of such coins found at Mainamati is determinable from the palaeography of the legends on the coin figured (Pl. V, fig. 1), the name *Paṭikērya* is of singular interest to us for our study of the archaeology of Mainamati. It at once refers to the famous *Paṭṭikeraka-vihāra* of the Pāla period which ranked in importance with such ancient Buddhist monasteries as of Odantapurī, Somapura, Vikramaśīla, Nālandā, Traikūṭaka, Devīkoṭa, Paṇḍita, Sannagara, Jagaddala, Phullahari and Vikramapurī. Ānandarāja's palace mound in Mainamati was definitely a monastery, probably the renowned Paṭṭikeraka monastery itself, and the coin in question was a symbolic issue of this, while perhaps the Chandras were ruling Eastern Bengal.

The Chandras of Rohitāgiri.

From inscriptions we hear of six such Chandra kings that ruled in Eastern and/or Southern Bengal between 900–1050 A.D. with *Rohitāgiri*, perhaps modern Lalmai hills now surveyed, as their capital. First is Layahachandra whose kingdom has to be located around modern Comilla. Next we have evidence of a dynasty as follows :—

Pūrṇachandra
|
Suvarṇachandra
|
Trailokyachandra
|
Śrīchandra
⋮
Govindachandra

[1] Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*, pp. 28–30 and 42.
[2] Phayre, Plate II, fig. 12.

It seems fairly certain that Rohitāgiri, the seat of these Chandras, was probably near Comilla and perhaps included the present Lalmai hills, five miles to the west of Comilla.[1] 'Rohitāgiri' and 'Lalmai' both mean 'red hill'. Suvarṇachandra is said to have become a follower of Buddha, and his successors were also Buddhists. The history of this family stops with Śrīchandra and we have no information of his successor. Śrīchandra appears to have flourished at the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Govindachandra [also with his name ending with -chandra], who is referred in the accounts of Rajendrachola's invasion of Bengal (1021 A.D.), appears to have succeeded Śrīchandra. In what relationship both Layahachandra and Govindachandra stood to the Chandra dynasty beginning with Pūrṇachandra is not known; it is likely that they were of the same family.[2] The Chandra kingdom appears to have been destroyed by the invasion of the Kalachuri Karṇa (1041–1070 A.D.) and we do not hear of it after the middle of the eleventh century A.D. It is thus easy to appreciate that the Mainamati and Lalmai hills that form the venue of the present survey witnessed the glory of the Chandra kings and the kings of the Paṭṭikerā principality from about the eighth to the thirteenth centuries A.D.

Mounds in Mainamati Village.

At Mainamati itself, five miles west of Comilla several mounds were noticed in an extensive plain. In an area of one square mile, 20 such were noticed within the military bounds from the river Gumti in the north to the local survey school in the south (Plate XVII, Plans 1, 2 and 2A). Near one of these mounds (2) it was reported to me by the District Magistrate that trench diggings had exposed a stone image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara and potsherds. The image could not be recovered and it was reported that the Station Staff Officer at Mainamati had probably removed it somewhere for safety. The potsherds were, however, with Mr. Rasmohan Chakravarti, Superintendent of the Rammala Library, Comilla, and were available for my examination. They were mostly bits of pans, pots, lids and pot-rests, with such designs as the zig-zag, herring-bone, chess-board and chevron. They were evidently bits from pottery of monastic use. Regarding the stone image itself, we have the testimony of Mr. R. M. Chakravarti who saw it a couple of months before we started the survey and told me that it was a nude image, from which it was easy to recognize a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara image. No other Jaina remains could be noticed in the locality. We do not hear much of Jainism in East Bengal. The existence of a Jaina Vihāra in the fourth century A.D. at Vata-Gohālī in the present site of Paharpur, Hiuen Tsang's reference in the seventh century A.D. to the influence the Nirgranthas had in North, South and East Bengal, the subsequent disappearance from Bengal of the sect of Nirgranthas during the Pāla and Sena period, the probable

[1] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar), p. 194.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

assimilation of the Nirgranthas towards the end of the Pāla period in the Avadhūtas and such other religious sects and the re-establishment in Northern Bengal during the Muhammadan period of the old religion in its new form, thanks to the services of Jaina immigrants from Western India—are some of the features in the development of Jainism in Bengal. Its sway in East Bengal in contrast to the spectacular hold that Buddhism had in Bengal was not much. As at Paharpur, so also at Mainamati, Jainism appears to have flourished side by side with Buddhism and Brahmanism. It is likely that subsequent excavations near mound 2 may reveal Jaina vestiges.

Brahmanical Images.

Brahmanical images in and around Mainamati have been known for a long time; some of them are now kept in the Rammala Library, Comilla, under the custody of Mr. Chakravarti.[1] Indeed the best specimen is an image of Sūrya of black chlorite, revealing Pāla workmanship (Pl. IV). The iconographic details of Sūrya (Bhāskara) are completely represented. Within a background, 3′ 10″ × 1′ 11″, stands Sūrya erect holding symmetrically a lotus in each hand, while flying Vidyādhara couples hovering above, parasol juxtaposed right in the centre over his head, eleven Sūryas (out of the twelve *dvādaśa-Ādityas*) and Gaṇeśa flanking him, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala standing one on each side, an attendant-woman (*Chāmaradhāriṇi*) on either side, his consort, Chhāyādevī, in front of his legs, Aruna in front driving a rotunda of seven horses and Ushas and Sandhyā symmetrically poised below at the extreme ends as bow-women —are detailed with such narrative wealth and exuberance that the sculpture can go as the best specimen of 'symmetria prisca' such as is described by Leonardo da Vinci, while its Pāla date is easily recognized. It was represented to me that this image was found some years ago from the river Gumti in the hamlet of Pākilāra near Mainamati Post Office (Plate IV).

Other images of similar date found at Varella, three miles north of Mainamati represent Vāsudeva, Hara-Gaurī, Jagadhātrī, Gaṇeśa and Vishṇu. The material is black chlorite and workmanship Pāla. It would be easy and refreshing to discover that the place harboured all the religions of the time.

Kutila-mura and Bairagi-mura (Mounds 3 and 4).

One mile to the south of Mainamati survey school are two mounds known as Kutila-mura and Bairagi-mura, both situated on the Mainamati range (3 and 4 of Plan). Kutila-mura is an extensive mound about a furlong square. Fossil wood specimens of the genus *Glutoxylon* were picked up in this area. Potsherds with designs such as squares, herring-bone and clubs were collected from the surface in large number (Plate III, fig. 14). To the west of these mounds lies Bairagi-mura (No. 3). Luckily these mounds have not been visited by the contractors in their search for bricks and hence appear to be promising for scientific excavation.

[1] I learn that as a measure of safety owing to war, they have since been removed to Brahmanberia, Tippera District.

Ānandarāja's Palace Ruins (Mound No. 5).

A big mound (No. 5 of plan), about a furlong square and one and a half miles to the south of Kutila-mura and four miles to the south-west of Comilla (Plate I, *a*), was the scene of heavy depredation for bricks. Cart-loads of bricks were removed from this mound before action could be taken to check.[1] The ruins revealed, however, on plan a square monastery about a furlong each side, with an arrangement, as at Paharpur, of a central temple with recessed corners and re-entrant angles. Probably the arrangement of the central temple resulted, as at Paharpur, in a cruciform shape with one projecting angle between the arms of the cross. It is evident from what has been exposed by the contractors that the remains of a temple surrounded by a monastery existed here. The recessed angles of the central temple revealed an arrangement, as at Paharpur, of walls which were relieved on the outer face by projecting mouldings and cornices of ornamental bricks on top with designs of stepped pyramid, lotus petals (*cyma recta*), chess-board patterns and bands of terracotta plaques set in recessed panels below running around the basement. Bricks of large size supported these plaques on the bottom thereby forming a sunk panel for the plaques to be assembled. There were no traces of any binding material that held these plaques or the cornices above and the bricks below together. Similar cornice patterns and arrangement of terracotta plaques are also known from Mahasthan[2] in Bengal and Burma, Siam and Java. In the central temple enclosure were recovered a large number of terracotta plaques with carvings drawn from divine, semi-divine, human, animal, bird and aquatic lives and ornamental bricks and other decorative pieces of terracotta material that had gone to dress the façade of the basement. It was evident that the decorative plaques were meant to catch the eye of the circumambulating worshippers. It was easy to discover that the site is prominently Buddhist, the *ensemble* of evidence from plaques, architecture, and style of sculpture lending support to this conclusion as also to a period from the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D. to which they should be referred.

Terracotta Plaques.

The plaques recovered from the central temple enclosure here offer very interesting study, as at Paharpur and Mahasthan in North Bengal and in similar monuments of Pagan where also they decorated the outer walls revealing the same dynamic movement and expressive of popular fancy and folk imagination or folk art. In the art that these terracottas reveal we cannot see much of Pāla and Sena artistic tendencies as both Pāla and Sena constituted a hieratic school in which little scope was afforded to folk art. If we remember this it will be easy to appreciate that the themes are drawn from the daily

[1] I take this opportunity to offer my thanks to Drs. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, R. C. Majumdar, Kalidas Nag, Hon'ble Justice Edgley and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, who kindly and ably helped me in checking brick depredations in Mainamati and Lalmai areas of such archaeological promise.

[2] *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1936-37, Plates XV and XVI.

life of the people, from all creations of God and nature in the various stages of activity, emotion, movement and rest. There is a purposeful rhythm running through the whole series, as at Paharpur, which intimately connects this folk art with contemporaneous stone representations of the hieratic religious art of Bengal of the period. Besides giving us a true insight into the real social life of the people of those days they help to throw a flood of light on the history of the place and the religion of the monuments which they were decorating. Divine and semi-divine figures, composite animals, hybrids, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas, celestial musicians, Vidyādharas and Yakshas among the demi-gods, men and women in various movements, warriors, archers, acrobats balancing bodies on their hands, sages and ascetics, musicians with their instruments, and domestic and family studies are represented with all their local and ethnical characteristics. Among animals, lion, wild boar, antelope and pig are popular while *motifs* such as Makara, *Vyàla* (leograph) and addorsed lions are worth mentioning. Similarly we find ducks and the royal swan or *haṁsa*. Among gods only Buddha and Padmapāṇi are depicted and it would appear that representations of divinities of the hierarchical religion are rare. The flora is not omitted and meandering creepers, lotuses and the Greek acanthus, the last as a *motif*, appear to have been popular, while Gupta art seems to have influenced the style of workmanship. A few selected specimens are figured here to illustrate. Among human beings warriors in action with shield and dagger (Plate X, fig. 3), with sword in left hand (Plate X, fig. 2), with dagger in right, the left in a threatening attitude (*tarjinī*—Plate X, fig. 1), and killing tiger (Plate X, fig. 4) and archers (Plate X, fig. 5) offer interesting study. From a description of Vidyādharas being associated with swords given in the *Vishṇudharmottara* (Chapter 42, vv. 9-10) it is possible to identify some of the warriors here as Vidyādharas, particularly those who appear to fly and wear lotus-boots as at Paharpur (Plate X, figs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7). A bearded and emaciated sage in an attitude of dancing (Plate XI, fig. 5) forms the subject of another plaque. A Brahmin with moustache, small knotted beard and three stranded *Yajño-pavīta* with his wife sitting by his side and child on his lap forms an interesting domestic study (Plate XI, fig. 7). Another plaque shows a lady seated with right hand resting on her thigh and left hand touching her head as though bemoaning her fate and this would recall a familiar Indian mode of expression of grief or pensiveness (Plate XI, fig. 8). A plaque showing the Buddha seated in Vajrāsana with right hand in *bhūmisparśa* attitude (Plate VII, fig. 6) and another representing Padmapāṇi seated in *mahārāja-līla* pose, with *kuṇḍalas* in the ears, braided hair in curls, right hand resting on the ground and left holding lotus by its stalk (Plate VII, fig. 5) are the best specimens from here of the hieratic religious art of Bengal which was prevailing under the Pālas. Representations of the demi-gods form the majority. Vidyādharas (Plate VIII, figs. 3 and 5; Plate IX, figs. 3 and 5) are depicted on three best specimens of realistic study. A Vidyādharī, who formed part of a Vidyādhara couple that was hovering in the sky, forms the subject-matter of yet another plaque

that recalls the Gupta style of art (Plate IX, fig. 2). While Vidyādharas are human, the Gandharvas and the Kinnaras are hybrid in character. Certain texts describe a Kinnara as one with human figure and head of horse, or horse's body and the head of a man. Other texts draw a distinction between Kinnara and Kiṁpurusha by ascribing horse-head and human body to the Kinnara and human head and horse-body to the Kiṁpurusha.[1] The Gandharvas are celestial musicians who sing and dance and hold a lute or a churning stick or other musical instruments. The Kinnaras are likewise celebrated as choristers in epic and classical poetry. The hybrid character of the Gandharvas, which they share with Kinnaras and Kiṁpurushas, is also interesting to the student of comparative philology, as for this reason it is possible to trace an etymological connection between Sanskrit Gandharva and centaur, Greek Kentauros, Avestic Gandarewa, Iranian Gandarewa, and Dravidian Kudirai.[2] Indian sculpture does not exhibit much difference in their conception in the three schools of Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism except in details of workmanship and style.[3] It is interesting, though confusing, that all the variant descriptions are supported by sculptures and paintings found in India and Ceylon. Sculptures from Bharhut and Sanchi in Central India, Paharpur in Bengal, Udaigiri, Rameswaram, Kanchipuram and Mallam in South India and paintings from Ajanta (Hyderabad) are a few cases to illustrate the point. A beautiful rendering of a Kinnara with animal's legs and upper body and face human, with wings instead of arms and the head decorated with lotus foliage and the ears with *Kuṇḍalas* and fierce looking eyes such as are

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[1] *Vāchaspatya*; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Book VII, Chatper 20; but *Vishṇudharmottara* (Book III, Chapter 42, verses 13-14) recognizes two classes of Kinnara—one with horse-body and human head and the other *vice versa*. But the *Mānasāra*, which is a standard work on the subject, describes the Kinnara as with legs of animals, upper body like that of man, face with Garuḍa features, arms provided with wings, the crown decorated with lotus, etc. This description is also found in Ceylon.

[2] In Vedic literature the Kinnaras figure under the name Kiṁpurusha and are reckoned among the Gandharvas as celestial musicians. According to the Jainas the Gandharvas and Kinnaras constitute one of the eight orders of the Vyantaras. The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes the Gandharvas as flying in the cloud region with their consorts, the *Apsarasas*, and holding garlands and bunches of flowers, the idea being that they hurry to the shrine to worship the deity. Their main functions being music and dance, they have to be distinguished from their compeers, the Vidyādharas and the Yakshas, who are described as the chief repositories of secret learning.

[3] Grunwedel enumerates six classes of secondary gods in Brahmin mythology, viz.: (1) Kinnaras, (2) Kimpurushas, (3) Gandharvas, (4) Pannagas or Nagas, (5) Siddhas, and (6) Vidyādharas. These correspond more or less to the Vyantara gods of the Jaina, viz.: Piśāchas, Bhutas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurushas, Mahoragas and Gandharvas. The eight classes of demi-gods enumerated in Buddhist literature are Devas, Nāgas, Rākshasas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas. In the Brahmin mythology cited by Grunwedel and Rajendralal Mitra, the Gandharvas are assigned to a class of secondary gods or attendants, which includes (1) Kinnaras, Kubera's musicians who have human body and horse's head; (2) Kiṁpurushas with human face and the body of a bird, often confounded with Kinnaras and Gandharvas; (3) Gandharvas with human bust and a bird's body whose wives are the Apsarāsas; (4) Pannagas or Nāgas; (5) Siddhas flying in the air and appearing anywhere at any moment; (6) Vidyādharas or celestial students skilled in all knowledge; (7) Yakshas; (8) Rākshasas, etc.

associated with the Garuḍa bird, forms the subject-matter of a very interesting plaque (Plate VI, fig. 1). A Kiṁpurushī, with human head and animal's body, is illustrated in another plaque (Plate VIII, fig. 4). A Yaksha figure in frontal pose with hands held in *tarpaṇamudrā* is shown on yet another plaque (Plate IX, fig. 6). Among animals, antelope (Plate XIII, fig. 10), wild boar (Plate XIV, fig. 7), pig and lion (the last being a poor study—Plate XIII, fig. 1) and animal complexes and decorative *motifs* such as *Makara* (Plate XVI, fig. 1), *Vyāla* or leograph with profuse lion's mane (Plate XIII, fig. 5), and addorsed lions going on corner brackets afford interesting study. The *haṁsa* or the royal swan with bent neck and with plumed tail (Plate XVI, fig. 9) among birds and the Greek acanthus occurring here as a *motif* (Plate XVI, fig. 3) provide a refreshing study.

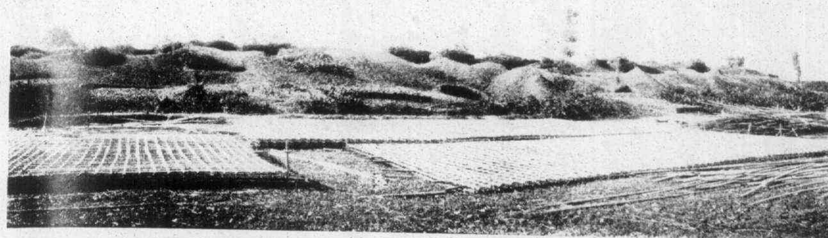
Bricks found in this area are of various sizes and shapes, the largest size being $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$; while rectangular bricks constitute the majority, square bricks and tiles are also known. Ornamented bricks, which decorated the mouldings and which agree in design and decoration with those found at Paharpur and Bangarh, present very interesting major and minor designs and geometrical patterns. A few are illustrated in Plate III (figs. 1–5). It will be seen that the bell-shaped *stūpa* was a popular major design as elsewhere (fig. 5) and the zig-zag (fig. 4), the chevron, the stepped pyramid, *cyma recta* (Plate VI, fig. 1) and dental edges with zig-zag course between (Plate III, fig. 3) were popular decorative patterns. Potsherds were picked up in large numbers and one can readily recognize that they were of pans, lids and pots, some of them with designs, such as chevron, straight lines, herring-bone, squares and trellis (Plate III, figs. 6-10, 13, 15-16). A potsherd of the black variety with beautiful glaze and with an interesting design on its edge looking like letters (Plate III, fig. 17) was picked up from the centre. The design is perhaps more calligraphic than epigraphic in intent. Among other things found here mention may be made of two fossil wood pieces of the genus *Gluta* and sixty-three thin silver coins. Only one coin in this group which could be recovered has been described already (Plate V, fig. 1).

Rupban-Kanyā's Palace (Mound No. 6).

To the south of Ānandarāja's palace ruins is another mound (No. 6 of Plan) called Rupban-Kanyā's palace. The mound measures about 400 feet square and is 15 feet high from the surrounding paddy field. Traces of a central structure and enclosing walls can be made out. A stone cubical pillar base showing the design of a *chaitya* window on each side was found in the centre of the mound suggesting the existence of a stone *maṇḍapa* or shrine. Terracotta plaques and bricks of various sizes, maximum being $13'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ were also in evidence. Though brick depredation was heavy here, traces of a structure, perhaps a monastery with arrangement of central temple and surrounding cells can be noticed. A few plaques were also recovered which show the semi-divine Yaksha, the hybrid Kiṁpurusha and the wild boar in all its wild majesty.

Bhojarāja's Palace (Mound No. 7).

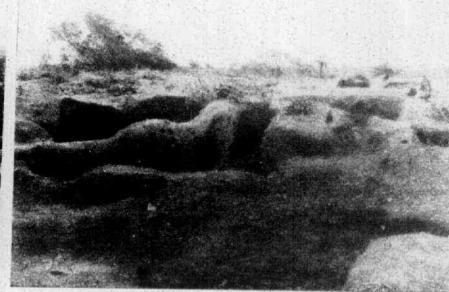
Near Rupban-Kanyā's palace and half a mile to the south of Ānandarāja's palace are the ruins called Bhojarāja's palace in an area of about 400 feet square (Plate II, fig. *a*). The arrangement was similar to that of Ānandarāja's palace with a small mound about 30 feet high, in the centre. The digging for bricks here had exposed well laid out brick courses and a square temple with massive walls (Plate II, fig. *b*) and with its basement profusely decorated with carved plaques and ornamental bricks. Though brick spoliation had been heavy here, a chamber, 6 feet square, found in the centre suggests that the central structure may have been composed of box-like chambers as at Medh (Mahasthan) (Plate II, fig. *b*). Bricks of various sizes, the maximum size being $13'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$ were also recovered. But the terracotta plaques with interesting carvings drawn from human, divine, semi-divine, animal, bird lives and flora as at Ānandarāja's palace afford interesting study. Among animals, the elephant (Plate XIV, fig. 4) marching magnificently with its usual gait, called by poets *kuñjara-gati* (Pl. XVIII, fig. 10), the buffalo bending and scratching its head with its leg (Plate XIV, fig. 5), the wild boar in an attacking mood (Plate XIV, fig. 6), the rhinoceros, the antelope and the chameleon on a tree-branch are worth mentioning. The buffalo and the wild boar (Plate XIV, figs. 5 and 6) are masterpieces of realistic study in terracotta material. Among birds the royal swan (*haṁsa*) with its plumed and foliated tail seems to have caught the fancy of the local artists. The *haṁsa* pecking at or holding in its beak a string of pearls is also known (Plate XVI, fig. 8). The subject-matter and the conception of 'the *haṁsa* and the pearl string' (*Muktāphala-lobhī Kalahaṁsa*) would at once recall the golden age of the classical art that was ushered in the Gupta period. Among flowers, the lotus juxtaposed between foliated acanthus (Plate XVI, fig. 4) seems to have been popular as a *motif*. The flowers of the country are shown individually as well as in conventional groupings that go to form interesting *motifs* (Plate XVI, fig. 4). Men in various fighting attitudes and with weapons of war (Plate X, figs. 7-8), as killing tiger (Plate X, fig. 6), acrobats balancing their uplifted bodies and attempting difficult feats (Plate IX, fig. 7), and semi-divine beings, such as Kinnara with human head and bird's body and wings (Plate VIII, fig. 6), Kinnara with human body and horse-head (to which class the horse-headed Tumburu belongs—Plate VIII, fig. 8), Gandharva, as a celestial musician, playing on *ḍamaru* (Plate VIII, fig. 7), and Gandharva (or perhaps a human being) beating time on a pitcher (*ghaṭa*) (Plate IX, fig. 8) and Vidyādharas hovering in the sky with garlands in their hands (Plate VIII, fig. 9) form the subjects treated on a number of terracotta plaques recovered from the central mound. Some of the plaques exhibit a character similar to that of stone sculpture of the times. Exuberant in conception and in the richness of subject-matter, the local artists did not scruple to stoop even to small matters or situations, and no subject appeared to them as too small or unworthy of attention. The find of such terracottas here with singular



(*a*) Ānandarāja's palace mound.



Kotbāri ruins, another view, showing re-entrant corner of wall from north-west.



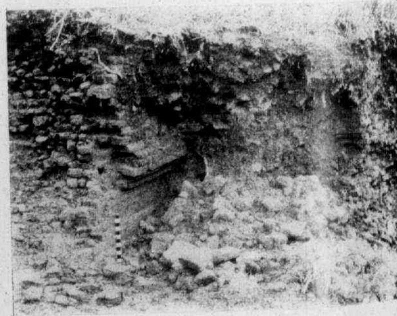
(*c*) Kotbāri ruins, from south-east.



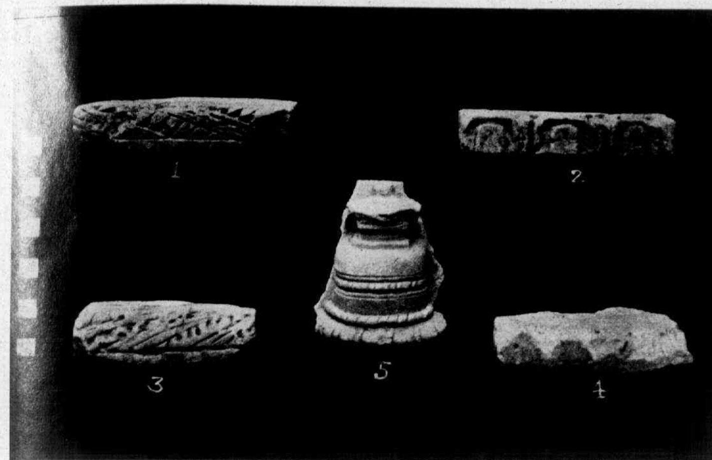
(a) Bhojarāja's palace mound.

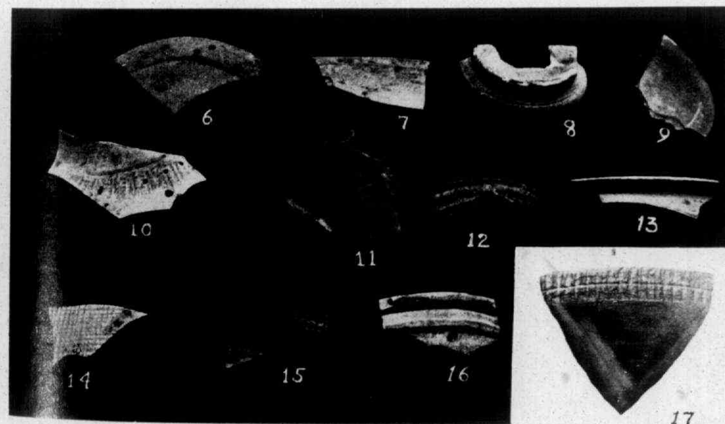


(b) Bhojarāja's palace mound, view of wall in centre of mound.



(c) Rupban-murā, corner of a cruciform temple





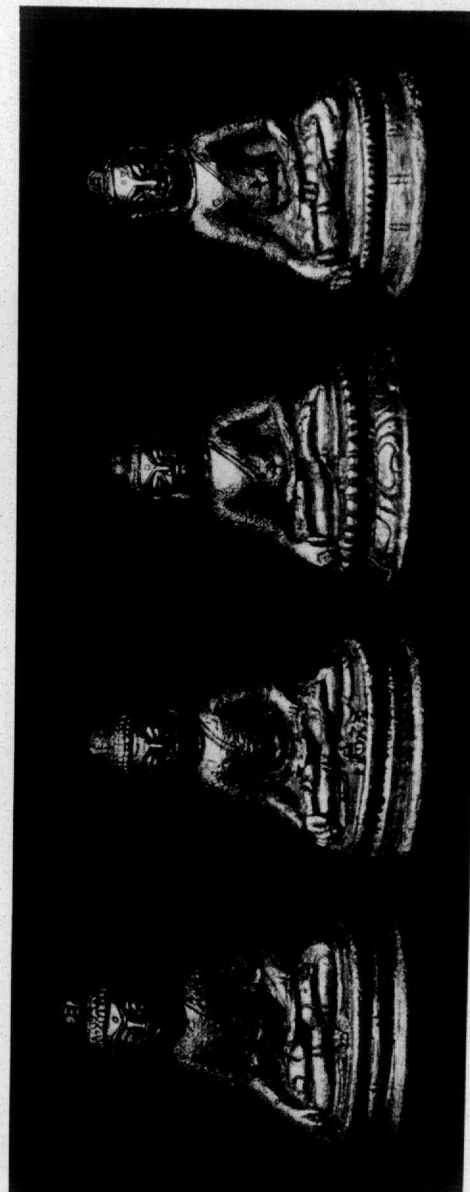
Ornamental bricks and potsherds from Lalmai and Mainamati Hills. 1–10, 12–13, 15–17 from Ānandarāja's palace mound; 11, from Bhojarāja's palace mound; 14, from Kotila-murā mound.



Stone image of Sūrya found at Pakilara, near Mainamati Post Office.



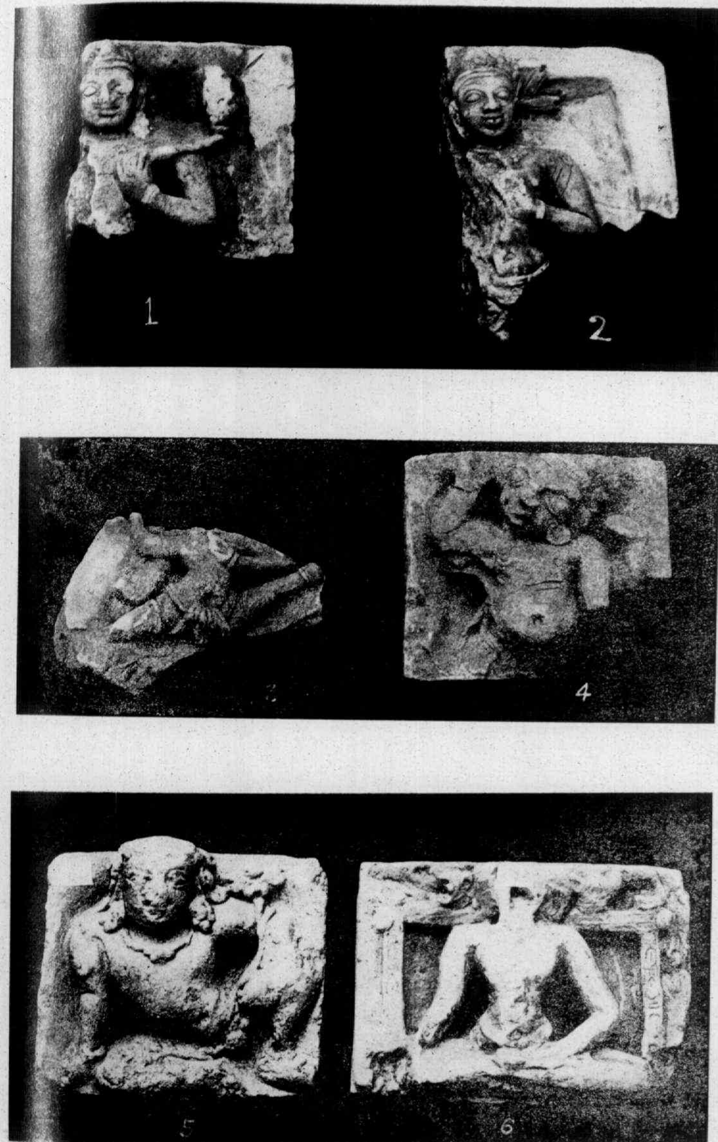
1. Silver symbolical coin of Arakan, from Ānandarāja's palace mound.



2. Bronze votive images of the Buddha in *Vajrāsana*, from Rupban-murā mound.

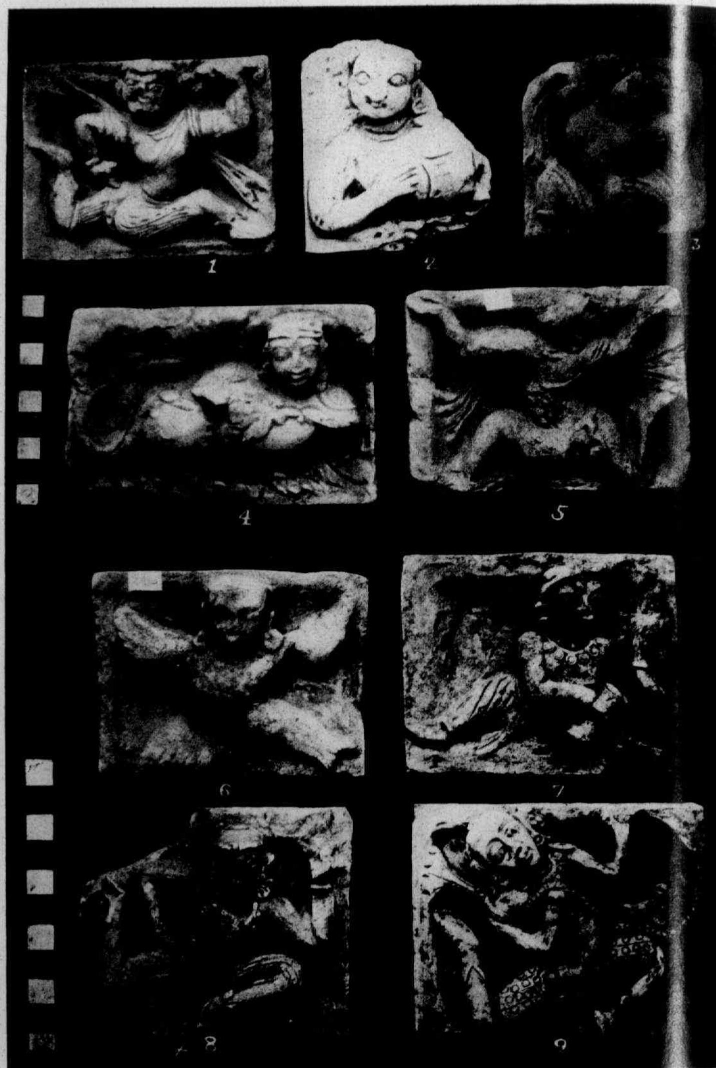


1. Arrangement of ornamental mouldings and plaques on the basement of central temple, from Ānandarāja's palace mound.
2–4. Terracotta corner brackets from Rupban-murā mound.



TERRACOTTA PLAQUES

1–4. Buddhist divine beings from Rupban-murā.
5. Padmapāṇi from Ānandarāja's palace mound.
6. Buddha Śākyamuni in *bhūsparśa* from Ānandarāja's mound.



Terracotta plaques from Lalmai and Mainamati Hills, representing semi-divine beings.



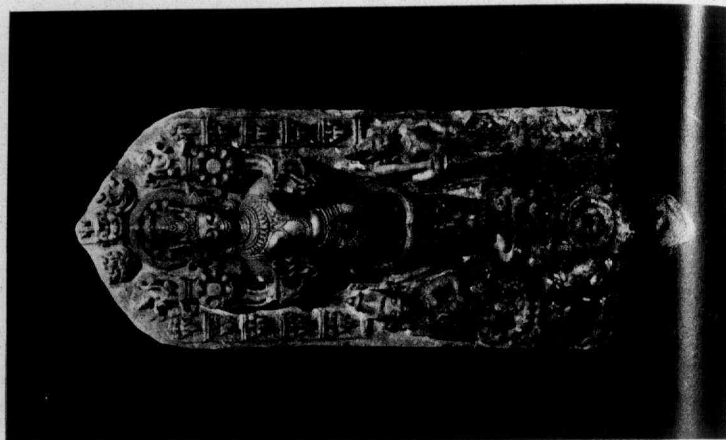
Terracotta plaques from Lalmai and Mainamati Hills, representing semi-divine and human beings.



Terracotta plaques from Lalmai and Mainamati Hills, showing fighting scenes.



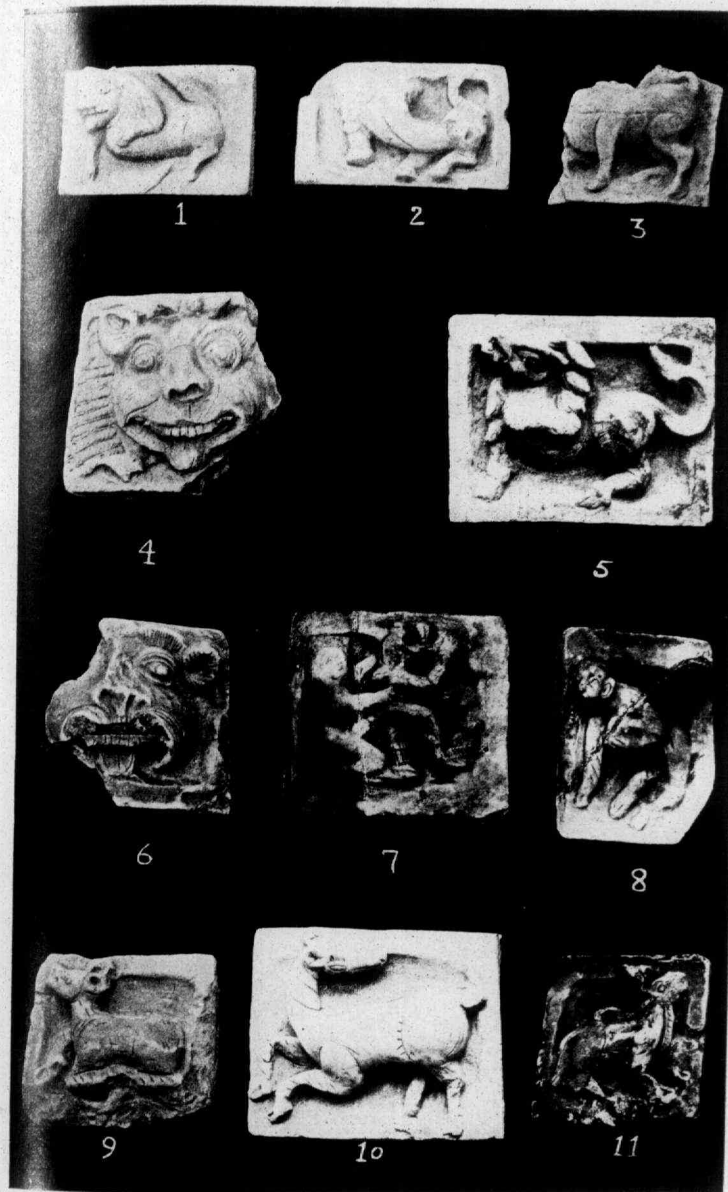
1–4, 6. Terracotta plaques from Rupban-murā.
5, 7, 8. Terracotta plaques from Ānandarāja's palace mound.



(b) Sūrya from Chandi-murā, Lalmai.



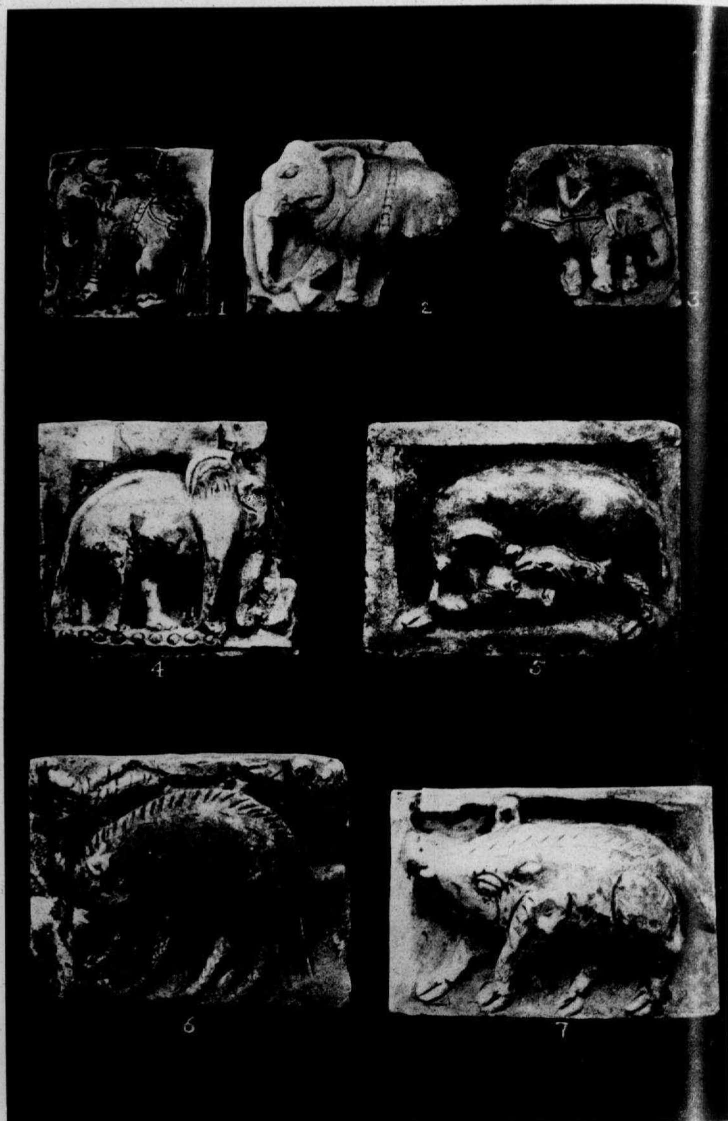
(a) Mañjuvara from Chandi-murā, Lalmai.



Terracotta plaques—Animal studies.

1, 2, 5, 10 from Ānandarāja's palace mound; 3, 4, 6–9, 11 from Rupban-murā.

PLATE XIV



Terracotta plaques—Animal studies.

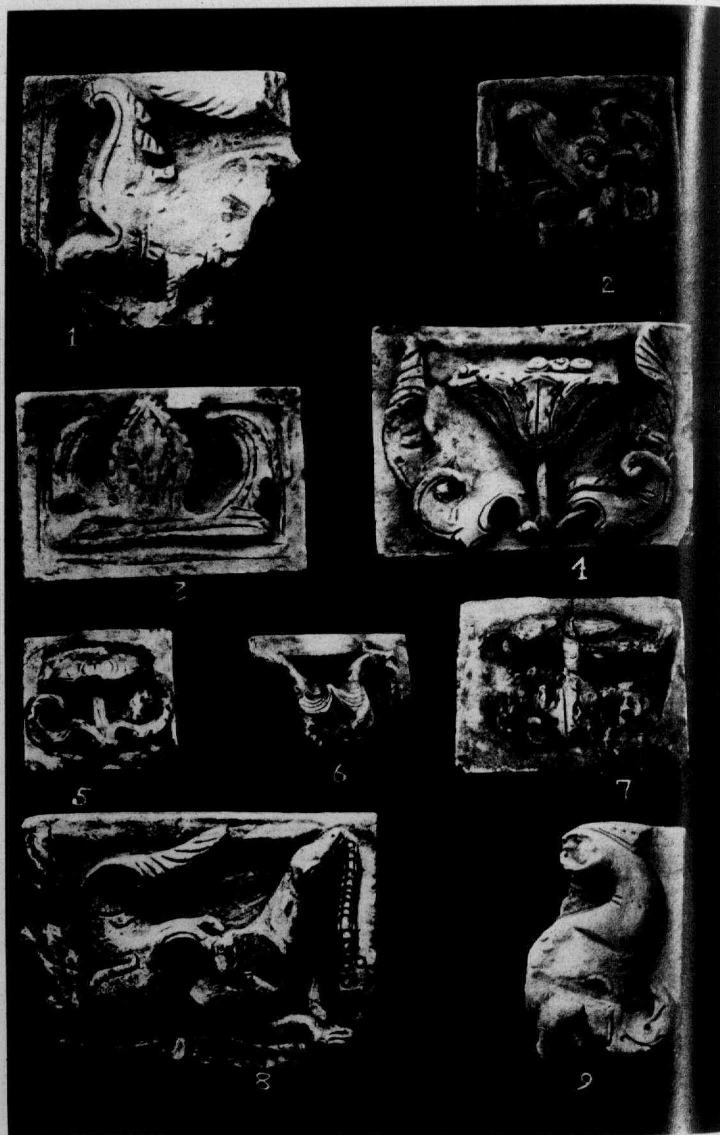
1–3 from Rupban-murā; 4–6 from Bhojarāja's palace mound; 7 from Ānandarāja's palace mound.

PLATE XV



Terracotta plaques from Rupban-murā.

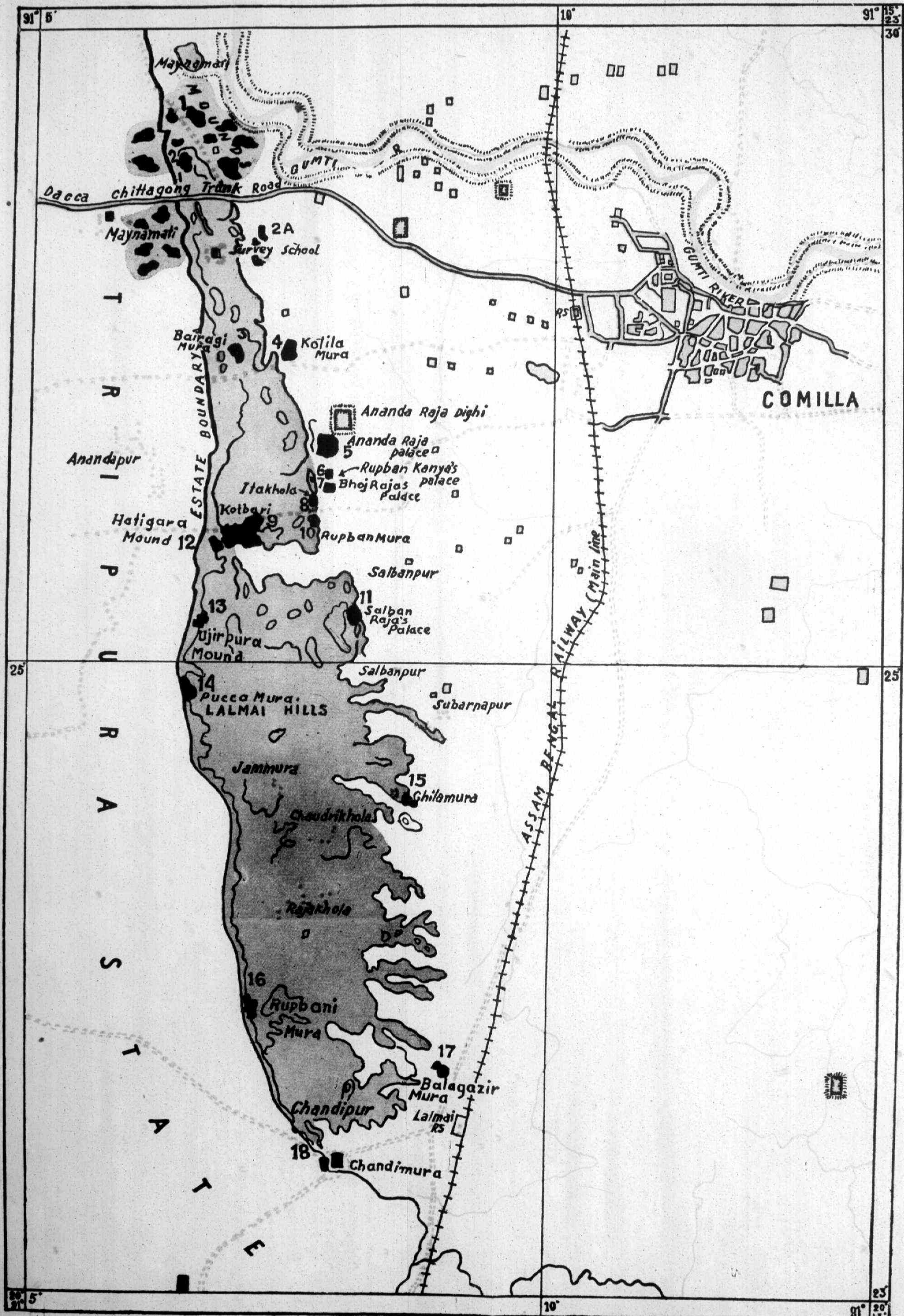
1–4. Terracotta plaques with select *motifs*. 5. Tree spirit. 6. Woman bearing standard (*patākā-nāyikā*).



Terracotta plaques with *Makara*, flora and birds.

1, 3, 9 from Ānandarāja's palace mound; 2, 5–7 from Rupban-murā; 4, 8 from Bhojarāja's palace mound.

Plan showing Archaeological Sites in Lalmai and Mainamati areas, Comilla.



Archaeological mounds. Scale 1 Inch = 1 Mile

Superintendent,
Archaeological Section,
Indian Museum.



1-2. Ornamental bricks from Rupban-murā.
3-9. Terracotta plaques from Rupban-murā.
10. Terracotta plaque from Bhojarāja's palace mound.

subjects carved on them would single out the structure as one of exceptional interest. It was probably a Buddhist *Vihāra* with the temple or shrine in the centre as at Paharpur. Pottery picked up here were mostly hopelessly crushed, as the one figured (Pl. III, fig. 11) will show.

Itākhola (Mound No. 8).

Two hundred yards to the south of Bhojarāja's palace is a big mound covered by thick vegetation, where quarrying for bricks had been heavy. The plan of structure was not discernible, but a few bricks and terracotta plaques recovered from here suggest its date as similar to that of the Ānandarāja's palace ruins.

Rupban-murā (Mound No. 10).

A furlong to the south of Itākhola is a vast site, one-fourth mile square in area, locally called Rupban-murā (Plate XVII, mound 10). Here the mound or mounds (at least three can be made out) are very high and brick depredation was on a large scale. One, when exposed, revealed in its centre a cruciform brick structure resembling in plan the central temple of Paharpur and of the Nandangarh temple, with re-entrant angles and recessed corners richly dressed on the outside with carved plaques and mouldings bearing interesting designs (Plate II, fig. *c*). Further it was reported to me that from this ruin were recovered seven pots containing votive images of the Buddha in bronze. Thanks to the efforts of the local officers of the Central Public Works Department, twelve images were recovered from the contractors and one from a private citizen of Comilla. They are all small votive images such as Buddhist pilgrims carried on their pilgrimage, and represent *Vajrā-sana Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka* with the *Vajra* clearly shown on the pedestal in front and with the Buddhist creed formula embossed on the underside. The Buddha's right hand indicates the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (Plate V, fig. 2). The iconographic details and the workmanship of these images are similar to those of the inscribed votive bronzes recovered from Jhewari in Chittagong District, assignable to the ninth–eleventh centuries A.D. The images are very tiny, the maximum height being 2 inches. On one image only the *Vajra* was not indicated, but the creed formula was present in all. Two smaller mounds found nearby probably entomb votive *stūpas*. The find of these images as well as the subject-matter of the carvings on a majority of the plaques recovered from this area at once mark this as a Buddhist establishment, probably a monastery with arrangement of temples, as at Paharpur, and flanking cells as in a Buddhist monastery. Two structures have been disturbed so far but there are still two or three more unopened. The *ensemble* of evidence furnished by the terracottas and the images point to ninth–eleventh centuries A.D. as the probable date of this ruin, while the subject-matter of the terracotta plaques and the ornamental bricks throws a flood of light on the lives, beliefs and emotions of the people of Bengal of those days.

Plaques.

As at Ānandarāja's palace, a very large number of terracotta plaques from the basement of the structure exposed here reveal scenes drawn from the daily lives of the people, creations of God and nature in various stages of movement, equipoise, emotion and experience. With simple tools and cheap material, such as mud and clay, the local folk-artists have achieved almost a marvel in sculptural art. All lives are represented—divine, semi-divine, human, animal, bird and flora—not to speak of popular stories and decorative patterns, *motifs* and compositions. The terracotta plaques (in Mainamati and Lalmai areas) are wider in size than at Paharpur while the art represented on them is of a higher class of excellence, in spite of limitations of material. Among the divine, Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (Plate VII, fig. 2), Padmapāṇi (Plate VII, fig. 1), Trailokyavijaya in *ālīḍha* pose and with the *Vajra* in one of his left hands (Plate VII, fig. 3), and Prince Siddhārtha cutting off his locks of hair before his renunciation are popular. Among the semi-divine, Yakshas (Plate VII, fig. 4), Vidyādharas (Plate VIII, fig. 9; Plate X, fig. 7; Plate XI, fig. 1; Plate XVIII, figs. 8-9), Gandharva as drummer (Plate VIII, fig. 2) with an expression of gratification and deep intent in his performance, Kinnara in close fitting tunic (*kañchuka*) beating time with his hands, and Kiṁpurusha are noticed. Among the human, warriors with different weapons of war, archers, men fighting with tigers, dancing and playing on flute (Plate XI, fig. 4), women in their toilet or sleeping and cowherdess churning milk can be noticed. Of special interest are a few subjects which may be noted in detail. A study of irony is attempted in one plaque where a man sitting at ease, profusely dressed and decorated, is attempting to learn fighting, like Uttarā in the harem of Virāṭa, which had led him to a ridiculous position of disproportionate weapons held in wrong hands. The warrior holds a big shield in his right hand and a small dagger in his left (Plate XI, fig. 6). A woman sleeping forms the subject of another and this may be taken to represent Māyā, Buddha's mother, dreaming of the white elephant that entered her womb. On a third plaque a pot-bellied fat man with striped under-garment and necklet of beads, recalling Gupta features, is shown seated. A king sitting at ease and displaying conspicuously an armlet (*aṅgada*) on his left arm, a foreigner probably a Burman with striped pyjamas, a sword tucked to his waist and with head dressed with a turban (*ushṇisha*), such as is seen in Burma today, are carved on two interesting plaques. A *Patākā-nāyikā* or standard-bearing woman, holding a flag of religious significance and hurrying towards probably a shrine, is shown on another plaque (Plate XV, fig. 6). Her dress with incised circular marks on it reminds us of the modern brocaded female attire. She appears to be a foreigner, probably Burmese or Arakanese. A lady with *patra-kuṇḍalas* in her ears and hair arranged elegantly in a top knot (*dhammilla*) even as the modern Burmese lady does, the profile study of a man, and a stout lady in a nude condition dancing, form the subject-matter of three more plaques wherein human study is refreshingly delineated.

Serpents from the reptile class, lions, striped antelopes recumbent (Plate XIII, figs. 9 and 11), elephants caparisoned (Plate XIV, figs. 1 and 2) and with rider (Plate XIV, fig. 3), tigers with their tell-tale stripes, grinning monkeys (Plate XIII, fig. 8), rhinoceros, wild boar, caparisoned bull with tail raised in vigour (Plate XIII, fig. 3) and squirrel on tree-branch afford an interesting animal study. Some of the animals are also seen in decorative compositions and *motifs*. Such are—the *Makara* (Plate XVI, fig. 2) and *Kīrtimukha* resembling the Javanese Kāla-makara *motif* (Plate XIII, figs. 4 and 6; Plate XVIII, fig. 6). Frontal study of an elephant, such as one finds surmounting capitals with its four legs drawn in front in a line and with the trunk in their centre (Plate XV, fig. 3), the conventional antelope within a foliage inset, the lion within a cave formed by foliage which recalls the Gupta technique known from Sarnath (Plate XV, fig. 4), addorsed *haṁsas* with bead-necklace in their beaks, also a symmetric study of Gupta art tradition (Plate XVI, fig. 6) and serpent couples (*mithuna*) intertwined in love around a lotus inset as in South Indian sculpture (Plate XV, fig. 1), and the duel between the natural enemies, the mongoose and the serpent (*ahi-nakula*) (Plate XV, fig. 2)—all these afford at once a good study of animals and an appreciation of animal compositions so as to form decorative patterns and designs. Equally interesting are the *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* motifs, such as one notices in Gupta architecture and in Śaśāṅka's coins and inscriptions (Plate VI, figs. 2 and 3), and corner brackets with the design of pumpkin offsets (Plate VI, fig. 4). Greek vases juxtaposed between foliage, lotus knobs as in Mahasthan, Bengal,[1] and full-blown lotus between Greek acanthus (Plate XVI, fig. 5) and two rows of foliage (Plate XVIII, fig. 5) are also worth studying here as *motifs*. Lotus and lily among the flora and *haṁsas* with bead-necklaces or foliage in their beaks (Plate XVIII, figs. 3, 4) and parrots on ant-hills, as at Paharpur, among birds (Plate XVI, fig. 7) have had a distinct thematic appeal to the local artists.

Miscellaneous Scenes.

Of special interest are some miscellaneous scenes. Such are—a monkey chief sitting on his haunch, profusely decorated and with the *Yajñopavīta* marking his class, a monkey crawling on all fours in front of a man sitting on his haunch (Plate XVIII, fig. 7), a monkey carrying a pot with holes recalling the story of the monkey with the good intention to serve but lacking the brain (Plate XIII, fig. 8), a monkey helping another monkey to climb a tree and pull down fruits (Plate XIII, fig. 7), Chakravartin Māndhātā (of Māndhātu Jātaka) sitting and producing by a wave of his hand a shower of coins from the cloud region, a boy pulling out his leg with difficulty from the mouth of a reptile (Plate XI, fig. 3), and a tree spirit (Brahma-rākshas) with fan-wise braided hair, *patra-kuṇḍalas* in the ears and necklet of beads standing on the branch of a tree (Plate XII, fig. 1). A naked ascetic with a

[1] *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1936-37, Plate XV, fig. *e*.

fan of palm-leaf under his arm shown on a plaque probably represents a Jaina ascetic on his *charyā* after *dīkshā*. Yet another plaque illustrates the story of the father and the son who to please the world carried the donkey between them on a pole in illustration of the moral that one cannot please all (Plate XI, fig. 2).

An excellent group of corner brackets of terracotta material was gathered from this mound. The designs presented were stepped pyramids around squares, Greek vases with fillet bands (Plate VI, fig. 2), pumpkin offsets (Plate VI, fig. 4) and *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* (Plate VI, fig. 3). An interesting collection of ornamental bricks, though mostly fragmentary, was also gathered. Among the designs presented on them are—lotus rosettes in a row (Plate XVIII, fig. 2) and within squares and circles, *cyma recta*, lotus petals within voluted lines and arched bands (Plate XVIII, fig. 1), stepped pyramids, serpent hoods, chess-board and scallops in horizontal courses, the last as seen in images of the Buddha of the Gupta period. Wedge-shaped bricks were also noticed here.

Potsherds of pans, pot-rests and of broad cooking vessels were recovered in large numbers. Some of them show incised designs such as lotus petals, dentils, herring-bone, zig-zags, chevron and straight lines as in Plate III, figs. 10, 14 and 15. In addition to the bronze votive Buddhas noted already, an axe-head, 6″ × 1½″, heavily corroded, was also recovered.

Both the quality and the quantity of the finds, the variety of the scenes displayed on the plaques and the variegated designs presented on the ornamental bricks, cornice brackets and pottery would point to the existence from at least the eighth century A.D. of a Buddhist establishment in this locality.

Koṭbāri (Mound No. 9).

To the west of Rupban-murā is Koṭbāri (Mound No. 9) which is supposed to contain the ruins of a fort. The diggings for bricks had been very heavy here resulting in the almost complete dismantling of the structures. One such structure exposed showed on plan a pyramidal temple with re-entrant corners of walls (Plate I, figs. *b* and *c*), and surrounded by rows of cells. Probably it was also a monastery. The area of the cells appears to be 300 feet each way while the central temple which was probably *sarvatobhadra* in plan is about 100 feet each way. Large-sized rectangular bricks, 14″ × 9″ × 2¾″, are profuse here. A few plaques were also reported from here but none could be recovered. One interesting plaque, however, came from somewhere nearby though the man who brought it could only declare it as from Lalmai hill. The subject of the plaque is a flying Vidyādhara (Plate VIII, fig. 1) in the violent movement of flight mixed with dance, in which act the garland that he held in his hands snaps. The upper cloth, necklet, *Yajñopavīta*, *aṅgadas*, brocaded under-garment and lotus boots are noteworthy decorative features presented on this plaque which would at once classify it among the best productions of the Pāla period.

Sālbanrāja's Palace (Mound No. 11).

About a mile to the south-east of Rupban-murā is Sālbanrāja's palace ruins which are extensive and fortunately not quarried for bricks. Terracotta plaques, one of them representing a *Kīrtimukha*, corner-brackets with stepped pyramid and chess-board designs and potsherds with dentils, herring-bone and trellis designs on them were recovered here. Local tradition assigns the ruin to the period of Queen Mainămatī, the mother of Gopīchānda. It is supposed that in the centre of the ruins is a chapel for the worship of Hādī-pā, the *Guru* of Gopīchānda and his mother.

Owing to the richness of the sites and the undoubted importance of the discoveries, the preliminary survey started last year is now being continued. The results achieved so far is the addition of seven more sites, all intact, to those already noticed. The area surveyed was along the Lalmai hills, and the country traversed was about 6 miles to the south of Koṭbāri, beginning from Koṭbāri (Mound No. 9).

Hatigara (Mound No. 12).

To the west of Koṭbāri (Mound No. 9), and close to it, is the first mound in the new series, roughly 150 yards × 150 yards, and about 40 feet high, called Hatigara mound (Plan XVII, mound 12), where traces of brick structures were visible. As the mound is intact the nature of the remains cannot be determined.

Ujirpura (Mound No. 13).

Ujirpura is the name of another extensive mound (Plan XVII, No. 13), 350 yards × 250 yards, which is a mile to the south-west of Koṭbāri. The remains entombed here are intact. Ordinary bricks of various sizes and potsherds, some with designs as at Ānandarāja's palace and Bhojarāja's palace mounds, were also noticed.

Pucca Murā (Mound No. 14).

About one mile to the south of Ujirpura mound is a big mound, about 50 feet high and 300 × 100 yards in extent, from which bricks and potsherds as at Ujirpura were picked up. A very high and extensive mound, called locally Jammura, lies a mile to the south-east of Pucca Murā and attracts one by its height and extent. But neither bricks and potsherds nor any other signs of structures were visible on the mound. The mound is apparently of little archaeological interest.

Ghilamurā (No. 15).

Yet another mound, small but promising, and called Ghilamurā, was noticed 2½ miles to the south-east of Sālbanrāja's palace (Mound No. 11). The area is about 125 × 100 yards. Pottery and bricks are profusely scattered as at Rupban-murā. On some potsherds, squares, herring-bone and such

designs were noticed incised. A fragment from a stone image (only the head can be made out) was also picked up here, and this suggests that probably a temple is entombed.

Chaudrikhola is the name given to a very high mound situate about a mile to the south-west of Ghilamurā. But nothing of interest was noticed on it. Adina and Madina are two other high mounds on a hill, a mile to the south-west of Jammura. Like Jammura and Chaudrikhola they are uninteresting to the archaeologist. Not even ordinary bricks were found there. A mosque now crowns the mound called Adina. Yet another high and pretentious mound in this area, without however any archaeological vestiges in it, is Rajakhola, 1½ miles to the south of Chaudrikhola. The name is its only attraction.

Rupbani Murā (Mound No. 16).

Four miles to the south-east of Pucca Murā and 1½ miles to the south-west of Rajakhola lies an extensive mound called Rupbani Murā 400 × 250 yards, and about 45 feet high. Bricks of various sizes and potsherds were visible on the surface. A stream called *Subhachanir-chara* (probably *Śubhaśanaiśchara*) runs at the foot of the mound and a bath in it is considered by the local people as sacred. The mound is intact and is of sufficient promise.

Balagazir Murā (Mound No. 17).

Balagazir Murā is an extensive (400 × 300 yards) though not high mound, 3 miles to the south of Ghilamurā, as the crow flies, and about a mile to the north-west of Lalmai Railway Station. Potsherds and bricks were noticed in profusion here as at Ghilamurā. It is pleasing to note that the mound is intact.

Chaṇḍimurā (Mound No. 18).

To the south-west of Lalmai Railway Station and about 2 miles south-east of Rupbani Murā (Mound No. 16) is a very high and extensive mound, in fact the highest in the area, being 60 feet high and about 500 × 200 yards in extent. This is called Chaṇḍimurā, after the name of Chaṇḍī for whom a temple is constructed on its top. There is also a temple for Śiva by the side of the temple for Chaṇḍī, and worship of the god and goddess is going on now. More than these shrines the archaeologist is attracted by the large number of potsherds and bricks found in the area as at Ānandarāja's and Bhojarāja's palaces and Rupban-murā mounds. Fossil wood abounds in this area. At the eastern foot of this mound is a tank from which were recovered some years ago two images of black basalt which are now worshipped in the temple of Chaṇḍī. One represents Mañjuvara, a variety of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and an emanation of the five Dhyāni Buddhas (Plate XIX, *a*). All the iconographic details that the *Sādhana-mālā* attribute to Mañjuvara are present. The lion is his vehicle (*vāhana*), the hands indicate *dharma-chakra-mudrā*, while the left hand holds by its stalk a lotus on which is placed a book, the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture. The five Dhyāni Buddhas are shown in miniature in the background as also Vidyādharas hovering above with garlands in their hands and two attendant divinities, probably Jālinīkumāra or Sūryaprabha and Chandraprabha, one on either side of him. The place assigned to Mañjuśrī and his variant forms such as Mañjuvara in the Buddhist pantheon is very high and he is considered in Mahāyāna to be one of the greatest Bodhisattvas.[1] It is easy to recognize in the image the characteristics of Pāla art and sculpture.

The other image represents Sūrya with his iconography completely delineated in the stele (Plate XIX, *b*). Though similar to the Sūrya image from Pakilara near Mainamati described already (Plate IV) and probably also of the same period, the developed features of some of the *motifs*, such as the *Kīrtimukha* above in the place of parasol, and Daṇḍa with sword in hand instead of club, the standing pose of the other eleven Ādityas in miniature (in the background) and the profile view of the central horse in the group of seven horses that constitute Sūrya's chariot, all point to a later phase of Pāla art.

It is hoped that when scientific excavations are possible after war the results so far obtained will be controlled and checked by future stratified data.

SOME THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION IN INDIA

By

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India, like all ancient and civilized countries, has had a long history of education. A series of systems spontaneously took their rise in Indian life and were maintained in a flourishing condition by the people themselves, to be occasionally supported and organized by the State. India developed some noteworthy systems of education in different ages and different areas. The importance of education in civilized life was fully realized but there was hardly any theory of education. This theorizing, it must be remembered, is essentially a modern business; like grammarians and commentators, theory comes only after certain systems have already been in vogue. Sometimes in the modern age we find theorists propounding ideal systems of education like philologists concocting artificial languages such as Volapuk and Esporanto. In ancient times, however, there was no scope for theorizing but the instinct of the ancient Indian educationist was sound enough and through the interaction of the time-spirit and the economic *milieu* India, like her peers—China, Greece and the rest,—built up her individual system of education, of which we have some definite knowledge from at least 1000 B.C. onwards.

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[1] B. Bhattacharya, *The Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 15–17, 24–26; Plates XV—*b, c, d*, XVI—*a*.

The riddle of Mahenjodaro and Harappa still lies unsolved and consequently we have no knowledge of the kind of education which Indians in the civilized city-states of the fourth and third millennia were receiving; but some traditional system of education may be presumed from the elaborate system of writing such as we see in the undeciphered seals.

Then we have the Aryan system which developed on the soil of India after the Vedic Aryans had established themselves in Northern India; and we get plenty of glimpses of the Aryan system in the *Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads* and *Gṛhya Sūtra* texts. This was the age of the hermitage schools (*gurukulas* or *āśramas*), which were fully developed at least some centuries before the Buddha, and the spirit of which has even now persisted, although under quite different cultural and economic conditions, in the old-fashioned Brahmanical Sanskrit schools. Even in the present age we note a good deal of revivalistic attempts at getting back the old inspiration of these schools and something of their atmosphere or spirit in modern institutions like the Aryasamaj Gurukul, the Sanatan Dharma Rishikula and the Santiniketan School. I need not discuss at length the merits and deficiencies of this Vedic or ancient Brahman system. It was, to start with, an exclusive system, catering only for the well-born boys of the proud Aryan castes—the twice-born Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. True, here and there a liberal master like Gautama-Haridrumata may have accepted a boy like Satyakāma Javāla of unknown paternity; but the system was, as a rule, closed to the Śūdra. We need not however be indignant over this exclusiveness. One has to recall that the education dealt with the language, religion and culture of a people which were still alien to the mass of the non-Aryan speaking peoples of the country, forming the ranks of the Śūdras in Indian Society of the day. Yet, later on, with the Aryanization of the Śūdras, we find the door of education not entirely closed to them although Aryan or Vedic lore remained the exclusive property of the twice-born. A good many non-Aryans were admitted into the Aryan fold by the back-door, and were even transformed into Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas when there was *en masse* assimilation of these by entire tribes within an Aryan-speaking Brahmanical community.

This old Brahmanical system of education had a feature to which modern theorists and experimenters are giving their enthusiastic support—it was an education entirely in the open. There was not much book-learning as books were yet to come; but there was the living transmission of sacred lore by 'word of mouth', it was all *gurumukhī vidyā* in both ancient texts and in legends as also in thought and observation (that is philosophy and such branches of science as existed in those days). The memory was disciplined as entire series of texts had to be got by heart; reasoning and powers of observation were also to be cultivated. All this went on with a thorough participation into the labour and relaxation of daily life; the boys were to be active members of a priestly community, living on the outskirts of the forest—they were, in a way, pioneers of the Aryan type of civilization in ancient India when the Aryans were spreading. The boys had to go into the forest to fetch fire-wood for sacrifice and for cooking. They had to tend the cows of the community and look after primitive agriculture along with their teachers and their servants. Above all, through their close contact with nature they were expected to develop their powers and build their character. Their daily routine was heavy—a round of early rising, cold bath and tending the fire and endless repetition and assimilation of the sacred texts. Hard life this indeed, but the boys emerged from this discipline which extended theoretically from their 8th year to their 24th as in the case of Brahmans as leaders in both thought and action of a great community, a community that was shaping the destinies of humanity not only in India but also over a great part of Asia, and in the realm of the ideas it was a community which was of deep significance to the whole world.

These schools in the open are once again in vogue in the west, whether in Germany or France or in America or in Russia, such experiments always command respectfully sympathetic interest. In any national system of education which we may build up in the future we cannot afford to neglect this ancient heritage of ours, the *Āśrama* schools of the *Ṛshis*. We should only remember that it was within the atmosphere of this system that the deathless *Upanishads* came into being in ancient India.

As cities grew into importance these 'forest schools' became a thing of the past, but the spirit was kept up by the Brahmans in what may be called 'home schools'. They continued to teach their ancient Vedic lore to select groups of boys of their own community, the master housing the boys and feeding them with his own family and finding most of their expense. In this work the entire people—from the ruler onwards—supported the teachers by giving them *dakshiṇās* or honoraria for their religious ministrations, for their opinions on matters of conduct and conscience, and by presents of other sorts, including landed property to maintain their schools. Later on, when the vogue for temples came in, these endowments of lands to Brahmans for maintaining temples and connected schools became a noteworthy feature in Indian life. As a result of this we have from post-Christian times the system of temple-schools, a fixed percentage of the income arising out of attached temple lands or from gifts made to the temple being set apart to maintain one or more Brahman teacher and a number of pupils. These private Brahmanical schools and temple-schools are living traditions even at the present day although these are no longer able to keep pace with our 'progressive' ideas.

Another kind of educational institution developed, also out of the ancient forest schools, when during the middle of the first millennium B.C. big institutions were coming to be set up in the more important cities where eminent teachers were congregating and were attracting hundreds of pupils in various arts and sciences. Conspicuous among such institutions were those at Takshaśilā and at Benares and, doubtless also, in other important towns. We do not know about their detailed organization and the nature of their work, but presumably there must have been some amount of State support,

whether from the ruling king or from the ruling aristocracy, if the State was a republic.

The later Buddhistic universities were just an extension of these large educational institutions, and in the development of the Vedic idea the cosmopolitan Court and Capital of Kaṇishka in North-Western India had evidently a great deal to do. When Buddhism and Brahmanism spread in Central Asia and China and in the lands of greater India (South-Eastern Asia and Indonesia) it was inevitable that Central Asians, Chinese and Tibetans and people from Burma and Indo-China and the islands would like to study Indian religion and culture at the fountainhead in the mother country itself. Consequently, from early centuries of the Christian era right down to the Turki conquest of Northern India and the temporary dislocation of Indian cultural life, pilgrim scholars from Central Asia, China and elsewhere used to come to India and they found these centres of learning, which were veritable large-scale universities, ready for them. The description of Nālandā left by Hiuen Tsang and others will make any Indian proud of the organization of learning that had come into being in India at least fifteen hundred years ago.

In the south, as we know from inscriptions of the Chola and other dynasties, education was equally well-organized, centring round the temples, which were the most natural seats of culture in a community with an essentially religio-philosophical outlook.

The Hindu educational systems, therefore, in their spirit and organization, in both their simplicity and their elaboration, formed a worthy predecessor of the modern systems which have grown in our own times. The open air as well as vocational tradition behind the hermitage schools had been noted before, and this is a great heritage we have never abandoned—in both our Sanskrit schools (*ṭols*) and our humble village (*pāṭhaśālās*).

After the Turki conquest and the establishment of Moslem rule in India, the great Arabic and Persian learning of the new faith found a congenial home in India. The first Muhammadan King of Delhi, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, built a great mosque and minar or column at Delhi forming the oldest and one of the grandest monuments of Islam in our country. There was also a school attached to the mosque. As in the Arab lands and Iran, the mosque became a centre of higher culture and education. In Bengal the first Moslem school of which we have any record was the Mādrāsā founded in 1313 A.D. at Tribeni by a Moslem warrior Zafar Khan who, according to tradition, so far Indianized himself as to have even composed, in Sanskrit, a hymn in honour of the goddess Gaṅgā which as Daraph Khan's hymn is still repeated by thousands of devoted orthodox Hindus. These Mādrāsās and schools attached to mosques, which grew in number with the growth of centuries, were meant mostly for young Moslems wishing to take up religion as a profession. In the early centuries of Islam in India, there could not grow up a reputed seat of Islamic learning like the Colleges at Baghdad or the Al-Azhar at Cairo but nevertheless, with the lavish patronage of most of the Indian Moslem States, eminent Moslem scholars from outside—particularly Iran—

found it worth their while to come to India and help in creating a tradition of Islamic scholarship in the country. Although no great institution like the Nizamiya College was founded by any Moslem patron of learning, yet at Lahore and Delhi, at Jaunpur and Golconda, at Bijapur and Gaur and elsewhere, and later, at Lucknow and Patna, Hyderabad and Murshidabad—in fact wherever there was a Moslem aristocracy or a strong Moslem community—centres of Arabian and Persian learning grew up.

For the average Hindu who would be out of place in a mosque school, a system of Persian education was gradually developed mainly at the instance of the Hindus themselves. The Hindu was too cultured to ignore a new system of learning which was imposed upon his country. Moreover, he was practical enough not to neglect the cultivation of the new official language—Persian—which opened to him the avenue to employment in the Moslem State. So, around an *Ustad*, who was either a Moslem *Mulla* or a Hindu *Munshi*, developed all over Northern India a system of *Maktabs* outside the mosques, to which Hindus and Moslems alike would go for a secular education, mainly in the Persian language and literature. Many of these secular schools were maintained in the residence of some local magnate, Hindu or Moslem. He would pay the salary of the *Ustad*, primarily for his own sons, but incidentally for all likely young men in the neighbourhood as well, who usually got their training free. It was an extension of the old indigenous *Pāṭhaśālā* system, the bulk of the teachers' income being found by one or more well-to-do individuals of the locality.

This new Islamic learning was making some headway in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and already we find a mild protest against a Persian training denationalizing the Hindus. In Jayānanda's *Chaitanya Mangal* (middle of the sixteenth century) we read that among the evils of the Kali age are the following: Brahmans will read Persian, wear a beard, recite Persian verses and move out with a stick. But the Hindu community got over this exclusive attitude and in the eighteenth century we have evidence of Persian being immensely popular, though mainly as a bread-and-butter subject. This Persian training was not entirely barren of result in India. Leaving aside the modern writers of Persian in India whose name is legion, and to whom Persian was largely a cultural inheritance, we have a great many Hindus also excelling in both prose and poetry in Persian, including the great Ram Mohan Ray. Like Indian contribution to English literature, this has its significance in the cultural life of the country and its history still remains to be told.

The two systems—Sanskrit or Hindu, and Persian—Arabic or Moslem—although agreeing in their basic pattern, unfortunately could not come to any constructive *rapprochement* so far as the ordinary Hindu and Moslem were concerned. Of course, in the Court of Akbar and in the parlour of Dara Sikoh *maulavis* and *mullas* with their Persian and Arabic learning and *Paṇḍits* with their Sanskrit collaborated in translating a good many Sanskrit books into Persian. A Jai Singh of Jaipur during the first half of the eighteenth

century translated Arabic astronomical treatises into Sanskrit and *vice versa*. And here and there a Moslem writer of Hindi or Bengali treated a Persian or Islamic theme in his mother tongue. But so far as the people in general are concerned, the two systems of intellectual culture unfortunately remained for the most part sealed books to each other. Through the medium of English and the Vernaculars we may now form a bridge over the gulf that has divided Perso-Arabic learning from Sanskrit. There should be a general movement to rectify the mutual exclusiveness of the *Paṇḍit* and *Maulavi* or the *Śāstri* and the *Mulla*. The best thought of Persian and Arabic literature should be made available to Hindu youth and similarly the best thought of Sanskrit and Pāli to the Moslem youth. Further, their interest in and study of the complementary culture should be encouraged in all possible ways.

In Europe mediaeval system of Christian education through Latin similarly developed around their cathedrals and in their monasteries. It is thus a European variation of our mediaeval Sanskrit schools that had grown up around the temples in our holy places—Nadia, Benares, Conjeevaram, Nasik, Dwarka, and Hardwar. These mediaeval universities of Europe were slowly and most naturally modernized by the introduction of 'natural philosophy' or experimental science in addition to the Trivium and Quadrivium which formed the earlier curricula. By the time the English were established in India, education in Europe had entered its modern phase. Its outlook was more pragmatic, experimental and materialistic. The advantages of such an education were at once patent in European life with its orientation towards science that was now rapidly advancing. But things were different in this country. Indian life, ignorant and afraid of the new existence, was wistfully looking back to a glorious past that was gone for ever. The contrast between Europe and India in this respect is very great. It was a great pity that our Indian Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic schools in the temples and mosques and elsewhere could not also be modernized.

Science as a part of general learning came from Europe, and it came at first as an exotic plant, for which the hot-house of universities, teaching through English and organized mainly on Western pattern, was perhaps inevitable. But this exotic plant has taken root; science has become naturalized in India in accordance with the needs of the modern age. It is time it were brought out of the hot-house of its English medium into the open air of training through the Indian languages. That is one piece of urgent reform which in national interest brooks no delay.

Our new education must enable us to know ourselves to the fullest—our greatnesses and our deficiencies. There ought to be greater stress put on the necessity of universities helping our young men to understand the genuine needs of the country—not in a spirit of mere academic detachment but with the idea of being really serviceable to the great inarticulate masses to whom they, as intellectuals, more than any other community, have an undoubted responsibility. It is not enough for our universities merely to give our young men a sound cultural or technical education and send them out into the world with badges of efficient study of some science or art conducted in a detached spirit. Something more is needed. Time has come when greater attention should be paid towards making these young men really useful to the country at large. Indian education must be nourished by the fundamental conceptions of Indian life and genius; it must be based on a proper synthesis of the best that the East and the West can contribute. Never has been felt, more than in India of today, the supreme necessity of training, by our universities, in social and rural welfare—covering geography, agriculture, co-operation, industries, village economy, public health and other allied subjects of vital importance which go to the root of our national existence. What, indeed, could be a more effective eye-opener than the present political and economic debacle with its incidents of communalism, ministerial crisis, its profiteering, its administrative graft and jobbery, its evacuations, its 'military needs' and finally, the catastrophe of the present man-made famine coming as a sort of *coup de grace* of the act of God in the shape of floods and cyclones ? All this points to the necessity of turning out a generation of young men made of a sterner stuff—men who would combine in themselves character and efficiency, service and sacrifice, idealism and practical wisdom and, above all, bold self-confidence and unfailing faith in the Almighty.

TAKṢA-SŪTRA

(Science of Carpentry)

By

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The great thinkers and seers of the past have not only thought over all the aspects of our life and have actually visualized them with their own clear insight but have also left behind them the true records of their mature experiences in the form of various *śāstras*. We know from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 1. 2) and similar other sources of the various ancient sciences of our country, some of which are almost extinct and perhaps lost for ever and are now known to us only by their names. One of these forgotten sciences is the Science of Carpentry (*Takṣaśāstra*).

It is a fact that it is one of the living sciences which guides the activities of our everyday life and yet we do not know anything about its existence. It was only in course of my studies on technical subjects that I came across certain references from which I conclude that there was at least some sūtra-work on the Science of Carpentry.

This science is meant for the construction of houses and household properties including carts,[1] ploughs and other implements with the help of wood

[1] A *Takṣan* is distinct from a *Rathakāra*. *Vide Yajurveda Saṃhitā*, XVI, 27.

and bamboos where the assistance of a carpenter is indispensable. Not only for the secular purposes the science is very useful but also for the sacrificial needs. Even today we find that both for the performance of *śrauta* and *smārta* rites we require the help of this science for the construction of the various ritualistic implements.

It is very difficult to say anything about the authorship of this *Takṣa-sūtra*, but it may be suggested that Takṣan or Takṣaka, the architect of the gods, might have been very closely connected with this science. Nor are we able to say anything about the scope and the contents of this science. Our knowledge of the topics connected with this branch of learning at present is either limited to the traditions preserved amongst the *gṛhasthas* of the villages who construct their houses and make their household articles with wood and bamboos and also have to get their sacrificial implements made with the help of a carpenter or to certain scattered references found in the *śrauta* and *gṛhya śutras*. But in no case these references help us to conclude that there was any sūtra work on this science. No trace of this science or of any work on it could be found even in the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* of Bhoja.

However, in course of my studies I have found the following references which later writers have called *Takṣa-sūtras*, and with a hope that some day or other these references may give a clue to unearth the lost science, I place my information before the scholars.

1. *Āre* (*are ?*)[1] *bhagne indrabāhurbaddhavyaḥ*—Meaning—when the spoke breaks *indrabāhu*[2] should be tied.

2. *Pāyasaṃ ca bhojayitavyaḥ*—Meaning—as an expiation for the failure of the functioning of the spoke a Brāhmaṇa should be fed on rice cooked in milk.

3. *Alaukikaṃ laukike nāngaṃ*—Meaning—that which is meant for non-worldly purposes cannot form part of mundane needs.

These are the only three *sūtras*[3] which I have found so far. Of these, again, I am not quite sure about the second; for I have not got any direct support[4] as to its being a *sūtra* from any source. But as it occurs in the same context along with the first with which it is also connected I have put it here along with the two *sūtras*.

[1] In the *Ṛgveda* (I, 32. 15; I, 141. 9; V, 13. 6; V, 58. 5; VII, 20. 14; VIII, 77. 3; X, 78. 4) the word is *Ara*, while in other texts it is *Āra*. (*Vide Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Pratyakṣa, Maṅgalavāda, p. 27, Bibliotheca edition.)

[2] This word has been explained by Mathurānātha Bhaṭṭācārya in his *Rahasya* on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* as '*Lauhakākaḥ*'.

[3] *Vide Tattvacintāmaṇi*, pp. 27-28 and almost all the commentators on it; *Śabara-Bhāṣya* on the *Mīmāṁsāsūtra*, VI. 2. 17 along with almost all the later writers on the above *sūtra*.

[4] While commenting on the *Mīmāṁsāsūtra*, VI. 2. 17, Śabara says—

तेषां च लौकिकानां अपराधे तैः तच्चभिः प्रायश्चित्तशास्त्रमाम्नायते आरे भग्ने..बद्धव्यः। पायसं च.. भोजयितव्य इति।

KĀMPILYA

By

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Kāmpilya was the capital of Southern Pañcāla. From the time of the Jātaka and the Mahābhārata Pañcāla became permanently divided into two well-defined kingdoms, viz. Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla with Kāmpilya as its capital and Uttara Pañcāla with Ahicchatra as its principal town. The name of Kāmpilya (Pāli Kāmpilla, Vedic Kāmpīla) is not as old as Ahicchatra. Kāmpīla appears to have been mentioned in the Yajurveda Saṃhitā which applies the epithet 'Kāmpīlavāsinī' to a woman who was perhaps the king's chief queen, the Kāmpīla of the epithet obviously standing for the town of that name, the Kāmpilya of later literature.[1] The exact interpretation of this passage is very uncertain. Weber and Zimmer consider Kāmpīla as the name of the town known as Kāmpilya in later literature and the capital of Pañcāla in Madhyadeśa.

Cunningham identifies Kāmpilya with Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaon and Farokhabad.[2] According to N. L. Dey it was situated at a distance of 28 miles north-east of Fatgarh in the Farokhabad district.[3] South Pañcāla included the upper half of the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumnā.[4] The point which is in favour of Cunningham's identification is that the Jaina Vividhatīrthakalpa definitely locates it on the Ganges.[5] It is situated on the old Ganges and is only 5 miles distant from the railway station of Kaimganj (B.B. & C.I. Rly.). There was a highly artistic tunnel (*ummagga*, i.e. *suḍaṅga*) dug out from the Ganges to the royal palace at Kāmpilya.[6]

Kāmpilya was an ancient city of India. According to the Ādikāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (sarga 33) king Brahmadatta used to live in this city. The Mahābhārata informs us that Kāmpilya was the scene of the *svayambara* of Drupada's daughter, Kṛṣṇā or Draupadī, who became the wife of the five sons of Pāṇḍu. Drupada's palace is pointed out as the most easterly of the isolated mounds on the banks of the Burgaṅgā.[7] The Viṣṇupurāṇa (chap. 2)

[1] *Vedic Index*, i, 149.

[2] *Ancient Geography*, p. 360; *Uvāsagadasāo*, ii, 106.

[3] *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 33.

[4] Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79.

[5] *Jātaka*, II, 329 foll. According to the *Mahāummagga Jātaka*, the mouth of the greater tunnel was upon the bank of the Ganges. The greater tunnel was dug by 60,000 warriors and the lesser tunnel was dug by 700 men. The entrance into the greater tunnel was provided with a door 18 hands high, fitted with machinery, so that one peg being pressed, all were closed up. The tunnel was built up with bricks and worked with stucco, it was roofed over with planks and besmeared with cement and whitened. In all there were 80 great doors and 64 small doors. There were some hundreds of lamp-cells. On either side there were many chambers. Clever painters made all kinds of paintings in the tunnel. The tunnel was well adorned and it looked like the mote-hall of the gods (Sudhamma).

[6] p. 50; cf. *Mahābhārata*, I, 138, 73:
Mākandim-atha Gangāyās-tīre janapadayutaṃ |
So 'dhyāvasad dīnamanāḥ Kāmpilyañ-ca purottamam ||

[7] *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, Chap. 94, pp. 181-82.

and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (chap. 22) point out that Kāmpilya, son of king Haryaśva, was celebrated as Pañcāla. Among the hundred sons of Nīpa of the Ajamīḍa dynasty Samara is mentioned as the king of Kāmpilya.[1] According to the Jaina Mahāpurāṇa, the country of Pañcāla was created by Indra, and Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, came and preached his religion there.[2] Of the five sons of Bāhyāśva, one was named Kāmpilya and the town came to be known after him. (*Bhāgavata*, 25, 32-33.)

Pāṇini refers to Kāmpilya as an ancient city of India.[3] It was the place which was hallowed by these five auspicious incidents in the life of Vimalanātha, the 13th Tīrthaṅkara who was a son of king Kṛtavarman by his queen Somādevī: the descent, the nativity, the coronation, the initiation and the Jinahood from which circumstance the city came also to be known by the name of Pañca-Kalyāṇaka.

Kāmpilya is claimed as a city where Ārṣamitra, the disciple of Kauṇḍinya, who in his turn was the disciple of the Mahāgiri teachers of the Lakṣmīhara Caitya of Mithilā, came to reside two hundred and twenty years after the demise of Mahāvīra. The same city is claimed as the place where the Jaina saint Gardabhāli renounced the world and attained liberation. It is also claimed as a place where prince Gāgalī, who afterwards became the king of Pṛṣṭi-campā, was converted to Jainism by Gautama. The Tīrthakalpa also claims it as the place of which the powerful king, Durmukha, became a Pratyeka-Buddha. Kāmpilya was known as the city of which the king Dharmaruci was able to carry his whole army to Kāśī through the air by virtue of his piety, when the Lord of Kāśī picked up a quarrel with him for the alleged fault of having honoured an image of the Jinendra.[4]

It is believed that the renowned astronomer Śrī Varāhamihira was born at Kāmpilya which was also the birth-place of Kavi Caturbhūja Miśra who was the celebrated author of the Bhāvacintāmaṇi, a commentary on the Amaruśataka.[5]

Jaina literature mentions Kāmpilya as an excellent city and it has been compared with the celestial city known as Amarāvatī. It was very beautiful and free from defects. It was a very rich town, full of gold.[6] Many rich people used to live there. Śreṣṭhī Pinyāka Gandha, a leading merchant of Kāmpilya, had an immense wealth.[7] Koṇḍa Koliya, who was a disciple of Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra and who paid homage to him when he visited Kāmpilya, was a rich and learned man.[8] Once Śreṣṭhī Bhavaḍa of Kāmpilya lost all his merchandise while on sea; but he afterwards made a good fortune at Taxila. He spent lavishly in building many Jain temples at Śatruñjaya Tīrtha.[9]

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1 *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, p. 19.
2 Jinasenācārya, *Mahāpurāṇa*, Indore Ed., pp. 568 and 981.
3 Pāṇini, *Kāśikāvṛtti*, 4, 2, 121.
4 *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 50.
5 Gode, *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, pp. 69–74.
6 Hariṣeṇa, *Kathākoṣa*, Nos. 115 and 104.
7 *Kathākoṣa*, 104.
8 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 6.
9 *Śatruñjaya-māhātmya*.

The kings of Kāmpilya were famous for their wealth, prowess, bravery, piety and justice. King Hariṣeṇa was so powerful that he conquered the six continents of the world and spent much for religious and charitable purposes.[1]

When Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha and Vāhubalī renounced the world, kings of Kāmpilya accompanied them and took the vows of a *śramaṇa*.[2] The ladies of Kāmpilya were equally famous for their beauty and morality. King Jaya of Kāmpilya had a beautiful daughter named Madanmañjarī by his queen Guṇamālā. He had a curious crown which king Pajjota of Ujjain wanted to have from him but he refused it. Pajjota got angry and attacked Kāmpilya, but he was defeated and taken prisoner. He afterwards won the heart of Madanmañjarī and married her. King Jaya became a Jaina *śramaṇa* and practised severe penances. Later he attained Nirvāṇa.[3] Pratyeka Buddha Sambhūta, who flourished at Kāmpilya, was a great philosopher and religious preacher.[4]

Pinyākagandha,[5] Kaḍārapiṅga [6] and king Bhīma [7] who belonged to Kāmpilya are mentioned in the Jaina texts as persons of bad character.

Kāmpilya was a sacred place of the Jainas. Atiśaya Tīrtha was the birthplace and tapobhūmi of Śrī Vimalanātha, the 13th Tīrthaṅkara. Vimala, son of Kṛtavarman, renounced the world and practised penances at *Sahasrāmravana*, which was situated close to the town of Kāmpilya.[8] He afterwards attained Perfect Knowledge (*Kevalajñāna*).

King Siṃhadhvaja and his queen Vaprā were devout Jains, but the king had another consort named Lakṣamī, who had faith in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas. Queen Vaprā used to celebrate the Jaina festival of *Aṣṭānihkā* by taking out a *Rathayātrā*. Lakṣamī induced the king to stop it. Vaprā was very sorry on account of this. Her son Hariṣeṇa was afterwards successful in making the Rathayātrā celebrated with great pomp.[9] Even to this day this is an annual Jaina function at Kampīla, although there are no Jains there. The Jainas of adjoining towns of Mainpurī, Farrukhabad and Kaimganj bring their *Rathas* and celebrate the festival.

On the northern side of the town, just on the bank of old Ganges, is situated the temple of Rāmeśvara. In it there are many underground cells where once the *yogīs* lived. It is also known by the name of '*Siddhapīṭha*'. One Kavi Toṣanidhi lived in it and a '*Dohā*' composition of his is preserved on the eastern wall of the temple. It runs as follows:—

'Tanika na lāye vera suni Drupada sutā kī deva |
Kaisī kāna rui dai, dai hamārī vera ||

Besides Kavi Toṣa some other yogīs and Kavis are said to have lived in this temple.

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1 Hariṣeṇa, *Kathākoṣa*, 33.
2 *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, 18, 160.
3 Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 140.
4 *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, 13.
5 Hariṣeṇa, *Kathākoṣa*, 104.
6 Hariṣeṇa, *Kathākoṣa*, 82.
7 *Bhagavatī-ārādhanāh*, Hariṣeṇa, *Kathākoṣa*, 115.
8 *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, sarga 60.
9 Hariṣeṇa, *Kathākoṣa*, 33.

Close to the Rāmeśvara Temple is the Kapila Kuṭī which is said to be the place where Kapila Ṛṣi performed penances. Near it there is the Draupadī Kuṇḍa. To the south of Kapila Kuṭī is the famous temple of Kāleśvara. Many broken images of Matsya, Caturbhūja and other Jain Tīrthaṅkaras are found there.

There are two Jaina temples at present existing at Kampil, one Digambara and the other Śvetāmbara. The Digambara temple is a very old building—the oldest portion of it is now buried under the ground, which once contained the *Caraṇapādukās*. It seems that the present temple was built on the site of the old temple during the early mediaeval period. There are about a dozen images of the Jinas, only two of them bear no inscription, and seem to belong to early years of the Christian era. The inscriptions found on the pedestal of the ten images may be read thus:—

1. *Vimala*: Vik. Saṃ. 1122.
2. *Mahāvīra*: 'Saṃvat 1211 Jeṭha sudī dasamī Sāhu . . . . tasya putra Sālidatta Bhāryā Doṣā praṇamanti.'
3. *Candraprabhā*: 'Saṃvat 1440 Varṣe Vaiśākha sudī tīja śrī Mūlasaṃgha Bhaṭṭārakajī.'
4. *Pārśva*: 'Saṃvat 1479 Varṣe Vaiśākha sudī 10 chandravāsare Śrī Mūlasaṃgha.'
5. *Pārśva*: 'Saṃvat 1522 Vaiśākha sudī 3 . . . .'
6. *Ṛṣabha*: 'Saṃvat 1545 Varṣe Vaiśākha sudī 10 chandra dine śrī Mūlasaṃgha Sarasvatī gachche Balātakāra-gaṇe kundakundānvaye Bhaṭṭāraka śrī Jinachandradevā Barahiyā-kulodbhavo sā Lakhe bhāryā kusumā tayo putra sāhu Mun . . . . teṣāṃ madhye Sāhu Arjuna tasa bhāryā Maḍatana Arjunanedaṃ Ādipuruṣabimba satpūjya tīrtha karāpitā.'
7. *Arahanta*: 'Saṃvat 1549 varṣe Vaiśākha sudī 3 Śrī Mūlasaṃghe Bhaṭṭāraka Jinachandra Achhapura Palīvāla Vindā praṇamatā.'
8. *Pārśva*: 'Saṃvat 1957 Vaiśākha Krasṇa 2 chandravāsare Digambara Muni Kundakunda charaṇopadeśat Bhogāmanagare Darbārī Lāl Banārsī Dāsa pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ.'
9. *Vimala*: 'Saṃvat 1960 Vaiśākha krasṇa 2 Suvarṇaprasta-nagare Śrī Muni Kundakunda gurūpadeśat Pālivāla idaṃ bimba Vimala nātha.'

The Śvetāmbara temple, which is one of the best specimens of Indian architecture, is of later origin. It was built in Saṃvat 1904 Vikrama and its main shrine contains four marble images of the Tīrthaṅkaras with precious stones on them.

We invite the attention of the archaeologists to many mounds, scattered images and old temples at modern Kampil, which require close examination.

WOMEN IN THE EARLY INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

By

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It is not possible with the scanty and meagre data furnished by the inscriptions of Bengal to give a complete picture, fair in all its details, of the life of women in Hindu society in Bengal during a period of more than seven hundred and fifty years beginning from the year 113 of the Gupta era, that is to say, 432-33 A.D., the date of the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription of Kumāragupta I, or earlier still from the fourth century A.D., the date, according to H. P. Sastri [Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 133], of the Susuniā Rock inscription of Chandravarmman, and ending with the Muslim invasion of Bengal in or about 1200 A.D. The information supplied by these inscriptions scattered over a period of nearly eight hundred years are no doubt of great interest and authenticity for the reconstruction of the social and religious history of the Province before the establishment of Muslim rule. But they suffer from the fact of being scrappy and disconnected. Consequently a large space is left for our simple guess work or imagination. An attempt has been made in the following pages to put together some of these isolated and piecemeal threads of information about women drawn from the field of epigraphy. The epigraphic materials are sometimes supplemented by a few additional and interesting side-lights thrown by contemporary or subsequent literature. The geographical boundary of modern Bengal does not seem to have been the same in all ages. Its political boundary, as it appears from these inscriptions, seems not unoften to have comprised portions of modern Behar and Assam; for we find reference to larger administrative units like Daṇḍabhukti, Śrīnagarabhukti, Tīrabhukti and Prāgjyotishabhukti. A few parallels or analogous informations drawn from the contemporary inscriptions of Assam have therefore been introduced in the course of this survey. The broad period of nearly eight centuries over which the inscriptions are spread is taken as a whole and in drawing inferences it has not been possible to follow a strictly chronological order.

It may be pointed out in the beginning that many of the traditional ideas and institutions among orthodox women in modern Hindu society in Bengal, most of the social practices and customs among our womenfolk which we call the paraphernalia of a bygone age, are alike found in previous Hindu society in Bengal along with instances of present-day practices like inter-caste marriage. The most conspicuous example of a union of the latter type is furnished by an inscription of the middle of the seventh century A.D., viz. the Tipperah copper-plate grant of King Lokanātha. King Lokanātha of this record seems to have been a feudatory chief and this inscription, according to R. G. Basak, belongs to the period of anarchy and confusion in Bengal which followed the death of emperor Harshavarddhana and continued up to the time of the establishment of royal authority by Gopāla I, the founder of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal [Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 301ff.]. King Lokanātha is spoken of in verse 9 of this record as a 'Karaṇa', i.e. the member of a mixed

caste according to Manu. The verse in question has been rendered as follows: 'Thus reflecting King Jīvadhāraṇa relinquished battle and gave away to that Karaṇa (i.e. Lokanātha) who obtained a royal charter (paṭṭa) his own territories (vishaya) along with his army.' [*Ibid.*, pp. 305ff.] In one of the Faridpur or Ghāgrāhāṭi copper-plate grants a caste-name, Karaṇika, is mentioned (line 15). As to the date of this inscription it may be pointed out that one of these grants is dated in the fourteenth regnal year of King Samāchāradeva, who, according to Pargiter, may be placed earlier than Harsha in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. [J.A.S.B. (N.S.), Vol. VII, p. 500]. Pargiter points out in this connection that Karaṇika is evidently a word formed from 'Karaṇa' which was the name of a mixed caste that had the occupation of writing, accounts, etc. Hence Karaṇika apparently meant a member of this caste. Pargiter is inclined to think that this caste was probably akin to the Kāyastha caste. [*Ibid.*, pp. 501-502.] The Brāhmaṇas and Karaṇas are mentioned with due respect [cf. Sa (Kara)-ṇabrāhmaṇamānanāpūrvvakaṁ—lines 20-21] in a later inscription, viz. the Rāmganj copper-plate inscription of Mahāmāṇḍalika Īśvaraghoṣa, who is supposed to have been a vassal king under the suzerainty of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. We find a similar statement (e.g. Sakaraṇān prativāsinaḥ Kshetrakarāṁścha brāhmaṇamānanāpūrvvakaṁ) in the Khālimpur copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla [Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 250]. Mr. N. G. Majumdar [Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 156, n. 2] also opines that Karaṇas were probably people of the Kāyastha caste.

In the above-mentioned Tipperah copper-plate grant, the great-grandfather of Lokanātha's father is described (in verse 2) as sprung from the family of the sage Bharadvāja and the great-grandfather and grandfather of his mother are, in verse 6, called 'dvija-varaḥ' and 'dvija-sattamaḥ' respectively; but his mother's father is in the same verse described as a 'pāraśava'. The verse in question, namely verse 6, has been rendered as follows: 'Of whom the mother's (Gotradevī's) father's grandfather was the prominent Brāhmaṇa named Sthāvara; the respected (maternal) great-grandfather was the chief Brāhmaṇa called Vīra; the grandfather was the pāraśava Keśava, virtuous and able, held in high esteem by the good (satām-abhimataḥ), who, being placed in charge of the army (bala-gaṇa-prāptādhikāraḥ), was in touch with the King, a famous man.'

It is clear thus that although the first few ancestors, both paternal and maternal, of Lokanātha were of pure Brāhmaṇa origin, his maternal grandfather Keśava could not claim such a pure origin for himself, for he is called 'pāraśava'. R. G. Basak, therefore, concludes that the Brahmin father of Keśava might have married a Śūdra woman and the offspring of such a union was therefore known as pāraśava. It is evident, therefore, that such 'asavarṇa' or unequal marriages were prevalent in Hindu society in Bengal in the seventh century A.D. From the description of Keśava, as we find in this inscription, it may be inferred that in the then Hindu society of Bengal a pāraśava was not regarded as a mean member of the community because he had very little to grumble or suffer for his impure or mixed origin. Thus

Keśava, the pāraśava, seems to have occupied an important and influential position, for he was in charge of the royal army and was held in high esteem by the good. His daughter Gotradevī and his wife Aṣṭâyikâ (verse 5) were alike deemed respectable, for otherwise Gotradevī's son, that is, Lokanātha, could not become a feudatory chief. According to Manu and other subsequent law-givers, a Brāhmaṇa had also the right to marry a girl of any of the three inferior castes like Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra. The right of a Brahmin to have a non-Brahmin partner is also upheld in a later law-book, which is a product of Bengal during the early part of the fifteenth century A.D. This is the work of the well-known smṛti writer, Bṛhaspati Miśra, the courtier and minister of Sultan Jalāluddin or Jadu. [See Sukumar Sen, Prāchīn Bāṅglā O Bāṅgālī, p. 42.]

It is needless to point out in this connection that as mothers Hindu women have all along enjoyed an honourable position in society. That is why King Lokanātha mentions in his copper-plate grant the names of his mother Gotradevī and her mother Aṣṭāyikā. The name of the Brāhmaṇa lady, Suvachanā, wife of Toshaśarman, daughter of Bṛhaspatisvāmin, and mother of Pradoshaśarman, the chieftain or mahāsāmanta of Lokanātha, is also mentioned in this grant. As pointed out by R. G. Basak, Bāṇa's Harshacharita furnishes another instance of an orthodox Brahmin marrying a Śūdra wife during the seventh century A.D. According to Harshacharita, Bāṇa's father, Chitrabhānu, was a Brāhmaṇa, well-versed in the Vedic lore and is said to have kept the sacred fire. Rājadevī, Bāṇa's mother, is also spoken of as a member of the Brahmin caste. There is, however, an allusion in the first chapter of the same Harshacharita, which shows that Bāṇa's father had another wife, a Śūdra lady, by whom he had two sons, Chandrasena and Mātrisena, who are aptly described as—'bhrātarau pāraśavau'. [Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 305-6.] The traditional ideals of Indian womanhood, namely, unflinching devotion towards her husband, tenderness and modesty, grace and serenity, piety and chastity, affection and cordiality, and above all, the will to live and let live are alike reflected in these inscriptions. [For an interesting account of Indian womanhood see my paper—'A Retrospective Study of Indian Womanhood' in the Calcutta Review, December, 1939.]

In the Monghyr copper-plate inscription of Devapāla (verse 9) we are told that King Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal married Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Parabala, who was an ornament of his line, with the ostensible object of attaining household life [cf. Śrī Parabalasya duhituḥ Kshitipatinā Rāṣṭrakūṭa-tilakasya | Raṇṇādevyāḥ pāṇir jagṛhe gṛhamedhinā tena ||]. In verse 10 of the same inscription queen Raṇṇādevī is described as representing the best ideals of Hindu womanhood of that age. The profusion and depth of her qualities, the moral fervour and exemplary nature of her conduct, made her, so to say, the guiding angel of the royal household. By her own excellence she outstripped others and would put into the background other ladies of the royal harem. An incarnation of purity and other feminine virtues, she would be looked upon with respect

by people who considered her to be an embodiment of the fortune goddess, the crown and glory of her husband and the presiding deity of the royal household. [Cf. Dhṛtatanuriyaṁ Lakshmīḥ sākshāt kshitir nu śarīriṇī kimabanipateḥ kīrttimūrttāhthavā gṛhadevatā । Iti vidadhatī śuchyāchārā vitarkavatīḥ prajāḥ prakṛtigurubhir yā śuddhāntaṁ gunairakarodadhaḥ ॥] A married Hindu lady with such proverbial devotion towards her husband, pristine purity of character and elegance of conduct, is fit to be a worthy mother of a worthy son. So she had the mighty King Devapāladeva as her son, who was like a pearl born inside the crust of an oyster. [Ślāghyā pativratāsau muktāratnaṁ samudra-śuktiriva । Śrī Devapāladevaṁ prasanna-vaktraṁ sutaratnaṁ masūta ॥ —verse 11 of the Monghyr C.P. of Devapāla, in Gauḍa-Lekhamālā.] In verse 10 of the Nālandā copper-plate inscription of Devapāla [Monograph No. 1 of V.R. Society, p. 26] we have the same picture of Raṇṇādevī, the mother of King Devapāla: 'That pure-souled lady rose above the other members of the royal seraglio by reason of her inherent noble qualities. "Is she an incarnation of the goddess of Fortune, is she the Earth goddess that has assumed a visible shape, is she an embodiment of the King's fame or the tutelary deity (of the royal household)"—such was the deliberation on which she kept engaged the subjects (of the king).' A good and faithful partner, who was alike with her husband in all respects, was thus considered to be the crown and glory of family life. A relation of love and amity, peace and good-will, was thought to be the basis of family life and the essence of conjugal partnership. [Cf. 'Maitrīṁ Kāruṇyaratna-pramuditahṛdayaḥ preyasīṁ sandadhānaḥ samyak-saṁbodhividyā-sarida-malajala-kshālitājñānapaṅkaḥ । jitvâ yaḥ kāmakāri-prabhavamabhibhavaṁ śāśvatīṁ prāpa śāntiṁ sa śrīmān lokanātho jayati daśavalohnyaścha Gopāladevaḥ ॥ —verse 1 (lines 1–5) of the Bhagalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla.] Sahadeva, a 'vājivaidya' or 'veterinary physician,' is the writer of an eulogy (praśasti) describing that the temple of Janārddana was built by Viśvāditya at Gayā during the reign of King Nayapāla. This fact is recorded in the Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple inscription [Gauḍa-Lekhamālā, pp. 110–20; J.A.S.B. (1900), pp. 190–95] wherein it is stated that this work of Sahadeva [verse 19] should endure and be the cause of such feelings as love and amity, serenity and joy with which a loving husband entertains his beloved lady. [Cf. 'Vājivaidya-Sahadeva niruktiḥ tat praśastiriyamastu nitāntaṁ premasauhṛda-sukhaikadharitrisajjanasya hṛdaye ramaṇīva'.] As in all ages, conformity in taste and outlook is the basis of social relation and the cardinal principle of harmony in conjugal life. A wife was thus to be a replica of her husband's tastes and desires, alike in heart and soul. Thus Ichchhādevī, the wife of Garga, the minister of King Dharmapāla, is represented in the third verse of the Bādāl Pillar inscription as being a replica of her husband's inner will. [Cf. 'Patnīchchhā nāma tasyāsīdichchhevānta-rvvivartinī । Nisargga nirmmalasnigdhā kāntiśchandramaso yathā ॥ '] She had the mild qualities and the soft beauty and dalliance of the partner of the moon-god. [G.L., pp. 77-78, f.n.] A peaceful and happy family life with a faithful and devoted wife

who is alike in all respects with her husband has been the traditional aim of married life in Hindu society. So one should have a partner like oneself (ātmānurūpa). Rallādevī, mother of Kedāramiśra and wife of Someśvara, the minister of King Devapāla, is described in verse 10 (lines 10-11) of the Garuḍa Stone Pillar inscription as being a like partner for her like spouse. [Cf. 'Siva iva karaṁ Śivāyā Haririva Lakshmyā gṛhāśramaprepsuḥ । Anurūpāyā vidhivat Rallādevyāḥ (variant readings are Taralādevyāḥ and Ratnādevyāḥ) sa jagrāha ॥ '] An ideal wife is a source of repose in household life. By her sheltering care, genial manners and pleasant conduct she proves herself to be a messenger of peace, a harbinger of light and life. The virtuous lady Pāi, the consort of the respectable Brahmin scholar Yudhiṣṭhira and mother of the celebrated Śrīdhara, is, therefore, described as being a veritable source of repose of her husband's heart (chitta-viśrāntiḥ). A woman of infinite beauty, she was in fact the home of right conduct (śīla), nobility of heart (audārya), tranquillity and grace (śrī). As the ideal partner of her spouse, she gave him no cause of annoyance or dissatisfaction and was in fact the cause of her husband's repose and integrity of mind. [Pāiti dharmmapatnī dhīravarasyāsya chitta-viśrāntiḥ । A(ā)sīdasīma-kāntiḥ śilaudāryaśrī (śri) yāṁ vasatiḥ ॥ —verse 24 (lines 40–42) of the Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva.] A devoted wife is to all intents and purposes an embodiment of her husband's delight and satisfaction. The charm of her body and the magic qualities of her head and heart are alike responsible to bring about this desired end. The Kamauli copper-plate inscription [verse 6, lines 7-8] speaks of Pratāpadevī, the consort of Bodhideva and the mother of the illustrious Vaidyadeva, as being an incarnation of the spirit of joy and satisfaction of her husband. A lady of exquisite beauty, she was the resting place or the pivot of glory and spiritual advancement in her family. [Cf. 'Asya Pratāpadevī patnī dharmmaṛddhi-kīrtti-viśrāntiḥ āsīdasīmakāntiḥ santoshasyākṛtiḥ patyuḥ'.]

Fickleness of character or conduct is always condemned on the part of women in Hindu society. Steadfast devotion towards husband, steadiness in thought and action and sobriety in speech and conduct are alike needed for a lasting union or a durable relation. A barren family life is something unwelcome for a Hindu woman. A woman should not, therefore, be fleeting like the goddess of Fortune or covet a childless fate like that of Satī (or the goddess Durgā), the daughter of Daksha. Babbā, the wife of Kedāra Miśra, is, therefore, not likened to Lakshmī or Satī. She is spoken of as having no parallel. [Cf. 'Devagrāmabhavā tasya patnī Babbābhidhābhavat । Atulyā chalayā Lakshmyā Satyā chāpya [napatya] yā ॥ '—verse 16, lines 17-18 of the Bādāl Pillar inscription; G. L., p. 82, f.n.] The highest thing of glory for a Hindu wife is her reputation of being a proverbially devoted consort. It is the best badge of honour for a woman, the most admirable trait of her character in the estimation of people. Rajjekā, the mother of Vīradeva, enjoyed such reputation. The Goshrāwā inscription (verse 4, line 5) accordingly records that her name became a proverb for all men and women of her age. [Cf. Lokaḥ pativratakathā-paribhāvanāsu saṁkīrttanaṁ prathamameva karoti

yasyāḥ.] Indragupta, the father of Vīradeva, is described as shining like the crystal moon for being united with a woman of such remarkable excellence and purity. [Rajjekayā dvijavaraḥ sa guṇī gṛhiṇyā yukto rarāja kalayāmalayā yathenduḥ—verse 4, line 5.] Because of such parents, the son was conscientious in outlook from his very birth. [Cf. Tābhyāmajāyata sutaḥ sutarāṁ vivekī—verse 5, line 6.] In the Deopāra inscription [Inscriptions of Bengal, pp. 47 and 52] of Vijayasena we have a similar description of Yaśodevī, the 'great queen' of Hemantasena. She was a store-house of loveliness and, owing to devotion to her husband, acquired wide, eternal and bright fame. She gained the heart of the three worlds by her (beautiful) form. [Cf. Mahārājñī yasya svaparanikhilāntaḥpuravadhūśiroratnaśreṇi kiraṇasaraṇismeracharaṇā | Nidhiḥ kānte(ḥ) sādhvīvratavitatanītyojjvalayaśā Yaśodevī nāma tribhuvanamanojñā kṛtirabhūt || —verse 14, line 14.]

According to the ideal of that age it was natural to expect that a son would imbibe the good qualities of his parents and the purity and chastity of the mother would thus be reflected in the character of her son. [Cf. 'Nirmmalô manasi vāchi saṁyataḥ kāya-karmmaṇi cha yaḥ sthitaḥ śuchī rājyamāpa nirupaplavaṁ pitur bodhisatva iva saugataṁ padam'—lines 18-19 of the Monghyr copper-plate inscription of Devapāla.] A good son ennobles his paternal and maternal lines alike by his good deeds. In verse 14 of the Ghoshrāwā inscription, Vīradeva is thus described as being the cause of the elevation of both the families of his father and mother through his own glorious deeds. [Cf. 'Yena svena yaśodhvajena ghaṭitau vaṁśābudīchīpathe'—line 17.] A good daughter is also an object of glory for her parents. By her adorable traits, the purity and integrity of her character, she calls up the prestige of the family of her husband and the families of her father and mother. Lajjā, the queen of Vigrahapāla I, is thus likened to the river Jāhnavī, the supposed consort of the sea. Born of the Haihaya race of which she is called the ornament, she became through the force of her character an emblem of purity, a chastening example in the families of her parents and husband. [Cf. Lajjeti tasya jaladheriva Jahnukanyā patnī babhūva kṛta-Haihayavaṁśabhuṣā yasyāḥ śuchīni charitāni pituścha vaṁśe patyuścha pāvanavidhiḥ paramo babhūva || —Bhagalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla, verse 9, lines 15-16.] By producing a worthy son, a woman is thought to enhance the family prestige of her husband. Babbā Devī, the wife of Kedāra Miśra, is, therefore, likened to the illustrious Devakī, the mother of the mythical god Kṛshṇa, who had Yaśodā or the glorifying energy as his foster-mother. [Cf. 'Sā Devakīva tasmāt yaśodayā svīkṛtaṁ patiṁ Lakshmyāḥ | Gopāla-priyakāraka masūta purushottamaṁ tanayaṁ || '—Bādāl Pillar inscription, verse 17, line 18.] We have a similar description of Tārā, in verse 31, of the Nālandā copper-plate inscription of Devapāla [Monograph No. 1 of the V.R. Society, pp. 24 and 31]. 'Just as from Māyā was born the son of Śuddhodana (i.e. Buddha), the conqueror of the god of Love, or Kārttikeya, who delighted the hearts of all the gods from Śiva and Umā, so also from her (Tārā) was born his (Samarāgravīra's) son Bālaputradeva, before whose lotus-like footstool a host of kings bowed down. He was a past master in lowering the pride of all the lords of the Earth.' [Cf. Māyāyāmiva Kāmadevavijayī Śuddhodanasyātmajaḥ Skando nanditadevavṛndahṛdayaḥ Śambhorumāyāmiva | Tasyānta[sya] narendravṛndavinamat pādāravindāsanaḥ sarvvorvvīpatigarvvakharvvaṇachaṇah Srī vālaputroh bhavat ||] A worthy son is looked upon as an embodiment of the virtues of his parents, the outcome, so to say, of good actions performed by the mother during her previous life. [Cf. 'Pūrvva-pūrvvajanu rjjanmakarmmapākadabhūt sutastasyaitasyāṁ dvijādhīsa (śa)—pūjyaḥ śrīśrīdharaḥ paraḥ'—Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva, verse 25, lines 42-43.]

A mother contributes a great deal towards the formation of the character of her son and as such she has a special claim to his esteem. As mother she is fondly associated with her children and in the genealogical accounts given in most of these inscriptions the name of the mother is usually mentioned in connection with that of her son or daughter. An instance of the mention of the mother's name in connection with that of her daughter, as pointed out already, is furnished by the Tipperah copper-plate grant where we find the name of Aṣṭāyikā, the mother of Lokanātha's mother Gotradevī. Sometimes the son is introduced through his mother and takes after his mother's name. Thus Madanapāla is called the son of Madanadevī in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla (verse 18, lines 25–27). [Cf. 'Tadanu Madanadevī-nandana śchandragauraischaritabhuvana-garbhaḥ prāṁśubhiḥ kīrttipūraiḥ | Kshitimacharama-tāta stasya saptāvdhidāmnīmabhṛta Madanapālo Rāmapālātmajanmā || '—G.L., 158.] It appears from these inscriptions that in all cases of gifts of land in the form of charitable endowment the object is stated to be the enhancement of the religious merit and the glorification of one's ownself and his parents. [Cf. mātāpitrorātmanaścha puṇyayaśobhivṛddhaye in Damodarpur C.P. No. 3 and later inscriptions like Bāghāurā Image Inscr.] The mother is thus given a share of the religious merit and glory of her son or daughter as the case may be. As mothers therefore, women enjoyed an unique position in the estimation of their sons and daughters. In most of the land grants, moreover, in the customary list of persons and officials who are made aware of each and every detail of the proposed endowment of land in which their formal consent is solicited (Cf. matamastu bhavatām), mention is made of the rājñī or queen. [Cf. Belāba C.P. of Bhojavarman, line 29; Rāmpāl C.P. of Śrīchandra, line 18 and so on.] This shows that women had no mean position since the queen is duly informed of the condition, object and nature of the proposed grant of land and is cited among the witnesses who ratified the gift by their consent whether tacit or express.

Sometimes parallels are introduced in these inscriptions to depict the character of women. This shows that men and women of that age were very fond of such illustrations which were mainly drawn from the field of popular literature like the epics and the Purāṇas. The ideals of womanhood depicted by such epic and Purāṇic characters may be supposed to represent the best public opinion of the time and as such they had a special appeal to the imagination

of the people. In verse 5 of the Khālimpur copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla, Deddadevī, the queen of Gopāla I, is accordingly likened to Rohiṇī, the consort of the moon-god; Svāhā, the wife of the fire-god; Sarvvāṇī, the wife of Śiva; Bhadrā, the queen of Kuvera; Paulômī, the wife of Indra and Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu. [Cf. Śītāṁśoriva Rohiṇī hutabhujaḥ Svāheva tejonidheḥ Śarvvāṇīva Śivasya guhyakapater Bhadreva Bhadrātmajā | Paulomīva Purandarasya dayitā Śrī Deddadevītyabhūt devī tasya vinodabhūrmuraripor Lakshmī riva Kshmāpateḥ ||] Śrīkāñchanā, the mother of Śrīchandra and the wife of Trailokyachandra, is also described in the same way: 'As the Moonlight (lady) of the Moon, Śachī of the Conqueror (i.e. Indra), Gaurī of Hara and Śrī of Hari, so also was Śrīkāñchanā, charming like gold (Kāñchana), the beloved of that (King) whose authority was acknowledged (by all).' [Cf. 'Jyotsneva chandrasya Śachīva jishṇorggaurī Harasyeva Hareriva Śrīḥ | Tasya priyā kāñchanakāntirāsīchchhrī-kāñchanetyañchitaśāsanasya || '—Rāmpāl copper-plate inscription of Śrīchandra, verse 6, lines 10–12.] Sadbhāvā, the wife of Dhavalaghoṣa and the mother of Iśvaraghoṣa, is described in the same manner. 'His wife Sadbhāvā by name was a second Bhavānī (wife of Śiva) in appearance. She was as much devoted to her husband as Sītā (herself) and resembled Padmā, the wife of Vishṇu.' [Cf. Bhavānīvāparā mūrttya Sīte(va) (pati)vratā | Sadbhāvā nāma tasyābhūdbhāryā Padmeva Śarṅginaḥ || —verse 4, lines 7-8, of the Ramgunj copper-plate inscription of Iśvaraghosha.] We have a similar description of Vilāsadevī, the chief queen of Vijayasena, in verse 10 of the Naihāti copper-plate inscription of Vallālasena. 'The chief queen of this lord of Earth was Vilāsadevī shining as the crest-jewel of his female apartment, just as Lakshmī was the wife of Vishṇu and Gaurī of (the god) having the young moon on his crest (i.e. Śiva).' [Cf. Padmālayeva dayitā purushottamasya Gaurīva vāla-rajanīkara-śekharasya | Asya pradhānamahishī jagadīśvarasya śuddhāntamaulimaṇirāsa Vilāsadevī ||]

Similar passages are also found in some of the contemporary inscriptions of Assam. Thus in the Gauhati copper-plate No. I of Indrapāla [Padmanath Bhattacharya, Kāmarūpaśāsanābalī, pp. 120 and 127] we have a similar description of Durlabhā, the queen of Purandarapāla. She was a like consort of her husband as Śachī was of the god Indra, the goddess Śivā of Śambhu, Rati of the Cupid god (Madana), Lakshmī of Hari and Rohiṇī of the Moon-god. [Cf. Śachīva, Śakrasya Śi(ve)va Śambho Ra*ti(ḥ) Smarasyeva Hareriva Śrīḥ | Sā Rohiṇīva Kshaṇadākarasya tasyānurūpapraṇayā babhūva || —verse 14.] In the second copper-plate inscription of the same ruler [*Ibid.*, pp. 137-38] the pious lady Anurādhā, the wife of the Brahmin Vasudeva, is likened to Arundhatī, the wife of the sage Vaśiṣtha for her purity of character and in point of holiness to the river Gaṅgā. [Cf. Patnī śilai rarundhatīvāsīt | Anurādheti kulīnā Gaṅgevāpāstakalikalushā || —verse 23.] In Dharmmapāla's copper-plate grant No. 1 [*Ibid.*, pp. 160-61] Harshapāla's queen Ratnā and the Brahmin lady Pāukā are described as being like the goddess Pārvvatī, the wife of Śiva. The beautiful lady Chheppāyikā is said to have been noted for

her devotion to husband and as such she was like Lakshmī. [Cf. verse 18 of the second copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla, *Ibid.*, p. 114.] Ladies are also represented as mothers of ideal offspring. Thus in the copper-plate inscription of Harjjaravarmmā (verse 11), Jīvadevī, the mother of Harjjaravarmmā, is described as being like Kuntī, the mother of Yudhiṣṭhira and Subhadrā, the mother of Abhimanyu. [*Ibid.*, p. 52.] Similarly in the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarmmā (verse 12), Yajñavatī, the mother of Mahendravarmmā, is likened to the sacrificial wood which produces fire. [*Ibid.*, p. 29.]

Some of the customary beliefs and conventions in Hindu society present themselves before our view when we make a careful study of the inscriptions of Bengal. An instance of this kind is supplied by the Rāmpāl copper-plate inscription of Śrīchandra. In verse 4 of this inscription, we have an interesting explanation as to the origin of the name of Suvarṇṇachandra. 'As his mother had a desire, due to the longing (natural to a pregnant woman) of seeing the disc of the rising moon, on a new moon day, and as she was satisfied by (having) "a golden moon" (namely, her son, comparable to the new moon in beauty), people gave him the name Suvarṇṇachandra. [Cf. Da[rśe]sya mātā kila dohadena didṛkshamāṇodayichandravimvaṁ | Suvarṇṇachandreṇa hi toshiteti suvarṇṇachandraṁ samudāharanti ||] It appears thus that the physical beauty of their children was a matter of great concern for the mothers. It may be noted, as pointed out by N. G. Majumdar (Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 7, f.n.), that it is a common belief even at the present day that if a pregnant woman sees the disc of the rising moon on new moon days her issue becomes as beautiful as the moon.

Practice of charity on auspicious days like the eleventh lunar day (ekādaśī) or the last day of a month (saṁkrānti) was thought as at present to be specially efficacious. Bestowal of gifts on the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse seems alike to have been a common practice especially among the womenfolk in Hindu society. The Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva records the gift of land by paramamāheśvara-paramavaishṇava-mahārājādhirāja parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrīmān Vaidyadeva [lines 47-48] during the fourth year of his victorious reign [line 53] to a Brahmin named Śrīdhara, who was an inhabitant of the Varendra country [lines 37–46]. The land in question was situated in Kāmarūpamaṇḍala belonging to the Prāgjyotishapura bhukti [lines 48-49] and the gift was made during the last day of the month of Vaiśākha on an auspicious eleventh lunar day. [Cf. Etasmai śāsanaṁ prādādvaidyadeva—Kshī [kshi] tīśvaraḥ | Vaiśākhe vishu[va]tyāñcha svargārtham harivāsare || —verse 28, line 46.] According to the Bāngadh copper-plate inscription, the village of Kuraṭapallikā in the Gokalikāmaṇḍala in the Koṭīvarshavishaya of Puṇḍravarddhanabhukti was similarly given to a Brahmin named Kṛshṇāditya Śarmmā by King Mahīpāla I on the last day of a month, the grant being made by the King after his bath in the holy waters of the Ganges. [Cf. Kṛṣṇādityaśarmmaṇe viśu(shu)va- saṁkrāntau vidhivat Gaṅgāyāṁ snātvā śāsanīkṛtya pradattohsmābhiḥ—lines 47–50.] The

Amgāchhi copper-plate inscription of Vigrahapāla III (line 24) speaks of a similar gift of land to a Brāhmaṇa during the twelfth or thirteenth year of his reign by King Vigrahapāla, son of Nayapāla. According to Kielhorn the gift was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse after taking bath in the Ganges. [Gauḍa-Lekhamālā, p. 122, f.n.] The Barrackpur copper-plate inscription of Vijayasena similarly informs us that four pāṭakas of land belonging to the village of Ghāsasambhoga-bhāṭṭavaḍā in the Khāḍīvishaya of the Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti, yielding an income of two hundred kaparddakapurāṇas [lines 21–34], were given to a Brāhmaṇa named Udayakaradeva-Śarman [lines 37–39]. The grant was made as fee for the performance of Homa in connection with the Kanaka-Tulāpurusha-Mahādāna (i.e. the great gift of a golden Tulāpurusha) ceremony of the Mahā-mahādevī ('the great great-queen') Vilāsadevī during a lunar eclipse, within the palace at Vikramapura [lines 39–43]. The Naihāti copper-plate inscription also speaks of the gift of a golden horse (i.e. the performance of the Hemāśvadāna ceremony) by the same queen Vilāsadevī, mother of Vallālasena, during a solar eclipse (verse 14) on the banks of the Ganges. As a fee for the performance of this ceremony the village of Vāllahiṭṭhā in Uttara-Rāḍha in Vardhamānabhukti was given by her son Vallālasena to the preceptor Śrī-vāsudevaśarmman [lines 37–54]. The Tarpandīghi copper-plate inscription (line 44) speaks of the gift of a golden horse and chariot (cf. hemāśvaratha-mahādānāchārya). The Sāhitya-Parishat copper-plate inscription of Viśvarūpasena speaks of the grant of eleven plots of land to the Brāhmaṇa, the Āvallika-paṇḍita, Halāyudhaśarmman. Two of these plots are said to have been given away on the Uttarāyaṇasaṁkrānti day of the thirteenth regnal year. Three of these plots are said to have been granted on the occasion of a lunar eclipse observed by the queen-mother (line 52). Two of these plots were granted by the prince (Kumāra) Sūryyasena whose birth-day was thus celebrated. Another plot was similarly given by Kumāra Purushottamasena on the Utthānadvādaśī day in the fourteenth regnal year (lines 57-58) [Inscriptions of Bengal, pp. 141-42]. The Rāmganj copper-plate inscription of Īśvaraghosha also records the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa-Nibbokaśarman. The donor is said to have made the gift after having bathed in the river Jaṭodā on the last day of the month of Mārggaśīrsha (lines 31, 33).

From the Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 159 (i.e. 478-79 A.D.), it appears that pious gifts of land were sometimes made conjointly by married couples in Hindu society. The inscription in question records the following facts. [Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 63-64.] Nātha-śarmmā, a Brāhmaṇa and Rāmī, his wife, approached the District Officer (āyuktaka) and the City Council headed by the Mayor (Nagara-śreṣṭhī) at Puṇḍravardhana with the request that in accordance with the procedure prevalent in the locality, they might be allowed to deposit three dīnāras in return for one and a half Kulyavāpas of land distributed among four different villages, to be endowed in perpetuity for the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flower, lamps, etc. and for the construction of a resting-place at the Vihāra of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandī at Vaṭa-Gohāli. Their prayer was granted and land was sold for the aforesaid purpose. The donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinas, as recorded herein, is very interesting for it shows the spirit of religious toleration among the people of this period. The Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena informs us that a temple of Vishṇu was made by Ādityasena while a maṭha or monastery was made by his mother Śrīmatīdevī and a tank was excavated by his queen Koṇadevī [R. D. Banerji, Bāṅgālār Itihāsa, Part I, p. 117]. Images of gods were also made through the munificence of pious ladies. The most conspicuous example of an image of this class is the well-known Dhulbāḍī Śarvvāṇī image. The accompanying inscription [Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 360] shows that the image of the goddess Śarvvāṇī, one of the forms of Durgā, was the pious work of Mahādevī Prabhāvatī, queen of Deva-Khaḍga. One of the bronze images found at Kurkihar dated in the 19th year of King Vigrahapāla (i.e. Vigrahapāla II or Vigrahapāla III) bears the inscription—'Dulapavadhu-Pekhokāyā' (line 3) [J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXVI, pp. 35–38]. A similar bronze image found at Kurkihar, bearing the date year 3 of the victorious reign of King Vigrahapāla, is said to have been the pious work of Tikuka, son of Dulapa. [Cf. 'devadharmo-'yam pravara-mahāyāna-jaina pramopāsaka-Dulapasutaḥ Tikukasya'. (*Vide ante.*)] The name of the mother is also mentioned in an image installed by her son. The Keoār Vishṇu image is said to have been the work of Vaṅgoka, son of the couple Sayoga and Anuyamī [Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 353ff.]. Besides such pious works of charity by women we have instances, according to the literary tradition, of women taking initiation and engaging themselves in occult religious practices. The Charyāpadas, the earliest specimens of Bengali literature, bear ample testimony to the practice of Tantric Buddhism in Bengal. The Sahaja-yāna or Sahajiyā and Vajra-yāna types of Tāntric worship seem to have been not unknown among the people of Eastern Bengal, the seat of government of the Chandra kings. Mayanāmatī, a lady of the Chandra family, is thus said to have been the disciple of a Tantric saint. She is said to have acquired great psychic powers and the name of her son Gopīchandra is celebrated in popular ballads called—'Gopīchandrer Gāna'.

The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata seem to have enjoyed a very wide popularity among the masses in Bengal. Men and women of all ranks seem to have heard with reverence the recitation and exposition of the texts of these epics. The Bādāl Pillar inscription (verse 24, line 25) and verse 33 of the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena mention the name of Vālmīki, and the Rāmāyaṇa though not expressly mentioned by name is clearly indicated. [Cf. Atilomaharshaṇeshu Kaliyuga-Vālmīki-janmapiśuneshu | Dharmmetihāsaparvvashu puṇyātmā yaḥ śrutirvvyavṛṇot ||] The Manahali copper-plate grant of Madanapāla records the gift of land in Halāvarttamaṇḍala in the Koṭīvarshavishaya of Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti to a Brahmin named Vaṭeśvara Svāmī (line 44). The gift in question was made by parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja Śrīmān Madanapāladeva, son of parama-

saugata mahārājādhirāja Rāmapāladeva (lines 31-32), during the eighth year of his victorious reign (line 58). The grant of the aforesaid land was made as a fee to the above-named Brahmin scholar for recitation and exposition of the texts of the Mahābhārata written by Vedavyāsa at the instance of Chitramatikādevī, the chief queen or favourite consort of Madanapāla. [Cf. 'Śrīvaṭeśvara svāmiśarmmaṇe paṭṭamahādevī-Chitramatikayā Vedavyāsa-prokta-prapāṭhita-Mahābhāratasamutsarggita dakshiṇātvena bhagavantaṁ Buddhabhaṭṭārakamuddiśya śāsanīkṛtya pradattohsmābhiḥ'—lines 42-46.] The queen of a Buddhist ruler would thus have no scruple to hear from a Brahmin scholar the tales of the Great Epic. The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena (verse 4) refers to the Great Epic as 'the honey-stream of beautiful stanzas, which the son of Parāśara (i.e. Vyāsa) had caused to flow to please the ears of mankind . . .' [Cf. 'Sūktimādhvīkadhārāḥ Pārāśaryyeṇa viśvaśravaṇaparisaraprīṇanāya praṇītāḥ'—Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 46.]

A passage in the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla seems to point out that women were sometimes employed as nurses for rearing up children in well-to-do families. Gopāla III is here described as a baby in arms playing on the lap of his nurse. [Cf. Dhātrī-pālana jṛmbhamāṇamahimā karpūrapāṁsūtkarairdevaḥ kīrttimayo nija [×] vitanute yaḥ śaiśave Krīḍitam—verse 17, lines 24-25.]

Monogamy seems to have been the ordinary custom followed in Hindu society though polygamy was not unknown especially among the princely class or well-to-do persons. Mutual jealousy among rival co-wives appears to have been the traditional rule in cases of polygamy. [Cf. Sapatna-śūnyāṁ in line 23 of the Monghyr copper-plate of Devapāla.] There were instances again where the normal rule would not work. In verse 9 of the Bāngaḍh copper-plate inscription of Mahīpāla I, we have the picture of an ideal wife trying to win the heart of her husband through the magic power of her warmer attraction without incurring the displeasure of his co-wife. [Cf. 'Yaṁ svāminaṁ rājaguṇairanūnamāsevate chā[rutarā]nuraktā | Utsāha-mantra-prabhuśakti-Lakshmīḥ pṛthvīṁ sapatnīmiva śīlayantī || '—lines 19-20.] In verse 11 of the Ghoshrāwā inscription, we have similarly the picture of an ideal husband loving his wives equally without any kind of partiality. [Cf. Śrīmadvihāraparihāra-vibhūshitāṅgyā | Udbhāsitopi vahu-Kīrttivadhū-patitve yaḥ sādhu sādhuriti sādhujanaiḥ praśastaḥ.] Nevertheless, as in all ages, there was the ideal of a peaceful family life with a single wife. [Cf. 'Śrīmā(n Gopāla)deva śchirataramabane rekapatnyā ivaiko bharttā . . . . . || '—verse 8, line 13, of Āmgāchhi copper-plate inscription.] Numerous instances of polygamy, however, may be gathered from these inscriptions. The Belāva copper-plate inscription of Bhojavarman (verse 12) informs us that Mālavyadevī became the chief queen of Sāmalavarmman though his seraglio was full of the daughters of many kings. Mālavyadevī's daughter was Trailokyasundarī and her son was Bhojavarmman. [Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 23.] The Bhuvanesvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva informs us that Govarddhana married a lady Sarasvatī by name (verse 11). Govarddhana is said to have accepted as his second wife Sāṅgokā, the adorable and pious daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa, who was a jewel among ladies (verse 13).

As at present, widowhood was regarded as the most tragic incident in the life of a married woman in Hindu society. In the Nālandā copper-plate inscription [Monograph No. I of V.R. Society, pp. 24 and 31], King Devapāla is described as—'the preceptor in the initiation of the wives of all his enemies to widowhood'. [Cf. Samastaśatruvanitāvaidhavyadīkshāguruṁ—verse 33, line 63.] Before the establishment of royal authority by Gopāla I there was a period of anarchy in Bengal when, according to Tāranāth, the widow of one of the departed chiefs would rule every night the person who had been chosen as king. A woman, the moment she became a widow, would naturally be shorn of all kinds of luxury and enjoyment. As at present, she would in the first instance forfeit her right to adorn herself with the vermilion mark in the partition of the hair of her head. In verse 17 (lines 24-25) of the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla, Kumārapāla is described as effacing with a playful hand the vermilion marks on the heads of his enemies' wives and thus causing their widowhood. [Cf. Pratta(tya)rthi-pramadākadambaka-śiraḥsindūra-lopakrama-krīḍā-pātalapāṇiresha sushuveGopāla mūrvvībhujaṁ.] The use of vermilion by married ladies was thus a common custom in Hindu society. It may also be deduced from contemporary literature. Thus the fifth stanza of a work called Adbhutasāgara [Muralidhara Jha's ed., Prabhākarī Co., Benares, 1905, pp. 1–4], which is ascribed to Vallālasena and which gives a poetical account of the Senas, speaks of the heads of enemies' wives bearing vermilion marks. [Cf. Yasyāṅghriḥ patibhaikshyakākuviluṭhadvidveshinārī-śiraḥsindūrotkaramudrito janalipirnirmuktiyantraṁ dvishāṁ.] Govardhana Āchārya, the court-poet of King Lakshmaṇasena, also speaks of the hair on the head of a lady giving the idea of a heart rent in twain by the vermilion mark. [Cf. Bandhanabhājo'mushyāḥ chikurakalāpasya muktamānasya | Sindūritasīmantachchhalina hṛdayaṁ vidīrṇameva || '—Sukumar Sen, Prāchīn Bāṅglā O Bāṅgālī, p. 51.] Collyrium seems to have been used as an eye-paint by fashionable ladies. The Chittagong copper-plate inscription of Dāmodara (verse 5) gives a figurative description of the fame of Dāmodara. 'Although by his bright fame he absolutely removed the blackness of the world over which was showered the collyrium particles from the eyes of the wives of his enemies, his (stock of) fame was never exhausted. [Cf. Yasyaita(d) yaśasojjvalena bhuvanaṁ nishkālikaṁ kurvvatā śatrustrījana-lochanāñjanakaṇāsāraṁ na tat śeshitaṁ.] Fashionable Hindu ladies seem alike to have used rouge or some such paint for the decoration of their body. [Cf. Śatruvanitā-prasādhana-vilopi-vimalāsi-jaladhārah—line 14 of the Bhagalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla.] Camphor is often alluded to and was probably used in toilet by ladies. [Cf. 'Medasvi-Kīrtti ramarendra-vadhū-kapola-karppūra-patramakarī sa kumārapālaḥ'—verse 16 of the Manahali copper-plate grant of Madanapāla.] Floral wreaths, which form the simplest type of decoration even to this day, were alike in vogue among fashionable ladies of that age. Ladies would thus use garlands around

their neck and floral wreaths to cover the tresses on their head. [Cf. 'Siddhastrīṇāmapi śirassrajeshvarppitāḥ Ketakīnāṁ patrāpīḍāḥ suchiramabhavan bhṛṅga-śabdānumeyāh'—verse 16, lines 23-24, of the Bhagalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla.] The Deopārā inscription (verse 1) holds before us the picture of a bashful lady trying to cover her nudity with the help of the garlands around her neck at the removal of her breast-cloth. [Cf. Vakshoṁśukā haraṇasādhvasakṛṣṭamaulimālyachchhaṭāhataratālayadīpabhāsaḥ | Devyāstrapāmukulitam mukhamindubhābhirvvīkshyānanāni hasitānijayanti Śambhoḥ ||] In the Edilpur copper-plate inscription of Keśavasena, we find mention of ladies adorned with smiling flowers. [Cf. Udbhinnasmitamañjarīparichitā dikkāminiḥ.]

Seclusion of women from public view seems to have been the usual custom in Hindu society. In verse 7, line 12, of the Edilpur copper-plate inscription of Keśavasena we are told that King Vallālasena carried away the fortune goddesses of his enemies on palanquins supported by staffs made of elephant's tusk, from the battlefield, which was made impassable on account of a stream of blood. [Cf. 'Yasyāyodhanasīmni śoṇitasaridduḥsañcharāyāṁ hṛtāḥ saṁsaktadvipadantadaṇḍaśivikāmāropya vairiśriyaḥ'.] We have reason, therefore, to believe that respectable ladies would be carried on a litter while going from one place to another and would not as a rule expose themselves before the passers-by in public thoroughfares. In the palaces of kings we have references to inner apartments meant for ladies of the royal household. The Mādhāinagar copper-plate inscription (verse 9) of Lakshmaṇasena speaks of Rāmadevī, queen of Vallālasena, as the crest-jewel of the royal harem. [Cf. antaḥpuramauliratna.] In verse 23 of the Edilpur copper-plate inscription it is stated that when Keśavasena passed through the city, the ladies of the city ascending on the tops of skyscraping houses would be gazing upon his beautiful appearance. [Cf. Āruhyābhraṁlihagṛhaśikhāmasya saundaryyalekhāṁ paśyantībhiḥ puri viharataḥ paurasīmantinībhiḥ.]

From the description given in verse 10 of the Calcutta Sāhitya-Parishat copper-plate inscription of Viśvarūpasena, we may well imagine the picture of fashionable maidens especially married ladies looking bright and gay with the exuberance of their dress and toilet in the evening. The day's task being over the night was presumably the time for merry-making and enjoyment. References have already been made to ablution bath performed by men and women alike in the waters of rivers like Gaṅgā or Jaṭodā. Similarly we find mention of tanks and lakes where ladies used to take their bath. The Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva (verse 26) refers to such a tank in the Rāḍha country. The surface of its water is said to have been filled with the reflections of lotus-faces of beautiful damsels engaged in bath. [Cf. Yenākāri jalāśayaḥ parisarasnātābhijātāṅganā vaktrābjaprativimbamugdhamadhupī, etc.] Large tanks were often excavated in the vicinity of temples by pious donors so that men and women might take their bath and visit the sacred shrine. Thus the Mahābodhi inscription records that during the 26th regnal year of King Dharmapāla (line 7) Keśava, son of the stonemason Ujjvala, set up an image of four-faced Mahādeva (line 3) and excavated a large tank at the expense of three thousand dramma coins (line 6). The Deopārā inscription (verse 29) tells us that King Vijayasena excavated a large tank in the vicinity of the temple of Pradyumneśvara. Citizens' wives with musks on their breasts are described as plunging themselves into its water for taking their bath. [Cf. jalamagna-paurāṅganā-stanaiṇamadasaurabhochchalitachañcharīkaṁ saraḥ—verse 29, lines 26-27.] In the Tejpur copper-plate inscription of King Vanamāla of Assam we have a similar description of the river Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. [Cf. Majjadvilāsinīkuchakalasataṭāślishṭamadapaṅkāvilasugandhāmbhasā veśāṅganābhiriva nānābharaṇaśobhitaprakaṭāvayavābhirvālakumārikābhiriva Kvaṇatkiṅkiṇībhiḥ .... vārastrībhiriva chāmaradhāriṇībhi ..... etc., Padmanāth Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.] Fashionable ladies were thus in the habit of using musk and other aromatics like camphor, sandal, etc. for their decoration. [Cf. Karpūrairiva pūri(taṁ) malayajakshodairivālepitaṁ—verse 8 of Kṛshṇadvārikā Temple inscription.] The use of camphor is already referred to and we have reference in the Deopārā inscription (verse 31) to the use of sandal powder. The same inscription also speaks of heavenly damsels with saffron lines on their breasts (verse 12) indicating thereby the use of red paints by ladies. [Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 52, n. 5.]

The existence of courtesans is also attested by the evidence furnished by these inscriptions. In verse 9 of the Edilpur copper-plate inscription of Keśavasena and verse 10 of the Calcutta Sāhitya-Parishat copper-plate inscription of Viśvarūpasena, we find mention of the dulcet music arising from the anklets worn by courtesans in the evening [cf. Sāyaṁ veśavilāsinījanaraṇanmañjīramañjusvanaiḥ]. Kings and wealthy people thus seem to have enjoyed the sight of dancing courtesans. There are references moreover to the employment of 'devadāsīs' or female attendants in temples and shrines. These were the dancing girls engaged in the service of the deity of a temple and as such formed a musical choir. The Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva (verse 30) speaks of the temple of the god Harimedhas (i.e. Vishṇu) being endowed by King Bhavadeva with hundred damsels having eyes like those of young deer, who created the delusion that they were celestial nymphs taking rest on earth. These maidens are described as being the meeting-hall of music, dalliance and beauty. [Cf. Etasmai Harimedhase vasumatīviśrāntavidyādharīvibhrāntindadhatīḥ śataṁ sa hi dadau śāraṅgaśāvīdṛśaḥ | Dagdhasyogradṛśa dṛśaiva diśatīḥ kāmasya saṁjīvanaṁ kārāḥ kāmijanasya saṅgamagṛhaṁ saṅgītakeliśriyāṁ ||] The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena (verse 30) similarly informs us that the temple of the god Pradyumneśvara was provided with hundred beautiful females the charms of whose body were enhanced by the wearing of jewellery. [Cf. Ratnālaṁkṛtibhirvviśeshitavapuḥ śobhāḥ śataṁ subhruvaḥ.] From the epithet—'Padmāvatīcharaṇachāraṇachakravartī' some scholars are led to believe that Padmāvatī, the wife of the celebrated poet Jayadeva Miśra, was before her marriage a member of a choir party engaged in the service of a temple.

The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena (verse 31, line 28) refers to variegated silk cloth [cf. Chitrakshaumevacharmmā]. The Āmgāchhi copper-plate inscription of Vigrahapāla III (verse 8) speaks of variegated garments shining with the lustre of precious stones [cf. ratna-dyutikhachita-chatuḥ sindhu-chitrāṁśukāyāḥ]. The use of girdles or waist-chains by ladies may also be inferred from the use of such images as—'nānāmbonidhi-mekhalasya jagataḥ' [Bādāl Pillar inscription, verse 15], 'chaturjjaladhimekhalāṁ mahīṁ' [grants of Saśāṅka, p. 121 of *Indian Culture*, Vol. IX, No. 1] and 'bhūpīṭhamavadhi raśanābharaṇaṁ' [Bādāl Pillar inscription, verse 13, line 14]. The use of bracelets may also be guessed from the use of such images as—'yāvat kūrmmo jaladhivalayaṁ bhūtadhātrīṁ vibharti' [Ghoshrāwā inscription of Vīradeva, verse 16, line 18]. The Naihāti copper-plate inscription of Vallālasena (verse 8) gives the following description of Vijayasena: 'From the necklaces of the deer-eyed ones (i.e. ladies) of his enemies who were roaming in forests, pearls dropped and were strewn over the earth being marked by the collyrium mixed with the tears from their eyes.' These pearls were picked up by men of the Pulinda tribe mistaking them to be guñjā seeds for their wives might be pleased with necklaces of even gunjā seeds. [Cf. Bhrāmyantīnāṁ vanānte yadari-mṛgadṛśāṁ hāramuktāphalānichchhinnā-kīrṇāni bhūmau nayanajala-milat-kajjalairllāñchchhitāni | Yatrāchchinvanti darbhakshatacharaṇatalāsṛgviliptāni guñjāsrag-bhūshā-samya-rāmāstanakala-śaghanāślesha-lolāḥ Pulindāḥ ||] The simplicity of women's dress in rural areas and lonely forests thus stood in strange contrast with the rich ostentation of citizens' wives and daughters. The simple lotus-ear-ornament is referred to in verse 27 of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva [cf. Līlāvataṁsotpalaṁ]. The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena (verse 23), an eulogy composed by the poet Umāpati-dhara, gives a faithful picture of society when it deals with the effects produced by the charity of the king. 'Through his grace the Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedas have become the possessors of so much wealth that their wives have to be trained by the wives of the townspeople (to recognize) pearls, pieces of emerald, silver coins, jewels and gold from their similarity respectively with seeds of cotton, leaves of śāka, bottlegourd flowers, the developed seeds of pomegranates and the blooming flowers of the creepers of pumpkin-gourd (Beninkasa Cerifera).' [Cf. Muktāḥ karppāsavījairmmarakataśakalaṁ śākapatrairalābū pushpai rūpyāṇi ratnaṁ pariṇatibhiduraìrkukshibhirddāḍimānāṁ | Kushmāṇḍīvallarīṇāṁ vikasitakusumaiḥ kāñchanaṁ nāgarībhiḥ śikshyante yat prasādādvahuvibhavajushāṁ yoshitaḥ śrotriyāṇām || —Inscriptions of Bengal, pp. 48 and 54.] In verse 31 of the same inscription mention is also made of string of sapphires (mahânîlaratnâkshamâla) and lovely pearls besides emeralds.

The simplicity of ordinary women is also evident from contemporary literature. Mention has already been made of lotus-ear-ornament. There is also evidence to believe that ordinary women, even respectable ladies of the highest Brāhmin caste, would use ear-rings made of green palm leaves. This is

evident from the following description of Dhoyī, the author of 'Pavanadūta': 'Gaṅgāvīchiplutaparisaraḥ saudhamālāvataṁso yasyatuchchaistvayi rasamayo vismayaṁ Suhmadeśaḥ | Yatra śrotrābharaṇapadavīṁ bhūmidevāṅganānāṁ tālīpatraṁ navaśaśikalākomalaṁ yatra yāti || ' There are lots of references to the cultivation of betel-nuts [line 52 of Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena, Madanapāḍā copper-plate of Viśvarūpasena, line 45, etc.] but there is no direct mention of the practice of chewing betels. It appears from a passage written by Govardhana Āchāryya that in backward rural areas the advanced modes and ways of fashionable civic maidens were thought to be the most unwelcome things for women to follow. [Cf. 'Ṛjunā nidhehi charaṇau parihara sakhi nikhilanāgarāchāram | Iha dākinīti pallīpatiḥ kaṭākshehpi daṇḍayati || '] The contemporary poet Śaraṇa gives a description of poor village women. The peasants have gone to the fields leaving their homes at dawn and their women are hastily coming home after finishing their business in the village mart before their husbands' return. [Cf. Etāstā divasāntabhāskara-dṛśo dhāvanti paurāṅganāḥ skandhapraskhaladaṁśukāñchaladhṛtivyāsaṅga-vaddhādarāḥ | Prātaryātakṛshīvalāgamabhiyā protplutya vartmachchhido haṭṭa krashyapadārthamūlya kalana vyagrāṅguligranthayaḥ ||] An account of an average well-dressed Bengalee woman is given in the following lines: 'Vāsāḥ sūkshmaṁ vapushi bhūjayoḥ kāñchanī chāṅgadaśrīr mālāgarbhaḥ surabhimasṛṇairgandhatailaiḥ śikhaṇḍaḥ | karṇottaṁse navaśaśikalānirmalaṁ tālapatraṁ veśaḥ keshāṁ na harati mano Vaṅgavārāṅganānām || ' With this we may compare the description of the mild decoration of village women as given by Chandrachandra: 'Bhāle Kajjalabindurindukiraṇaspardhī mṛṇālāṅkuro dorvallīshu śalāṭuphenilaphalottaṁsaścha karṇātithiḥ | Dhammillastilapallavābhishavaṇasnigdhaḥ svabhāvādayaṁ pānthān mantharayatyanāgaravadhūvargasya veśagrahaḥ || ' [Sukumar Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-55.]

The cultivation of classical Hindu music by men and women alike seems to have attained a high degree of excellence during this period. In a work called Sekśubhodayā wonderful musical feats are ascribed to the female artists of Bengal. The most conspicuous among them was Vidyutprabhā, the daughter-in-law of the well-known actor Gāṅgoka whose verses are recorded in the Saduktikarṇāmṛta. She is said to have charmed the audience by her musical feats in the court of King Lakshmaṇasena. Another remarkable female artist of that age was Padmāvatī, the wife of the poet Jayadeva Miśra, the author of Gītagovinda. Along with her husband who was also a musician of repute, she received honours from King Lakshmaṇasena by her superb musical display before the assembled audience in the royal court. Budhana Miśra, the celebrated musician of Orissa, who came for a musical duel to the court of Lakshmaṇasena, was thus put out of countenance by Jayadeva and his wife. [*Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.]

In the field of cottage-industry, namely, spinning, weaving and embroidery, we owe a great deal to the efforts of women in Bengal. Bengal has always been noted for her textiles. The fine muslins of Dacca have at a later age given her an undying fame. Her jute and cotton fabrics were

largely in vogue throughout the length and breadth of Northern India. In Varṇaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara, a work of the fourteenth century A.D., we find mention of some of these fine garments of Bengal like 'Megha-udumbara', 'Lakṣmīvilâsa', 'Dvāravâsinî', 'Silahaṭi', 'Gāṅgeri', etc. The use of fine garments was especially confined among womenfolk who would themselves make threads of cotton for this purpose. This is clear from a verse of Śubhāṅka: 'Kārpāsāsthi prachayanichitâ nirdhanaśrotriyāṇām yeṣāṁ vātyāpravitatakutī prāṅgaṇāntā vabhūvuḥ I Tatsaudhāṇāṁ parisarabhūvitvatprasādādidānîṁ krīḍāyuddhachchhidurayuvatīhāramuktāḥ patanti II'

NEKKHAMMA

By

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1. There is a long-standing difference in views among scholars as regards the Sanskrit rendering of the Pali word 'nekkhamma'. Prof. Bendall, the Editor of Śikṣāsamuccaya, adds a note on that word (p. 306) that in spite of Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (Vin. Texts i. 104, n. 1) who seem to misunderstand Itivuttaka, para. 72, nekkhamma seems to be connected with kram and not kāma. Burnouf interpreted it as 'naiṣkarmya' (Lotus, 334). Rhys Davids and Oldenberg have, on the other hand, maintained that the Pali word 'nekkhamma' is neither 'naiṣkarmya' nor 'naiṣkramya' but 'naiṣkāmya'. Let us further examine this word and see if we can throw new light on the interpretation or the historical changes in the interpretation of this word.

2. *Early Canonical Texts.*—If we go to the first four Nikāyas, or to the earliest Pali texts like the Suttanipāta, we find that the word 'nekkhamma' is used as contrasted with the word 'kāma'. We find, over and over again, the famous expression '*kāmānam* ādīnavaṃ okāraṃ sankilesaṃ *nekkhamme* ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi' (D. i. 110, Ambaṭṭhasutta ; i. 148, Kūṭadantasutta; ii. 41, Mahāpadānasutta; Vin. i. 18; M. i. 379, Upālisutta). Similarly, other uses of the word in expressions like kāma-vitakka and nekkhamma-vitakka (M. i. 115; Iti. 82), or in expressions used as contrasted with kāma (M. iii. 130; A. iii. 245), or in the following lines from the Suttanipāta—

kāmesu ādīnavaṃ disvā nekkhammaṃ daṭṭhu khemato (Sn. 424)

kāmesu vinaya gedhaṃ nekkhammaṃ daṭṭhu khemato (Sn. 1094)

leave no doubt whatsoever that the word was used as opposed to kāma. In fact, in some passages like the Itivuttaka 61, D. iii. 275, we find that the word is even defined as 'kāmanam etaṃ nissaraṇaṃ yadidaṃ nekkhammaṃ': nekkhamma means escape or deliverance from kāma. So also in Paṭisambhidā i. 46-47, we have 'nekkhammena kāmacchandassa pahānaṃ'; i.e., by nekkhamma, one destroys the passions of life.

3. *Later Canonical Texts.*—Gradually, it appears, the word came to have a wider meaning. Vibhanga 86 says that all good things are included in the category of nekkhamma (Sabbe pi kusalā dhammā Nekkhamma-dhātu). Nekkhamma came to be interpreted in the sense of renunciation or going away from worldly life. In Buddhavaṃsa ii. 130, we have

Nekkhammābhimukho hohi bhavato parimuttiyā.

In Cariyāpiṭaka (2. 4. 1 and 2) also we read

Bhavaṃ disvāna bhayato nekkhammam abhinikkhamiṃ

* * * *

Sā pi vaṭṭe anapekkhā nekkhammaṃ abhinikkhami

where the idea is of going into a life of renunciation. We further notice that the word came to be used as a technical term in the sense of pāramitā, perfection of one of the ten virtues or good qualities, which came to assume more and more importance in Buddhism along with the growth of Bodhisattva-doctrine in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nekkhamma or a life of renunciation came to be accepted in Pali texts as the third Pāramitā, although in Mahāyānism it did not assume that rank. All the same, the life of renunciation was commended and it was always preferred by a religiously-minded person to a life of the world. In fact, it came to be recognized as an essential thing for the attainment of enlightenment. See, for instance, the following verse from Buddhavaṃsa (2. 128):

Nekkhamme pāramiṃ gaccha yadi bodhiṃ pattum icchasi.

Thus in these late canonical works, the word seems to be used as opposed to a 'life in a house'.

4. *Post-canonical Texts and Commentaries.*—This change in the interpretation is further confirmed by post-canonical texts and commentaries. In Nettipakaraṇa 53, and Milinda 285, we find 'Cha gehanissitāni somanassāni' given as opposed to 'Cha nekkhammanissitāni'. Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga (3. 128, Prof. Kosambi's Devanāgarī edition) also says: 'Nekkhamma-ajjhāsayā ca Bodhisattā gharāvāse dosadassāvino', 'The Bodhisattas whose heart is set upon nekkhamma see defects in their residence at home'. The Commentaries also reveal a tendency to interpret the word as 'an escape', though they are careful to show that it is an escape from 'pleasures of the world'. For instance, the Commentary on the Majjhima, sutta No. 19, explains (MCm. ii. 79) nekkhamma-vitakka as kāmehi nissaṭo nekkhamma-paṭisaṃyutto vitakko. Further, it is said in the comment on the same sutta (MCm. ii. 82): nekkhammañ ca kāmehi nissaṭaṃ sabbaṃ kusalaṃ. In another place (MCm. iv. 197), we read nekkhammena explained as kāmato nissaṭaguṇena—kāmato nissaṭguṇe ṭhitena puggalena. MCm. iv. 158, as well as MCm. iii. 171, explain nekkhamma as kāmato nikkhantassa sukhaṃ. In all these cases escape from *kāma* is emphasized. But, side by side with these explanations, we also find as the explanation of nekkhamma 'renunciation'. DCm. ii. 471–73 (on Kūṭadantasutta) says: nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi, *pabbajjāya* guṇaṃ pakāsesī ti attho. Similarly, ACm. iv. 204 also says: nekkhamme cittaṃ

pakkhandatī ti *pabbajjāya* cittam ārammaṇavasena pakkhandati. Here the word 'pabbajjā' clearly occurs.

It has been already remarked above that ultimately the word came to include all good things (sabbe pi kusalā dhammā). So it was also used in the sense, as suited each case, of *anāgāmimagga*:

'Ettha nekkhamman ti anāgāmimaggo adhippeto. So hi sabbaso kāmanaṃ nissaraṇaṃ.' The Commentary on Dhp. 272 gives the same explanation as anāgāmisukha of nekkhamma. In other contexts, it is also interpreted as *nibbāna*: ACm. iii. 242 (on A. 147) and Vimānavatthu Commentary (p. 348) interpret the word as Nibbāna (Nibbāne khemabhāvaṃ disvā). In another place, it is interpreted as Nibbāna as well as the *Path leading to Nibbāna*:

Nibbānañ ca nibbānagāmiñ ca paṭipadaṃ kheman ti disvā (SnCm. on Sn 1098); or, in the sense of First Trance:

Idha nekkhammaṃ nāma asubhesu paṭhamajjhānaṃ (ACm. iii. 321). Later commentaries such as on Dhammapada further extend the scope of this word. See, for instance, the following:

Nekkhamman ti kilesūpasamaṃ nibbānaratiṃ pana sandhāy'etaṃ vuttaṃ (Cm. on Dh. 181)

where the word seems to include even the *delight in Nibbāna* which allays corruptions. Here it rejects the interpretation of 'pabbajjā' (ettha pabbajjā-nekkhamman ti na gahetabbaṃ).

Dhammapāla also in his various commentaries refers to different interpretations. For example, in his comment on Therīgāthā 339, he explains nekkhamma as pabbajjā as well as Nibbāna (pabbajjaṃ nibbāṇaṃ yeva pihayāmi, patthayāmi). In his commentary on Cariyāpiṭaka (2. 4. 1-2), he explains the word as three-fold (tividha)—(i) nibbāna, (ii) quiescence and insight (samatha and vipassanā) as means for the attainment of Nibbāna, and (iii) a life of renunciation as the means for the attainment of samatha and vipassanā.

So we see that even in Pali sources, the word began to change its connotation from the time of later canonical texts, such as Buddhavaṃsa, Cariyāpiṭaka, Vibhanga, and through the early commentaries where the interpretation is based upon the antithesis of kāma as well as upon the fancied derivation from a similarly sounded root nikkhama (niṣkram), it finally came to be interpreted in the sense of all good things such as pabbajjā, anāgāmimagga, nibbāna, samatha and vipassanā and the delight in nibbāna.

5. *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.*—It must be noted that in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, the Pali word is rendered as 'naiṣkramya'. Mahāvastu (iii. 42) has the following stanza:

Spṛśayaṃ *naiṣkramya* sukhaṃ apṛthagjanasevitaṃ
Bhikṣu viśvāsamāpadye aprāpte āsravakṣaye.

This stanza like the corresponding verse of Dhammapada (272) has nothing to show the interpretation in which the word was understood at that time. But mark the following passage which corresponds to the oft-repeated Pali passage quoted above in para. 2 (that from Ambaṭṭhasutta of the Dīghanikāya):

Dānakathāṃ, śīlakathāṃ, svargakathāṃ, puṇyakathāṃ, puṇyavipākakathāṃ, kāmeṣu bhayaṃ, okāraṃ, saṃkileśaṃ, *naiṣkramyā*nuśaṃsāvyavadānaṃ samprakāśayati. (Mahāvastu iii. 357.)

Here there is no doubt that the word 'naiṣkramya' corresponds to the Pali 'nekkhamma' and that is used, as in the Pali passage, in opposition to kāma, that is to say, in the same sense as 'naiṣkāmya'. See also the following:

Naiṣkramyam anuvarṇayanti kāmeṣu doṣadarśinaḥ (Mahāvastu, i. 107, l. 3) where the antithesis between kāma and naiṣkāmya is quite clear.

Another stanza from the same work suggests a similar contrast:

Śuro ca bhavati dṛḍhavrata apramatto	na kāmabhoge suratiṃ janeti
naiṣkramyato bhavati adīnacitto	choretva jālaṃ jinacetiyeṣu [1]

(Mahāvastu ii. 392.)

'Whosoever offers a *net* to the shrine of the Conquerors becomes a hero, of firm vows, watchful, finds no delight in pleasures of the world and is not cast down because of 'naiṣkramya'. 'Here also we note the contrast between enjoyment of pleasures and naiṣkramya. In Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarānanda xii. 21, also,

Adya te saphalaṃ janma	lābhodya sumahāṃs tava
Yasya kāmarasajñasya	naiṣkramyāyotsukaṃ manaḥ,

the contrast between kāmarasajña and naiṣkramya is suggested.

So it will be seen that in spite of the *form* of the word 'naiṣkramya', the *idea* implied by the word is the same as 'naiṣkāmya'.

It is also interesting to note that Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in his L'Udānavarga, p. 266, gives, as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Pali expression 'nekkhammūpasame ratā' (Dhp. 181), 'naisk(r)am(y)opaśame ratāḥ', where 'r' is put in brackets.

As opposed to this sense of naiṣkāmya, we equally find, as in the non-canonical Pali texts like the Milinda, Netti, Visuddhimagga, that the word is used as contrasted with 'house' or 'a life in a house'. Mahāvastu i. 173, 13 reads

Nāpi ye dharmāḥ gṛhāśritās te naiṣkramyāśritā iti deśayāmi; nāpi ye dharmā naiṣkramyāśritās te gṛhāśritā iti deśayāmi.

Here we see that the word is contrasted with 'house'. In this very sense, the word is used in several passages in Lalitavistara. We hear of 'naiṣkramyakāla' (Lefmann's ed. of Lalitavistara, pp. 196, 199, 219, 220). We also read of 'naiṣkramyabuddhi' (p. 170) and 'naiṣkramya-mati' (p. 184).

We do not, however, find that the Sanskrit texts give other various interpretations as in Pali texts. Perhaps, the very orthographical form of the Sanskrit word restricted the interpretation to 'a life of renunciation'. We have seen that it was based upon a fancied derivation from the root 'niṣkram'.

6. *Tibetan renderings.*—Let us see what light is thrown upon this subject by Tibetan renderings. In the Tibetan translation of the Udānavarga xxi. 9, we have first two quarters of a stanza corresponding to the first two quarters

[1] Cf. Śikṣāsamuccaya, 306.

of Dhp. 181, and we have an expression corresponding to 'Nekkhammūpasame ratā'. The Tibetan rendering of the same is:

ñes-ḥbyuṅ	źi la	dgaḥ-pa daṅ
ངེས་འབྱུང་	ཞི་ལ་	དགའ་པ་དང་
niṣkramaṇa	upaśama	ratāḥ

Jäschke in his Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 148, gives two interpretations of ñes-ḥbyuṅ, which all appear to be later. His interpretations are (i) deliverance from the round of transmigration, and (ii) knowledge of one's self, which all appear to be secondary or of third remote and do not appear to be supported by etymology. In Mahāvyutpatti (Sakaki's edition, No. 6444), the Tibetan rendering of 'kāmeṣu naiṣkramyaṃ' is given as 'ḥdod-pa-las spagspa (འདོད་པ་ལས་སྤགས་པ)', which literally interpreted means 'going away from desire'. Another rendering is also given. It is 'ḥdod-paḥi las spaṅs-pa (འདོད་པའི་ལས་སྤངས་པ), which means 'abandonment of desired things'. In 6755, the word naiṣkramya is rendered by 'ñes-par ḥbyuṅ-pa (ངེས་པར་འབྱུང་པ) which of course corresponds to nissaraṇa as said above in the Tibetan rendering of Dhp. 181. In 7554, also, it has been rendered by 'ḥbyuṅ-pa (འབྱུང་པ). Thus it will be seen that here also the interpretations waver between 'abandonment of desire' and 'renunciation or going out of one's house'.

7. *Chinese sources.*—Let us now turn to Chinese sources. In the Chinese version (Madhyamāgama 32. 9*b*. 7, Ch'angchow edition of 1911) of Upālisutta, No. 56 of the Majjhimanikāya, we clearly have the words 'wu yü' 無欲 which mean 'without desire', used for the word 'nekkhamma' in the passage which corresponds to the one quoted above at the beginning of para. 2. In the version of the Ambaṭṭhasutta (2. 21) of the Dīghanikāya, vol. i, it is translated by ch'u yao 出要 (Dīrghāgama, Suchow edition, 1887, 13. 22*a*. 10). The same Chinese rendering is also found in the Chinese version of the Kūṭadantasutta (Dīrghāgama 15. 25*b*. 1). In the Chinese version of the Mahāpadānasutta (D. ii. 41), it is rendered by ch'u li 出離 'going out'. The same rendering is also found in the Cie-t'o-tao-lun (4. 2*b*. 10; 4. 3*b*. 1; also see my 'Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga', p. 44), the Chinese translation of Upatissa's Vimuttimagga. Upatissa is further very explicit about the interpretation of this word. He clearly points to the two interpretations: (i) 'leaving the house and practising good things (kusala); and (ii) being away from desires of sense'. In another place (8. 7*b*. 4) where the word 'nekkhamma' is used as one of the ten pāramitās or perfections, the Chinese rendering is merely Ch'u 出. Prof. P. C. Bagchi in his 'Deux Lexiques Sanskrit Chinois', vol. ii, p. 480, gives only ch'u 出 as the Chinese rendering of nikkara, which is evidently niścara, that is to say niṣkrama. In the Mahāyāna work 'Daśabhūmika-sūtra' (1. UU), we come across the word 'naiṣkramyacārī' for which the different Chinese renderings given by translators of

successive periods from the third to the tenth century A.D. are enlisted by Rahder in his Glossary (p. 96). It is interesting to note that none of the renderings given there can be interpreted to mean 'without desire'. Most of them seem to favour the interpretation of renunciation or leaving one's house.

8. *Etymology.*—Childers in his Pali-English Dictionary (p. 264, col. 1) has a note on this word, in which he discusses the etymology of it. He refers to both the etymologies of the word, one derived from kāma and the other from niṣkram. He decides in favour of the latter, because he finds an insuperable difficulty in the aspiration in the word nekkhamma to allow him to derive it from naiṣkāmya. The form in that case should have been, he argues, nekkamma and not nekkhamma. But on closer examination of similar words, it will be found that no difficulty is really to be felt. For, it is the peculiarity of the Pali-Prakrits that we have the aspirated sounds in several Prakrit words where the original Sanskrit words do not justify any. Compare, for instance, Cariyāpiṭaka, 2. 6. 6:

Dhanikehi bhīto tasito pakkhanto' haṃ mahānadiṃ

where the word 'pakkhanta' corresponds to Sanskrit 'prakrānta' and still we have the aspiration in the Pali word. So also we should note the Pali word 'khanti' 'liking' (ayam amhākaṃ khanti, this is what we like), which stands for the Sanskrit word 'kānti' 'liking' from the root kam, to like, to covet. See also note on p. 117 of my book 'Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga', in connection with nikkhanti or nekkhamma. Compare also the Pali form 'sakkhati' which is found side by side with 'sakkoti' from the Sanskrit root śak to be able. For other examples of this peculiarity in Pali, see R. P. Chaudhari's article on 'The Philology of Pali Language' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. xviii (1942), p. 361.

To prove that the word naiṣkramya is used for nekkhamma in the sense of dispassionateness (naiṣkāmya), we have the following lines from the Mahāvastu i. 293:

Ye yuktayogā manasā succhandasā *naiṣkramyiṇo* Gautama-śāsanasmiṃ

which corresponds to the first two lines of Suttanipāta 228:

Ye suppayuttā manasā daḷhena *nikkāmino* (vl. *nikkhāmino*, *nikāmino*) Gotamasāsanasmiṃ.

Here it is proved beyond doubt that the word nikkhāmino or nikkāmino or nikāmino is rendered by naiṣkramyiṇo. So when there is an actual use of this word, in an important Buddhist Sanskrit text, all imagined difficulties are cleared away.

9. *Conclusion.*—Thus from the foregoing, we conclude (i) that the early canonical texts use the word nekkhamma in its primary sense of dispassionateness (naiṣkāmya); (ii) that in later canonical texts it came to be used in the secondary sense of 'renunciation, or leaving one's house'; (iii) that in post-canonical Pali works and Pali Commentaries this later interpretation came to be not only confirmed and accepted but a tendency to connect the word also with nikkhama (niṣkram) is noticed with the result that in commentatorial

330 feet in the flow of the Tambraparni river by the construction of the Tambraparni dam. The Pallivasal scheme of Travancore harnesses a fall of the Mudrapuzha, a tributary of the Periyar. The scheme diverts the water from the weir at Munnar (4,750′), takes it through a tunnel and leads it into a forebay at an elevation of 4,715′. From there, the water is let down through two penstock lines, to the power house situated at an altitude of 2,760′ giving a head of about 1,990′. The station was started in 1940 and generates 9,000 kW.

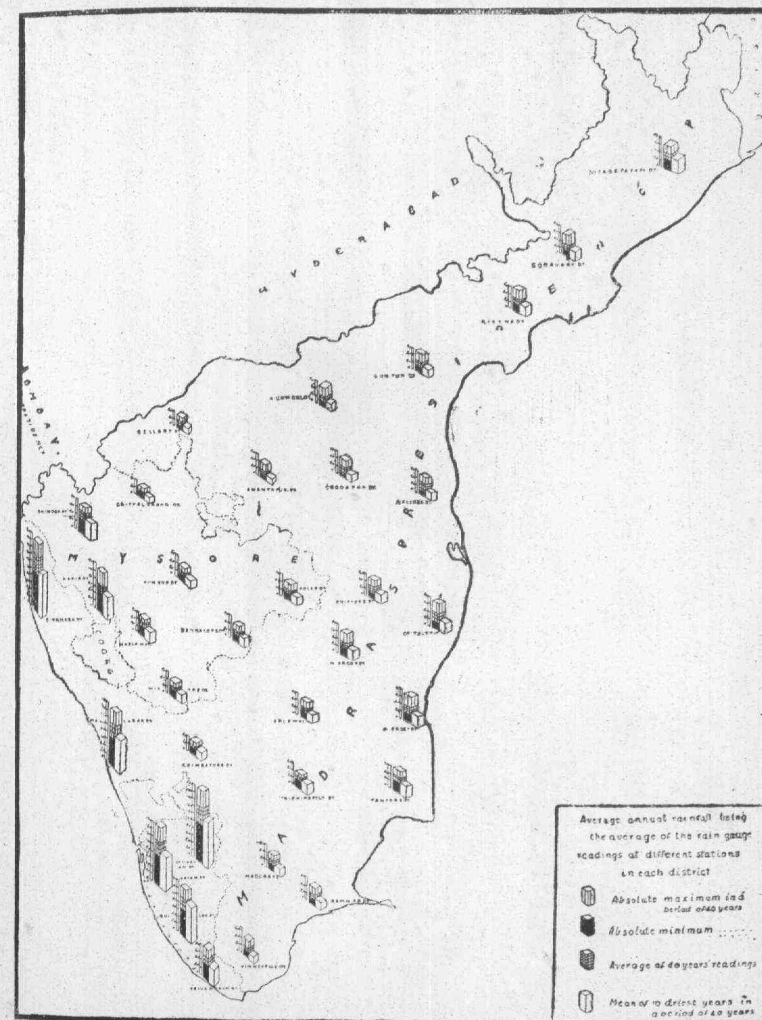
The main geographical factors which condition the development of hydro-electric power generation are topography and rainfall. The mountains of South India fringe the west and east coasts, with the plateau between them sloping gently eastwards. The Western Ghats are much the more important because of their greater height and their unbroken nature. In South India, three well-marked areas of mountain topography stand out prominently. They are: (i) the Nilgiri hills and the western ranges of the Mysore plateau; (ii) the Anamalai, Palni and Cardamom hills; and (iii) the Vizagapatam Agency tracts. The rivers that rise from these regions flow through regions of very rugged topography before they reach the plains, with the result that there are numerous falls and cataracts in their mountain courses which favour the development of power.

The distribution of rainfall at a power site is of fundamental significance in its choice. The upper reaches and the slopes of the Western Ghats, from where the main rivers that are harnessed for electricity rise, have a longer wet season than anywhere else in India. It extends from June to December, comprising the period of the south-west monsoon from June to September and the retreating monsoon from October to December. The so-called dry season is only of five months' duration, from January to May, but even this is often interrupted by thunder showers, which are likely to be heavy in the extreme south-west. The main season of rains is during the period of the south-west monsoon which brings about 100 to 150″ of rain and sometimes even 200″, as at Peermade.[2] The north-east monsoon begins in October and the Cardamom hills in the south and the higher parts of the Western Ghats intercept them to give a subsidiary maximum of rainfall in October. The wet season in these regions is prolonged in both the directions, a pre-monsoon rainfall in April and May and a post-monsoon rainfall in October and November.

The reliability of rainfall is of greater significance than the actual amount of rainfall itself. The coefficient of the reliability of rainfall at any place can be roughly determined by the ratio of the average rainfall of the ten driest years on record, to the mean annual rainfall. On the West Coast, Nilgiris and the Agency tracts, this ratio is very high and is approximately 0·8. This is due partly to the heavy rainfall in these regions, partly to the extended season of rains and partly also because the rainfall is as a result of both the monsoons. Bombay, on the other hand, receives all its rain during the season of the south-west monsoon; the peculiarly favourable conditions of rainfall

[2] In a few favoured sites, the rainfall may be well over 400″ as at Mukurti ridge station in the Nilgiris, or, at Lakkidi, near Vayitiri in Malabar.

give South India decided advantages over Bombay and this is reflected in the storage requirements for hydro-electric development.[3] Even in Madras, the

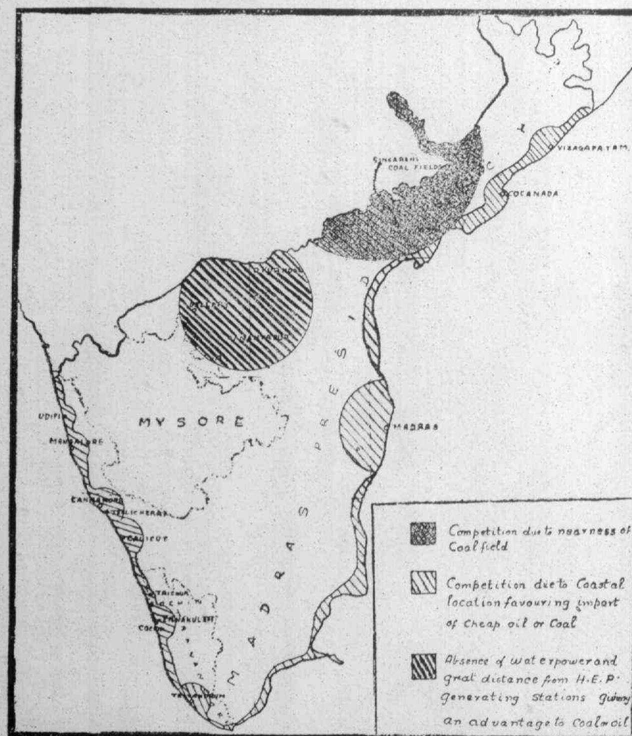


Rainfall Map of South India

rivers show seasonal variation of discharge, e.g. the Pykara river—20,000 cusecs in July and 15 in May. In order to keep the hydro-electric plant

[3] The storage per kilowatt of capacity in million cubic feet for the Pykara plant is 0·03 while it is 0·24 in the case of the Andhra Valley Power Supply Co., 0·21 in the Tata Hydro-electric Power Supply and 0·19 in the Tata Power Company, Ltd. Thus the storage requirements of South India are only $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ of what they are in Bombay.

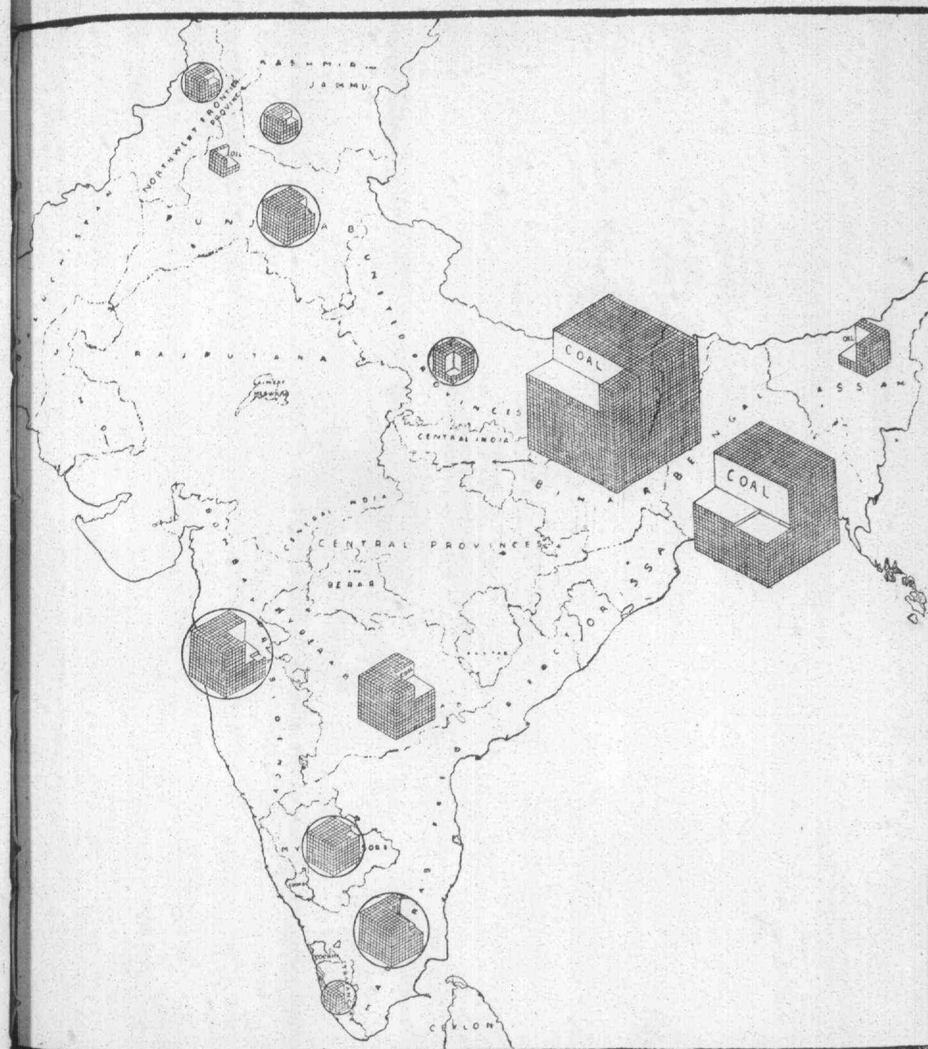
working throughout the year, the discharge curve should be straightened out. The usually adopted device known as monsoon storage is to store the excess monsoon water in a reservoir and let it out by a regulated sluice, so as to give a uniform continuous discharge throughout the year. It is obvious that where the wet season is prolonged, the dimensions and hence the cost of the storage reservoir need not be so large as in a place with a shorter wet season. Even the Pykara which has not the best features of rainfall distribution in comparison with the Pallivasal or Sivasamudram projects is very much better than any of the hydro-electric schemes in Bombay.



Hydro-electric Power *versus* Coal and Oil

On the basis of slope and rainfall which are the geographic factors that delimit the occurrence of water power, South India may be divided into three regions. The Anamalais, the Nilgiri hills and the western parts of Mysore plateau are the most favourable regions; the Cardamom hills and the Palnis come next, while the Vizagapatam Agency tracts are the least favoured.

It is not every potential water power site that is worthy of development. Certain economic factors also play a determining rôle. The most important

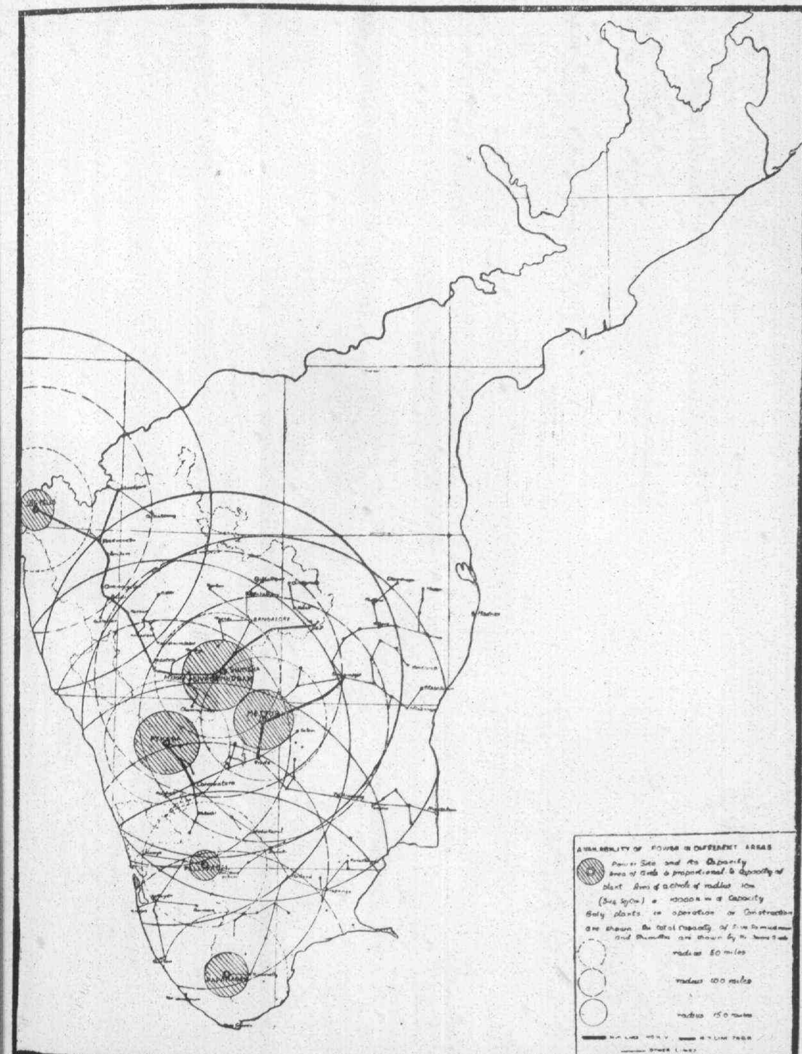


Map of India showing developed Power

The amount of power generated is approximately proportional to the volume of the cube: A unit cube of side $\frac{1}{50}''$ represents 100 kW of installed capacity. Coal and oil energy are converted into kW years by taking 6 tons of coal and 4·3 tons of oil respectively for 1 kW year.

Cube marked coal stands for coal power.
„ oil „ oil „
Circled cube stands for water power.

of them are: (1) the absence of competition from other sources of power in the area, (2) the nearness of market for the hydro-electric power, and (3) the



Availability of Water Power

wealth of the market. It is well known that South India has neither coal nor oil. Thermal electric plants depending on imported coal, or oil, are working in South India in a few areas which have the advantage of location near a

port, to which the fuel can be cheaply transported. War conditions have made the availability of both coal and oil very difficult and many of the power stations like those of Madras are finding it necessary to curtail their supplies to the consumers. How much better it would have been if the capital of the Province was linked to Mettur! And indeed, hydro-electric power comes to within a stone-throw of the city of Madras. Probably vested interests were too dominant. Even in times when the prices of oil and coal are normal and transport charges have not had the terrible gallop towards a peak that is characteristic of war-time conditions, it is found that hydro-electricity is generally cheaper than thermal electricity. Actual figures show that the total annual cost per kilowatt hour of output in a hydro-electric plant in South India is much less than in a thermal electric plant. But it must be admitted that the initial cost of construction of the water plant is very high and especially so, as there is need for storage reservoirs. This however is, as has been shown, at a minimum in South India. There are other mitigating factors like the availability of cement (at Madhukarai) and iron (at Bhadravati) which reduce the cost of construction of reservoirs. Major Sir Henry Howard, the wizard of electricity, has estimated that hydro-electric installations including the cost of high tension transmission should not exceed Rs.1,000 per kilowatt of installed effective capacity at high tension distributing points. The unit cost of the Madras undertakings are well below that figure.

South India has a rich and near market for power. The Pykara power is used mainly in the cement works at Madhukarai, the textile mills at Coimbatore and the tea factories in the Nilgiris, not more than 70 miles away from Glenmorgan. The chief consuming areas in Mysore are Kolar and Bangalore, at distances of 90 miles and 60 miles respectively from the generating station of Sivasamudram. It is these advantages which have resulted in these schemes yielding very good profits, generally more than 8% (for Pykara 8·4% in 1940-41). The Pallivasal power is being utilized at the Sassoon mills and the aluminium works at Alwaye, at a distance of about 60 miles.

Political factors are of significance in the development of hydro-electric schemes. Three governments, the Province of Madras and the Indian States of Mysore and Travancore, are developing their resources independently of one another. From a geographical point of view it would be more healthy and more desirable if all the resources are pooled together. Thus the Pykara, Mettur, Sivasamudram, and Shimsha plants and the Jog project could be made into one grid serving the central areas of South India while the Pallivasal scheme and the projects of Papanasam and Periyar when completed could form another network to supply the needs of the southern areas. It is clearly cheaper for South Kanara to get its power from Jog falls rather than from Pykara. South Travancore can get its power from Papanasam and a transfer of the same quantity can be effected from Pallivasal to South Malabar. This is one more of the many instances where political factors have retarded healthy developments on geographic lines. The Mysore government at present is contemplating its own grid interconnecting Jog falls, Sivasamudram and Shimsha at Bhadravati. The Madras Government has its own scheme with six hydro-electric and three thermal electric plants. The ultimate aim of the Madras Government is to maintain an economic balance between indigenous water power and imported thermal electric power. The Travancore government has its own scheme.[4]

Industrialization of South India was terribly slow in the years before the development of the hydro-electric power schemes and the supply of cheap electric power has been closely followed up by rapid industrial progress in many parts of South India, especially in Mysore State, Coimbatore and Travancore. The 45,000 kW of power generated in Mysore is distributed among (1) the mining industries (20,000 kW), (2) the textile mills (about 14,000 kW), and (3) the miscellaneous industries (more than 10,000 kW). The characteristic feature of the market in Mysore is its variety and the smallness of each unit. Except a few large concerns, the bulk of them employ less than 200 labourers. The Mysore government has generally fostered the growth of small scale industries wherever possible by providing small blocks of power at cheap rates. Power is supplied to small agriculturists for pumping purposes at 6 pies per unit, the lowest rate in India. The power demand in Mysore for agricultural pumping purposes is growing up at an estimated rate of 1,700 h.p. per year.

Coimbatore district has witnessed, since 1930, a remarkable industrial development in the wake of Pykara power. The chief consumers of power in 1941 were: (1) the textile industry (26,000 kW); (2) the cement works (3,500 kW); (3) tea factories (3,900 kW); (4) agricultural purposes (10,000 kW); (5) licensees (20,000 kW); (6) miscellaneous (4,400 kW). At the time of the commencement of the Pykara, there were eight textile mills, all of which soon closed down their steam or oil engine plants and changed over to the government hydro-electric supply. By 1940, 33 mills were connected to the Pykara system and 4 more were under construction. Many existing mills increased their power demands. 'But for the availability of cheap hydro-electric power, there would not have been such a rapid development in industrial load. Further, the government policy regarding loans for conversion and construction, which enabled money to be advanced to both old and new mills for the purchase of the electrical equipment and machinery, was also responsible for the large and rapid increase in the number of mills erected. The low rates for power with the guaranteed maximum charge of 0·66 anna per unit, the security of supply and the service features of the government power system, all make for an appreciated supply and rapidly growing demand.'[5] Much of the success of the Pykara is certainly due to the grand commercial policy adopted by the Madras government under the guidance of Major Sir Henry Howard. The availability of vegetable and mineral raw materials in the neighbourhood of Pykara has also been responsible for its growth. The

[4] Since writing this, I understand from Major Sir Henry Howard that a scheme has already been sanctioned to link the power systems of Madras and Travancore.

[5] Administration Report for the Electricity Dept., Madras, 1937-38, p. 4.

extensions planned to come into existence as late as 1947, had to be effected within 5 years of its inception. Many new textile mills were started in the vicinity of Coimbatore, which today has consequently become the Manchester of South India. The use of electricity for lift irrigation is a healthy departure from the time-worn methods, which once for all explodes the theory that the peasantry in India is averse to the introduction of any scientific improvements in agriculture. In 1933-34, in Coimbatore there were only eight agriculturist consumers connecting 61 h.p., but by 1937-38, their numbers had increased to 970 and they connected about 6,000 h.p. By 1940-41 there were as many as 2,200 agricultural pumps using Pykara power! Again, the development of power at Mettur saw the growth of a textile mill and an electro-chemical factory at Mettur itself and the development of cement works at Dalmia Nagar. The Mettur project also has been a profitable concern yielding more than 5% on capital outlay within the first four years of its origin.

Pallivasal power has contributed very largely to the industrialization of Travancore. Power is being used for several industrial purposes like the aluminium factory, textile mills, tea factories, the ceramic factory, Cochin harbour works, etc. and for agricultural purposes like the dewatering of the Kuttanad region. On a capital outlay of more than 150 lakhs the net profit has been less than 2 lakhs. The yield has thus been much less than that of Pykara or Mettur, but in a few years, there is every prospect of the profits mounting up.

Mr. G. Sundaram estimates that Madras has a minimum of 250,000 kW of power which under favourable circumstances can go up to nearly 500,000. Mysore has another 200,000 kW and Travancore another 100,000 kW. South India has thus a potential total of more than 750,000 kW.

At one time, S. India which had neither coal nor oil was condemned as the one province which had no hopes of industrialization, but the rapid development of water power has, however, opened up a vista of possibilities, thanks to Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, the founder of the Schemes and Major Sir Henry Howard, the person responsible for their execution. Hydro-electric power is not well developed in Bengal, Bihar, C.P., Assam and Hyderabad because of the occurrence of coal, or oil, in these provinces and the consequent inability of water power to compete with thermal electric power.

India is in the same position as that of Japan and Italy. Japan's resources in coal and oil are no better than that of India, but Japan's developed water power is about four million h.p., more than five times that of India. India's potential resources in water power are much greater than that of Japan's. The Indian labourer is just as intelligent as the Japanese labourer, and is in addition, cheaper. India has an abundance of raw materials like iron ore, cotton, jute, etc. which Japan sorely needs. Further more, India has one of the largest home markets in the world. If Japan can become industrialized, there is no reason why India should lag behind. For India, the road to salvation lies in industrialization and development of power is the *sine qua*

non of industrial progress. This war is the golden opportunity for our development and let us hope that it will not be thrown away but utilized to the fullest extent by all the industries, by so organizing and developing themselves that they will be able to hold their own, in the cut-throat competition that is bound to be the most significant feature of the post-war economic depression.[6]

VILLAGES AND TOWNS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

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It is intended to show from an analysis of the details concerning villages and towns described in the standard architectural text, the *Mānasāra-Vāstuśāstra*,[1] that India has known the art of living here on earth, well and happily, and that she ignored no aspect of life in building up a civilization that has endured for some three thousand years.

The villages are classified under eight plans indicated by their titles. They are called *Daṇḍaka, Sarvatobhadra, Nandyāvarta, Padmaka, Svastika, Prastara, Kārmuka*, and *Chaturmukha*, the plan being based on the layout or general shape of the settlement.[2] The town (*nagara*), which is stated to be especially associated with the king or his representative ruler, that is, which serves as the administrative headquarter or the seat of government,[3] varies in accordance with its importance and size and the rank of the ruler residing therein. Thus with regard to town-planning the bases of classification are manifold. As business centre towns are called *Rājadhānī, Nagara, Pura, Nagarī, Kheṭa, Kharvaṭa, Kubjaka*, and *Pattana*.[4] The town unit intended to serve as defensive fortress is divided into another eight groups known as *Śibira, Vāhinīmukha, Sthānīya, Droṇaka, Saṁvidha* or *Vardhaka, Kolaka, Nigama*, and *Skandhāvāra*.[5] As military bases the town unit is distinguished as *Giridurga* (hill fort), *Vanadurga* (forest fort), *Jaladurga* (water fort), *Rathadurga* (chariot fort), *Devadurga* (invincible divine fort), *Paṅkadurga* (marshy fort) and *Miśradurga* (mixed fort).

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[6] This paper is adapted from the dissertation submitted by Mr. V. P. K. Nair to the University of Madras for the Diploma in Geography Examination. All the maps have been drawn by him.

[1] As published by the Oxford University Press, 1934, Vol. III (Text), Vol. IV (Translation), Vol. V (Illustrative Plates).

[2] Mānasāra, Chap. IX, 1–4, compare Evaṁ chāshṭavidhaṁgrāmaṁ tat-tad-rūpeṇa Sañjñitam.

[3] Bhūpatīnāṁ chāpi sarveshāṁ astragrāhyādi-kramāt vakshye saṁkṣṛipya nagarasya tu lakshmaṇam (Mānasāra, X, 1-2). The royal order is divided into nine classes comprising Chakravartin, mahārāja or adhirāja, narendra or mahendra, pārshṇika, paṭṭadhara, maṇḍaleśa, paṭṭabhāj, prāhāraka, and astragrāhiṅ (M. XL, 2–5).

[4] Mānasāra, X, 37–40.

[5] *Ibid.*, X, 40–42.

According to this standard text there is not much difference between a village, a town, and a fort. All are fortified places intended for the residence of people of various callings and temperament. A town is the extension of a village. A fort is but a town principally meant to serve as a military camp for the defence. Thus there is no fundamental difference of the rural and the urban population of the modern time. The amenities of life have been almost impartially distributed as is clear from the details supplied in the text and illustrated in the Plates.[1]

The *Daṇḍaka* (lit. stick, staff) derives its title from its straight rectangular plan. Like most of the plans it is surrounded by the ditch and rampart. Within, it is divided into eight main blocks by three roads running from north to south, one street from east to west bisects the whole area. There is another broad road running along the surrounding rampart. Roads are furnished with foot-path on one side. There are temples of Śiva and Vishṇu for public worship. The block assigned to the Brahmans are further divided into five quarters by smaller streets or lanes. People of other castes are housed in other blocks.

The square plan called *Sarvatobhadra* has openings or outer gates (*bhadra*) on all (*sarvatas*) four directions. The whole area inside the surrounding ditch and rampart is divided by two main roads crossing in the centre into four main blocks which are further divided into numerous smaller quarters of various sizes by straight roads and lanes. At the central crossing there is a Brahmā temple or a public hall which is surrounded by similar structures erected at the corner of the four main blocks. Common tanks are dug in all inhabited quarters. Caste-wise allotments are followed here also.

The *Nandyāvarta* is an enlarged (lit. repeated, *āvarta*) rectangular plan of pleasant (*nandya*) look and convenient residence of a large population. The area inside the ditch and rampart is divided by twelve main roads into twenty-five main blocks some of which are further subdivided into smaller quarters. Apart from caste-wise allotment people of various callings, viz. tailors, fishermen, blacksmiths, basket-makers, washermen, police, priests, royal dancers, physicians, clerks, etc. are housed in their own quarters. Public temples, tanks, gardens, etc. are placed in all convenient quarters.

The *Padmaka* plan derives its title from its lotus (*padma*)-shaped layout which is shewn not only by its ditch and rampart but also by the shape of the four main blocks flanked by the two main roads crossing at the centre where a public hall is allotted. The main blocks are further subdivided into some thirty-two quarters where people of different callings and structures for various uses are allotted.

The *Svastika* (lit. auspicious, cross-like) plan shows a pleasant layout by the two main roads crossing at the centre and by the four main wings. It is at once pleasing and convenient although looks complicated as in a

[1] Architecture of Mānasāra, Vol. V, Plates XV–XXV.

modern congested town. As in the three previous so also here allotment has been made for the royal residence and quarters for the king's ministers and his offices in addition to the general population of various castes and professions and faith. Here each of the four wings has its own roads and lanes, its common halls, parks and tanks. Aṇahilapattana, the old capital of Guzerat, was built according to this plan.[1]

The *Prastara* (lit. expanded) plan is like the *Nandyāvarta*, a rectangular one divided by sixteen broad roads into some thirty-six blocks. It also contains the royal palace in addition to the usual quarters for the inhabitants of various categories.

The *Kārmuka* (bow-shaped) plan justifies its title by its half-circle outline which is divided into four triangular blocks by three arrow-like broad roads which are crossed by three other semicircular roads and one straight road running east to west as the diameter of the half-circle. It looks charming and admirably suits a river- or seaside situation. In conformity with its situation it is a commercial place and its population are mostly business men and it has allotted prominent places for markets and godowns, and police. Public temples are placed at the central quarters easily accessible from all the twenty-eight quarters.

The *Chaturmukha* (lit. having four faces) is a very beautiful rectangular plan. The four roads running sidewise from the middle of a side of the main rectangle and terminating at the middle of its right and left sides form another parallelogram. The main four roads from the middle of the sides of the main rectangle meet at the side of the central plot which is allotted for the residence of the Brahmans, the priests and the main temple. There are twelve other main roads, which together with the other eight roads have formed some forty-eight quarters that have been allotted for the usual purposes including the royal residence.

Of the town units *Rājadhānī* (lit. the city with the king's palace in it) would be a suitable designation for several of the village schemes wherein a royal residence has been included. This common epithet applicable to all the towns and several of the villages is, however, distinguished in accordance with the rank of the royalty, which is divided into nine categories, whose residence is the most distinguishing feature of the settlement. In outline the special plan elaborated under the title *Rājadhānī* corresponds in many respects to the village scheme called *Chaturmukha*. Thus the four main roads running from the middle of the four sides of the rectangular plan terminate, not by crossing each other as is the case in some other plans, but at the middle of the four sides of the central rectangle in the centre of which is built the main temple surrounded by public parks. Another rectangle surrounding the central one contains at the four corners, covering the central rectangle, the royal palace in the North-west, quarters for royal priests and State officials

[1] Hemachandra in his Sanskṛita Dvyāśraya (1. 4ff.) describes it in detail.

in the South-west, Brahmans in the South-east and the public halls in the North-east. The immediately outer quarters of this large rectangle are allotted to people of royal blood and Kshatriyas, ministers, nobles, Vaiśyas (traders), markets and physicians. Beyond these are the quarters for guest-houses (*sattra*), schools, colleges, police, weavers, tailors, servants (śūdras), washermen, milkmen, oilmen, weapon-makers, recreation grounds, public tanks. Behind working classes, are placed at the rear side fishermen, hunters, blacksmiths and others. Barracks for soldiers and guards are allotted to the boundary lines against the surrounding rampart beyond which is the usual ditch. There are more than twenty-four main roads and some sixty quarters referred to in the *Rājadhānī* plan.

The next three town-units known as *nagara*, *nagarī*, and *pura* are basically the same. The title 'nagara' is associated with towns with masculine epithets, such as, Rama-nagara, and 'nagarī' with those bearing feminine designation, such as Kāśī-nagarī. These units may or may not be the administrative head-quarters together with the royal court. Similarly *Pura* implying 'residence', such as Lava-pura (modern Lahore), may be a commercial and residential city without a special significance.

The *Kheṭa* is a special plan with a distinct geography and features. As the title Rani-kheta of the Almora district shows such towns are hill-stations built at the tope, valley or bottom of a hill. Although it may be built in any shape according to available space, the one illustrated in the text looks almost like the *Kārmuka* plan built facing a river or sea, with this difference that the half circumference of a circle is divided into five sides of a half decagon. But the arrow-shaped three main roads and three covering roads divide the whole area in the same way into some fifteen blocks wherein the quarters of the usual population are allotted.

The epithet of the next plan, *Kharvaṭa* (lit. dwarfed) is no longer in the original form available but the titles like Khurja in United Provinces, Khajuraho and others appear to be its derivatives. The plan illustrated is a circular one originating from a central temple, as London has grown surrounding the St. Paul's Cathedral. It has eight diagonal roads terminating at the circumference of the central circle and four main circular roads. There are thus twenty-two blocks in addition to the central circle where the public temple and surrounding open parks are built. When it is built in a forest there need be no provision for the ditch, the rampart alone serving the purpose of defence.

The *Kubjaka* plan is bodily illustrated by the remains of the old city of Kanya-Kubja, the modern Kanouj in the United Provinces. It is an ordinary rectangular plan, with the hump originating from a central half-circle in the shape of the *Kheṭa* plan. It is a royal city with the king's palace, courts, and all other appurtenances (appendices). As illustrated, there are some sixteen main roads and some thirty-two main blocks allotted to various usual purposes.

Of the military camps known as *Śibira*, *Vāhinīmukha*, *Droṇaka*, *Vardhaka*, *Kolaka*, *Nigama* and *Skandhāvāra*, one water-fort, a *Droṇaka* fortress, and a *Śibira* encampment together with the details of fort gates are illustrated in the accompanying plates. The water-fort is an island triangular in shape and is connected with one or more harbours, containing some twenty-four blocks surrounding a central circular one. Much attention is devoted to a scientific disposition of soldiers and guards.

The *Droṇaka* fortress is a quadrangle with two unequal sides. It is connected with harbours and sewers as purely military camps but contains a civil population and also the king's palace.

Śibira is a rectangular military camp. It also contains the king's tent at the centre. It is divided into four rectangles, one containing the other. Special attention is devoted for the protection of the king who appears to have been the commander-in-chief of the army. Allotment of quarters for soldiers and barracks signifies its military feature.

The brief outline as given above and the plates of the villages and towns as enclosed will permit the inference of a common feature for all these settlements. 'Each village or town is surrounded by a wall made of brick or stone. This rampart in case of a fortified town is at least twelve cubits (eighteen feet) in height and its thickness at the base is at least six cubits (nine feet). Beyond this wall there is generally a ditch broad and deep enough to cause serious obstruction in the event of an attack on the village or the town. There are generally four main gates at the middle of the four sides and as many at the four corners. Inside the wall there is a large street running all round the settlement. There are generally two other large streets, each of which connects two opposite main gates. They intersect each other at the centre of the town or the village where a public temple or assembly hall is generally built. The whole area is thus divided into four main blocks, each of which is again sub-divided into many blocks by streets and lanes which are always straight. The two main streets crossing at the centre have houses and foot-paths on one side of the street. The ground-floor of these houses on the main streets consists of shops. The street which runs round the village or the town has also houses and foot-paths only on one side. These houses are mainly public buildings, such as schools, libraries, guest-houses, etc. All other streets generally have residential buildings on both sides. The houses high or low are generally uniform in make. Drains follow the slope of the ground. Tanks and ponds are dug in all inhabited parts, and located where they can conveniently be reached by a large number of inhabitants. The temples for public worship, as well as the public commons, gardens and parks are similarly allotted. People of the same caste or profession are generally housed in the same quarter. The dimensions of the smallest units are about 100 by 200 *daṇḍas* and the largest town unit 7,200 by 14,400 *daṇḍas*.

The details of the art of building villages, towns and houses were systematically embodied for the first time in the avowedly architectural treatises, although the building operation must have been in existence long, long before these treatises were composed. The standard text, *Mānasāra*, wherefrom some details have been quoted above is strikingly similar to the treatise known

as the architecture of the Roman architect Vitruvius of approximately 25 B.C. The *editio princeps* of Vitruvius's treatise was first printed at Rome in or about 1486 A.D. The unique position of this treatise is clear from the fact that since its first appearance in the fifteenth century there have been till 1807 forty-two editions of the work, seventeen editions being in Latin, eleven in Italian, two in Spanish, six in French, four in German and two in English. Thus the European architecture which developed in various countries since the fifteenth century was largely influenced by this treatise. In its present complete form the *Mānasāra* was first published in 1934, although in 1834 it was quoted by Ram Raz in his *Essay on Indian Architecture*. In Appendix I of the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* some two hundred architectural texts have been referred to, most of which appear to have been indebted to the standard text *Mānasāra*.[1] And in Chapters II and III of the writer's *Indian Architecture*[2] direct quotations from this text by several popular architectural treatises and direct influence upon general Sanskrit literature dealing with architectural matters have been elaborated. Thus although it had not so many regular editions as Vitruvius is honoured with the influence of *Mānasāra* in shaping the Indian architecture, since at least the first century of the Christian era, cannot be denied.[3] But, on the other hand, as we will show later on, the prescriptions of *Mānasāra* reflect the condition of village scheme obtained during the period of Mohenjodaro (B.C. 3250–2750), of the Vedas (B.C. 2500–1000), of the Epics (B.C. 1000–500 A.D.) including the Buddhist (B.C. 500–300 A.D.) and the Purāṇas (300–1200 A.D.).

The present Mohenjodaro area is 'a long narrow strip of land between the main river (Indus) bed and the Western Nara loof. There are stated to have been several cities, one being superimposed upon the other. The remains of the uppermost city were hid by the mounds. The actual area covered by the mounds is now no more than about 240 acres. Originally, the site of Mohenjodaro must have been much more extensive than it is today and have formed a more closely connected whole'.

In the extant layout 'there is a main road, designated by the excavator as East street, which runs across the site from east to west. There is another long street, but less important as the thoroughfare of the city, which crosses East street at right angles and thus runs from north to south and is designated as First street. From these two long streets as well as from the short sections of others disclosed in other parts of the site, it is evident that the city was intersected by long streets or approximately straight thoroughfares mainly oriented north to south or east to west. The main thoroughfares are all below the level of the buildings erected alongside of them'. The extent of ground covered by this city at successive periods is not definitely known, but it is clear that once it must have extended well beyond the existing limits. Sir John Marshall asserts that 'the city must have been surrounded by walls'.

[1] Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, pp. 749–804.
[2] Pp. 89–109, 110–133 (Position of the Mānasāra in Literature).
[3] *Ibid.*, Chap. V, pp. 160–198.

The layout of the whole city of any of these periods or strata is thus missing from the account of Sir John Marshall and others. A picture may, however, be reconstructed by joining up the various sections or areas as described by them. The city would thus look of irregular shape, like the *Droṇaka* fortress of the *Mānasāra's* plans, the longer side in some cases being from north to south, and in others from east to west. The streets and lanes, however, are nearly straight. By the intersections of these the city is divided into different blocks. The central part appears to have been occupied by some public building or the great Bath. Each block contained a number of buildings for the residence of the people of the same profession as the quarters of the washermen indicate. There appears to have been an extensive arrangement for drainage—a peculiarity which is strongly emphasized in the *Mānasāra* and other *Śilpa-śāstras*. The general city plan, including even the irregularity of sides, will also correspond to some of the plans elaborately described in the *Architecture of Mānasāra*.[1]

No such remains of the Vedic villages and towns have been yet discovered. But from the references like Pura-bhit (destroyer of cities) the existence of some kind of town is clear. Besides, mention is made of 'a sovereign who, exercising no oppression, sits down in this substantial and elegant hall built with a thousand pillars' and of residential houses with such pillars as are said to be vast, comprehensive and thousand-doored.[2] Mitra and Varuṇa are represented as occupying a great palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates.[3] References to such extensive structures will also indicate the existence of big cities.

'The view of Zimmer and others after him (*Vedic Index* of Macdonell and Keith, I, 538–540), that Vedic India knows of nothing more solid and complex than the hamlet, like the early Germans and Slavs who had no castle-structures and town-life, is an extreme one; for it is now realized as a basic fact that the Vedic Indians, like Iranians, Hellenes, and Italians, were superimposed upon an earlier civilization . . . . Thus it becomes quite reasonable to find in *pṛithvī*, *ūrvī*, *śatabhujī*, *aśmamayī* and *āyasī purs* the massive, extensive, hundred-walled, stone-built and iron-protected forts. It is unnecessary to assume forced explanations to discover in them mysteries of myths and fancies of metaphors.' The archaeological remains discovered at Mohenjodaro and other places should corroborate this view.

In the great Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the layout of big cities has been fully described.

'The great city of Ayodhya built on the banks of the Sarayu was twelve Yojanas (96 miles) in length and nine Yojanas (72 miles) in breadth, the houses of which stood in triple and long extended rows . . . . . . the streets and lanes were scientifically disposed, and the principal streets well-watered. It was filled with merchants of various descriptions, and adorned with

[1] Architecture of Mānasāra, Vol. IV, Chaps. IX, X, pp. 63–98.
[2] Wilson's Rigveda, II, 313, 179; compare R.V., II, 41, 5; V, 62, 6; VII, 88, 5.
[3] A.V. 12; ix, 3.

abundance of jewels; difficult of access, filled with spacious houses, beautiful with gardens, and groves of mango trees, surrounded by a deep and impassable moat, and completely furnished with arms. It was ornamented with stately gates and porticos, and constantly guarded by archers. . . . Ayodhya thus fortified by gates and firmly barred, was adorned with areas disposed in regular order, and abounding with a variety of warlike weapons and with artifices of every kind, charioteers, cannons (*śataghni*, capable of killing a hundred at a time), crowded with elephants and horses. It was beautified with temples, gardens, bathing tanks and spacious buildings full of inhabitants. It was embellished with magnificent palaces, the domes of which resembled the tops of mountains. The houses therein formed one continued row, of equal height, resounding with the delightful, music of tabor, the flute and the harp.'[1] Such copious description of numerous other cities is available in this earlier Epic.

The later Epic, *Mahābhārata*, also supplies descriptions of some hundreds of cities. Mr. Hopkins[2] who has made a special study of the Epics and the *Purāṇas* specially in respect of the town-plan has made a masterly summary which may be quoted with a great advantage. 'We may examine the general plan of a Hindu city . . . . It had high, perhaps concentric, walls about it, in which were watch-towers. Massive gates, strong doors[3] protected chiefly by a wide bridge moat, the latter filled with crocodiles and armed with palings, guarded the walls. The store-house was built near the rampart. The city was laid out in several squares.[4] The streets were lighted with torches.[5] The traders and king's court made this town their residence. The farmers lived in the country, each district guarded if not by a tower modelled on the great city, at least by a fort of some kind. Out of such fort grew the town. Round the town as round the village was the common land to some distance, later converted into public gardens, as we see in the *Mudrārākshasa*. The city gates ranged in number from four to eleven and were guarded by squads of men and single wardens.[6] Door-keepers guarded the courts of the palace as well as the city gates.

'In the city special palaces existed for the king, the princes, the chief priests, ministers, and military officers. Besides these and humble dwellings, the larger houses being divided into various courts (as the Vasantasena's mansion referred to in the *Mṛichchha-kaṭika* having seven courts each with a gate house), there were various assembly halls, dancing halls, liquor-saloons, gambling halls, courts of justice, and the booths of small traders with goldsmith's shops and the work places of other artisans. The arsenal appears to have been not far from the king's apartments. Pleasure-parks abounded.

[1] Rāmāyaṇa, I. 5. 5–17.
[2] *J.A.O.S.*, No. 13, pp. 175, 176.
[3] Mahābhārata, XV. 16. 3; the king left Hastinapur by a high gate.
[4] The Mbh. recommends six squares but Rāmāyaṇa (II. 48. 19) mentions four only.
[5] Mbh., I. 221. 36; Rāmāyaṇa, VI. 112. 12.
[6] Eleven gates (Keith, Up., V. 1); Nine (Varaha, p. 52, 5), Rāmāyaṇa (VI. 93. 7); Four (Act VI, Mṛichchha-kaṭika).

The royal palace appears always to have had its dancing hall attached.' The above descriptions from the Epics which were the source of the classical literature tally with those quoted from the architectural standard text of *Mānasāra* which also corroborate the picture of villages and towns of the Buddhist period drawn by Rhys Davids from the canonical works and the *Jātakas*.[1]

'In the Buddha's time and in that portion of northern India where the Buddhist influence was most early felt . . . the arrangements of villages,' says Rhys Davids, 'were practically similar. We nowhere hear of isolated houses. The houses were all together, in a group, separated only by narrow lanes. Immediately adjoining was the sacred grove of trees of the primeval forest . . . . . Beyond this was the wide expanse of cultivated field, usually rice field. Villages are described as uniting of their own accord to build mote-hills, and rest-houses, and reservoirs, to mend the roads between their own and adjacent villages and to lay out parks.'[2]

Regarding town-plans 'we are told of lofty walls, ramparts with buttresses and watch-towers; the whole surrounded by a moat or even a double moat, one of water and one of mud. But we are nowhere told of the length of the fortifications or of the extent of the space they enclosed. It would seem that we have to think not so much of a large walled city as of a fort surrounded by a number of suburbs . . . . . From the frequent mention of the windows of the great houses opening directly on to the streets or squares it would appear that it was not the custom to have them surrounded by any private grounds; there were, however, no doubt, enclosed spaces behind the front of the houses, which latter abutted on the streets.'[3]

The extant and the exact measurement of some plans are, however, available. The fortress, Girivraja, four and a half miles in circumference, is said to have been built by Mahā-Govinda, the architect. Bimbisara is stated to have built the capital city of Rajagriha which was three miles in circumference. 'The stone walls of Girivraja are the oldest extant buildings in India.' Mention is also made of the cities of Ayodhyā, Bārāṇasī, Kampilla, Kosambī, Madhurā, Mithilā, Sāgala, Śāketa, Śrāvasti, Ujjayini, Veśāli and others.[4]

These traditions of the highly conservative Indo-Aryan community continues today despite several cultural onslaughts since the fifth century before Christ. The class-wise distribution of quarters in our present villages and towns still continues; the surrounding ditches have disappeared but their mark is represented in many old settlements by the dry drains, and the remains of old ramparts can still be seen in many instances.

Certain details specifically mentioned in the Epic and Buddhist accounts deserve special notice. It is stated that 'houses were never built in isolation'. This indicates the fundamental nature of Aryan culture; the Aryans unlike

[1] See for details the writer's Indian Architecture, II, pp. 9–16.
[2] Buddhist India, pp. 42, 45, 49; compare Jātaka, I, 199.
[3] Buddhist India, pp. 64-65.
[4] Vimānavatthu, Commentary, p. 82; see writer's Hindu Architecture, p. 9, note 2.

the non-Aryans were characteristically social beings; they could never and nowhere live singly and alone. It is only the primitives who were grossly selfish and abnormally cruel and callous. Thus a primitive man would not care even for his own children; in this respect he is lower than an animal which has an instinctive sympathy for its helpless offsprings. It is, therefore, that while the animals move in herds by instinctive impulse for society, the primitives shun the society deliberately. The Indo-Aryans, on the other hand, were social beings by nature and moved in a company not like the animals in herd but in an organized form when they left their original home in search of better climate and soil. This fact should explain why the houses for Aryan residence were never built in isolation.

It is therefore but natural that 'villagers united of their own accord' to build mote-hills for their safety and security, rest-houses for guests, reservoirs for common use and benefit, and to mend public roads and lay out common parks for the comfort and convenience of the whole society.

Similarly, the 'watering of the roads' and 'providing street-lights' would indicate clearly a state of civic sense which is lacking even today in many settlements. Both in village schemes and town-plans the drainage system and the orientation of residences to get the maximum benefit of the sun and the wind have been emphasized: the hygienic value of these matters in connection with villages and towns can hardly be overestimated. In such thickly populated areas the benefit of straight roads for free ventilation of air and sun is obvious. The device of having foot-paths and shops on one side of thickly populated roads and keeping the other side open and free of congestion is a highly scientific one, and may be imitated wherever feasible with great benefit even at modern cities. The houses of uniform height in the same locality provide equal facilities and advantages for the whole population in addition to satisfying the aesthetic need of a civilized community. The most natural and mutually convenient practice of housing people of the same profession and equal economic level in the same quarter or block is not only homogeneous but also preventive of inevitable clash and disharmony.

Mr. Havel who studied Indian civilization in close quarter for a lifetime asserts that 'the most advanced science of Europe has not yet improved upon the principles of the planning of the garden cities of India based upon the Indian village-plan as a unit' . . . . 'It will probably be a revelation to modern architects to know how scientifically the problems of town-planning are treated in these ancient Indian architectural treatises. Beneath a great deal of mysticism, which may be scoffed at as pure superstition, there is a foundation of sound common sense and scientific knowledge which should appeal to the mind of the European expert.' [1]

[1] E. B. Havel: Indian Civilization, pp. 7-8.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON HINDI LITERATURE

By

PROF. LALITA PRASAD SUKUL

I

Hindi literature came into existence as early as about the eighth century A.D. and it goes without saying that Hindi language as such must have come into existence much earlier. On the basis of some couplets of the Siddhas discovered in Nepal and on some other cogent evidence K. P. Jayaswal has fixed the date of Hindi, developed as an independent language, as the sixth century A.D.[1] After a thorough scientific analysis now the linguists are almost unanimous that in the said couplets it was the early form of Hindi evolved from the Apabhraṃśa stage.

If we look at this vast literature of twelve hundred years, produced in the vast area of Hindi-speaking people, which extends from the borders of Western Bengal to the eastern fringe of the Punjab and from the Tarai of the Himalayas up to the upper boundaries of the Vindhyas (covering the modern provinces of Bihar, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, North-western Province, Rajputana, Malwa, Central Provinces, Central India Agency and greater part of Eastern India Agency States and parts of Chota Nagpur), it will not be difficult to see that the intellectual contribution of the people inhabiting them has been quite in keeping with the standard of the rich heritage of its past.

The true estimate of a literature is made primarily on the basis of its quality; and of course the quantity and variety also do count. The literature of each country has its own plan of development according to the cultural and social background in which it has to grow and thrive; and yet there are certain universal laws that control generally the intellectual working of man as much as his physical or the spiritual. This is the basis on which the genuine greatness of a literature is tested.

In spite of the racial and national differences, which have separated one group of man from the other, there are certain common aspects which entitle men to be called human beings; and such elements find their expression in the fundamental emotions of love and fear, anger and hatred, pathos and laughter. Primitive or civilized human life has been nothing but a chain of experiences of the above emotions through its various activities; and literature is a record of the same.

II

Now, if we carefully go through the whole of Hindi literature, we find it fulfilling all the demands of a great literature. In antiquity it has a unique position of its own as compared with the literatures of any other modern Indian language; and in vastness, variety, and bulk it is incomparable. Hindi

[1] See his address as President of the First Bihar Hindī Sāhitya Sammilanee.

being the mother tongue of a large number of people had, of course, many advantages over other sister languages. We know how important a rôle tradition plays in preparing the congenial atmosphere for the intellectual working of man without which no great achievement in this direction is possible. And Hindi, being the language of an area [1] of the greatest and perhaps the most glorious of literary, cultural, and social traditions, had the ground already prepared to receive the marvellous intellectual contribution of its genius, endowed with the sacred mission of unfading brilliance and appeal. One of the most remarkable factors in the creation and growth of Hindi literature is that almost from the very inception it has had the advantage of being created by those who were inspired thinkers, and who came with some divine mission to deliver to the suffering humanity. They did create immortal pieces of art planned on the most scientific basis, but none of them was an effort towards 'art for art's sake': rather upon them art had dawned itself to reveal the divine message of redemption and to flood the world with the light of knowledge, and dispel darkness. They offered solutions to the eternal questions of humanity, which are to be solved over and over again and yet they remain unsolved.

III

Surdas, one of the greatest singers ever born—sitting at the '*Shree Nath*' temple as its chief singer—composed thousands of '*Padas*' devoted to the worship of his deity—'Bāla Krishṇa'. In his *Sursagar* he has narrated the story of *Bhagavat Purāṇa* in general. But the tenth skandha, which is the biggest and the best, is devoted entirely to describing the most captivating pranks of the child Krishṇa and the other important portion of the same, generally known as the '*Bhramar Geeta*', describes the *Viraha* of the *Gopīs* separated from Sri Krishṇa after he had gone to Mathurā. The first portion gives the most vivid description of a child, specially of his physical and mental tendencies and activities. The fondness of the parents for the child and the ever vigilant care and anxiety of the loving mother with which she tends the child are the topics very ably dealt with by this born-blind great singer. The note of unfailing appeal underlying the innocence of a child and the touches of the filial fondness which are eternally engrained in human heart, have imparted a perpetual grace to the poetry of this great singer.

Mother Yashodā persuades the unwilling child (Krishṇa) to drink a little more milk:

(1) कजरी को पय पियऊ लला तेरी चोटी बढ़ै ।
× × × × ×
यह सुनि कै हरि पीवन लागे, ज्यौं त्यौं लियो पढ़ै ।
अंचवत पै तातो जब लाग्यों रोवत जीभ कढ़ैं ॥

[1] 'This area has been the heart of the most ancient Hindu culture; and even after the advent of the Mohammedans it was only here that the Islamic culture thrived, and ultimately got interfused with the ancient Hindu culture.'—*Hopkins.*

पुनि पीवत ही कच टकटोवै झूठै जननी रढ़ै ।
'सूर' निरखि मुख हंसत जसोदा सो सुख मुख न कढ़ै ॥

(2) मैया कबहिं बढ़ैगी चोटी ।
किती बार मोहिं दूध पीवत भई यह अजहूं है छोटी ॥
तू जो कहति बल की बेनी ज्यों ह्वै है लांबी मोटी ।
काढ़त गुहत न्हवावत ओंछत नागिन सी भुंई लोटी ॥
काचो दूध पिवावत पचि पचि देत न माखन रोटी ।
सूर स्याम चिरजिव दोउ
भैया हरि हलधर की जोटी ॥

The innocent efforts of the baby to tease his mother Yashodā have been well portrayed:

कहन लगे मोहन मैया मैया ।
पिता नन्द सों बाबा अरु हलधर सो भैया ॥
ऊंचे चढ़ि चढ़ि कहत जसोदा लै लै नाम कन्हैया ।
दूर कहूं जिनि जाऊ लला रे मारैगी काऊ की गैया ॥ etc. etc.

That ever-present imitative faculty inborn in an intelligent child with its fun and joy has found its due expression in the vision of the poet; and with his superb artistic scenes he has chosen the occasion of 'taking the meal' to reveal it in verses :

जेंवत स्याम नंद की कनियां ।
कछुक खात कछु धरनि गिरावत छवि निरखत नंदरनिया ॥
× × × × ×
डारत खात लेत अपने कर रुचि मानत दधि दनियां ।
× × × × ×
आपुन खात नंद-मुख नावत सो सुख कहत न बनियां । etc.

That the indignation of a sensitive child at the teasing remarks of a senior brother or elderly companion has ever been the occasion of an innocent fun of human life. Even this does not escape the poet's notice, and he paints the scene to remind us of the eternal homeliness of life through ages gone by :

(1) मैया मोहिं दाऊ बहुत खिझायो
मोसों कहत मोल को लीनो तोहि जसुमति कब जायो ॥
कहा कहौं एहि रिस के मारे खेलन हौं नहिं जातु ।
× × × × × ×
गोरे नन्द जसोदा गोरी तुम कत स्याम सरीर ।
चुटकी दै दै हंसत ग्वाल सब सिखै देत बलबीर ॥

तू मोही को मारन सीखी दाउहि कबहूं न खीझै ।
मोहन को मुख रिस समेत लखि जसुमति सुनि सुनि रीझैं ॥ etc.

(2) खेलन अब मेरी जात बलैया ।
जबहिं मोहिं देखत लरिकन संग तबहि खिझत बल भैया ॥
मोसों कहत पूत बसुदेव को देवकी तेरी मैया ।
मोल लियो कछु दै बसुदेव को करि करि जतन बढ़ैया ॥
अब बाबा कहि कहत नन्द सों, जसुमति को कहै मैया ।
ऐसे कहि सब मोंहि खिझावत तब उठि चलौं खिसैया ॥ etc.

Out of innumerable beautiful '*Padas*' of equally high merit it was difficult to choose, yet there is hardly any interesting aspect of child-psychology that has not been touched by this great singer Surdas.

Now the question arises whether it was for the mere fancy of the subject that the poet chose it or for some higher purpose? Surdas, being a disciple of Vallabhāchārya, belongs to the cult of Krishṇa worshippers in which Bālkrishṇa has been accepted as the form of Krishṇa to be worshipped. One of the reasons is that the path of Bhakti primarily aims at purification of the heart of the devotee by bringing softer human passions to the utter exclusiveness, and thereby it helps him to obtain the supreme path.

The devotion to Bālkrishṇa was chosen for the reason that the innate innocence and purity of a child has an unconscious appeal to the softer and nobler emotions of the people. But even to effect this natural reaction, it is necessary that the artist should maintain in his creation the high standard of conformity with the highest Natural Order. The very fact, that for the last so many centuries the '*Padas*' sung by the great singer have been vigorously sustaining the fire of devotion in innumerable beings, is enough to speak for the magnificent success of the artist.

Udhava, a chum of Sri Krishṇa, was the professed champion of Yogamārga, and he was sent out by Sri Krishṇa to Vrindāvana to console the Gopīs who were suffering from the severe pangs of separation from their beloved Sri Krishṇa. He had enthusiastically accepted the onerous duty of bringing peace to the suffering Gopīs by initiating them in the cult of Yoga, which he firmly held to be superior to the Bhakti cult.

But when he was asked by the Gopīs that Bhakti was not a mere cult or religion but a sacred creed and faith of life, his scholastic arguments of rare logical value utterly failed. He was unsuccessful in his mission and he himself got converted to their cult of love and devotion of *Bhakti*.

Of course Surdas claims no originality. In retelling what is given in the *Bhagavat Purāṇa* he won for himself a much superior position as a successful poet and artist as compared to the great author of the *Bhagavat*. The poignant simplicity of the Gopīs has reached its zenith in the songs of the poet who has breathed in them that immortal life knows no fading nor decay.

In his time, sincerity of heart, coupled with that unflinching love and devotion, once again expresses itself in its truest colour and wins a very easy victory over the mere casuistry of scholarship and pretensions of logic. This is the conclusive hit that once again kindles the spark of true light and reassures the devotee of the truth that the divine quest is purely a matter of realization and not of learned arguments or sense perception.

Apart from the superb philosophic value of this chapter, it has a merit of its own as a pure piece of art and poetry. If true art aims at the interpretation of the genial current of human emotions, and if the *Rasa* is held to be the soul of poetry (वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्), then perhaps a brighter specimen of art or poetry than this is yet to be created. The dominating *Rasa* in शृंगार is the 'Ādirasa'. But the display of all the elements of this *Rasa* with such a perfect portrayal in its absolute universal aspect is a rare achievement, not only in Hindi literature alone but also in the world literature.

IV

Tulsidāsa was another bright luminary of Hindi literature. Vincent Smith has paid the most glowing tribute to him when he says that 'undoubtedly the greatest personality of the sixteenth century was Tulsi and not Akbar'.

This great saint Tulsidāsa, the author of *Ram-Charitra-Manas* and many more works of great merit and value, was also a Vaishnava *Bhakta*. But he was a devotee of Rāma the '*Maryadapurushottam*'. Sur and Tulsi both belonged to the *Bhakti* cult, and yet there was an important difference of outlook between the two. Sur looked upon his deity Sri Krishṇa as his dear friend whereas with Tulsi Rāma was his master and the protector. This material difference of outlook was very vital. According to him poetry was merely the necessary medium of self-expression. As one of the modern poets has rightly said,[1] 'Poetry did not garnish Tulsi, rather through the pen of this great divine singer poetry got itself garnished.' He had also a mission of his own. In all his voluminous works (except in three) his theme is Rāma's life. But he has been exceptionally successful in maintaining a scrupulously high standard of ideal morality in painting his character, and yet the graces of the muse have not been allowed to be sacrificed or left unattended to even in a single place. There is hardly an occasion here to discuss his great works in detail. But generally speaking, it can be stated safely that Tulsi's outlook on life was extremely broad and he was the greatest champion of Hindi culture. His creed of culture demanded the highest discipline of the three selves (i.e. the physical, the intellectual and the spiritual) and the capacity of mutual understanding and sincere tolerance served as the test of the culture acquired. All this self-discipline and the quest for peace was not merely for the worldly gain. But according to him, they were all the requisite preparations for a higher life, i.e. the realization of God.

In delivering his message he was not unmindful of the practical difficulties of man, and it was to solve these that he held out in his Rāma the most

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[1] "कविता कर के तुलसी न लसे, कविता लसी पा तुलसी की कला" ॥

perfect model of all the social relationships that a man is required to fulfil. In Sītā he painted the most perfect model of the womanhood and the ideals thereof. It is marvellous indeed to see this great artist laying the foundation of his character in the most exalted imperial background of a royal palace and with all the paraphernalia of overflowing bounty and richness strewn all over with its unusual lavishness and yet the entire practical life of his great character is lived untainted with the slightest touches of aristocracy. Thus the artist has achieved his great aim of presenting the life-models, embodying the highest ideal of a pure and noble life. In order to send his message to the suffering humanity, he chose to sing his divine wisdom in the language of the masses, although he was a profound scholar of Sanskrit.

He was a very great idealist and he gave expression to his idealism through his great hero Rāma. By the dint of his superior genius and personality Tulsidāsa did not allow even for once his art to be sacrificed for his extreme idealism, or the idealism to be sacrificed to maintain the graces of art. Mere theorizing was genuinely foreign to his temperament as he himself says, "पर उपदेश कुशल बहुतेरे, जे आचरहिं ते नर न घनेरे ॥" 'not few are efficient to advise others; but those who actually act up to their own advice are not many'.

He says that Rāma was a dutiful son of an illustrious father to whom fulfilment of his promise was sacred; but his affection for his son Rāma was very great. There sat the step-queen-mother demanding nothing shorter than the pound of flesh in the unconditional banishment of Rāma. Rāma broke the sad news in the presence of his own mother Kaushalyā and sought her permission. Being so unprepared to receive such a rude shock, she maintained the perfect dignity of the most affectionate mother, the seniormost queen, the devoted consort of the royal lord, possessed of the unexcelled nobility of a co-wife, who was blessed with the highest culture and understanding. And all this is achieved in the two brief lines from the pen of this immortal singer:

"जौ केवल पितु आयसु ताता, तौ जनि जाऊ जानि बड़ि माता ।
जौ पितुमातु कह्यो बन जाना, तौ कानन सत अवध समाना" ॥

'With a perfect composure she tells Rāma that if the order of banishment is given by your royal father alone, then you need not go; because such is your mother's order, who, of course, is a superior authority; but if you have received orders from your father and mother (Kaikeyī) both, then you must obey, and my dear son the forest will be better than hundreds of Ayodhyā for you.'

The above is just one of the finest specimens of his skill as a great poet and artist. The short space hardly allows a more detailed treatment of the subject.

V

Now we turn to Kabir who was also one of the brightest jewels of Hindi literature. In respect of time he was senior to Sur or Tulsi. In matter of

faith and cult he belonged to the School of Rāmānanda, which prescribed the worship of Rāma the incarnation of Vishṇu. On the basis of the inner and outer evidence, it is undeniable that he belonged to the said school; but in essence, he had very little to do with the faith and practices of that school. He calls his God Rāma in various names. But in conception, Rāma of Kabir is not the traditional incarnation of Vishṇu. He is the all-pervading *Nirguna Brahma* and for his realization it is not *Upāsanā* or *Bhakti* that is needed; but what is required is pure and simple *Sādhanā*. As the chief preceptor of this cult, Kabir was primarily a *Sādhaka*.

Some refer to his Vaishnavite tendencies, and his leanings towards the path of *Bhakti*. It would be a mistake to class him as a *Bhakta* or a Vaishnava of any school. It is well known that Kabir never wrote a line in his own hands, nor did he follow any systematic plan of going about to preach his own doctrines. The numerous disciples who used to assemble round him from the various parts of the country and used to sing with him almost in a chorus spread his message all over the world. A part of preservation was also theirs. This being a known fact about the life and work of the poet, taking all the various collections of Kabir, all that we can claim is to possess mainly his thoughts and also his spirit through some of his typical expressions.

Kabir had no pretension of any scholastic background. His was the most direct method of acquiring and imparting knowledge, and he prescribed nothing but the path of *Sādhanā* as the surest method of self-realization:

सहजे हीधुन होत है हरदम
घटके माहिं ।
सुरत सब्द भेला भया मुख की
हाचन नाहिं

तन थिर मन थिर बचन थिर सुरत
निरत थिर होय ।
कह कबीर इस पलकको कलपन
पावै कोय ॥

In referring to religious mythologies or in discussing the theological principles he has erred, and at times the errors are glaring; but when he discusses the merits or the requisite items of *Sādhanā* he gives ample evidence of his complete mastery and thorough knowledge of his subject.

Kabir has also expressed his views on many other problems than 'self-realization'. His utterances are usually the outcome of his strong common-sense. A precise balance of outlook, brevity, and his appeal to reason rather than to emotions are the outstanding characteristics of his utterances. Thus in spite of his critical attitude towards the commonest of human failings he carried conviction to a very large number of people with the result that his utterances became the household words of wisdom and light amongst them. The remarkable sincerity and intellectual purity of the sage are noticeable in his valuable words.

A creative art is essentially superior to other types of art. A true creation through the medium of art is the creation of the time spirit that not only shapes its age, but also goes to sustain life against the forces of decay and corruption. This is the justification to hold that it is true that a literature is created by man who is also created by a great literature.

SŪFĪS AND MUSIC

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It is not the place to define what Sūfīsm is and what a Sūfī stands for. Suffice it to say that Sūfīsm is an attitude of mind towards God and things Godly. The Sūfīs have their own way of thinking, which the orthodox says, is not warranted by the law of the Prophet. They were often maligned, cursed and persecuted for their free thinking. Still they exist as a powerful factor in the community of the Muslims.

Sūfīs generally hold independent opinions on many fundamental points of Islam. One of these is on the subject of music. Many of the Sūfīs hold that music is lawful. Of this class the most important are the 'Chishtīs'. The 'Naqshbandī' order holds that music is unlawful. Sattaria and Qadiriya hold that permissibility of audition of music is conditional. Other minor orders follow the practices of their preceptors—'Pīrs'.

Sūfīs are classified into three distinctive groups according to time:—

(*a*) Motaqaddemin—who were mentioned in the *Tadhkiratul Awlia* by Fariduddin Aṭṭar—such as Junayd Baghdadī, Abū Bakr Shiblī, Wais Qaranī, Haram bin Hayan, Mansūr Ḥallaj, Khawaja Ḥasan Basrī, Dhun-Nun Misrī, Faḍl bin Aiaḍ, Bayazid Bistamī and others.

(*b*) Motaussseṭin—who were mentioned by Jami in his *Nafhatul Uns*—such as Ma'inuddin Chishtī, Maulana Rumi, Jamī, Fariuddin Aṭṭar and 'Abdul Qādīr Jilanī.

(*c*) Motaakhyrin—who were mentioned in modern books like *Tasauf aur Islam* by Maulana 'Abdul Majid Dariabadi—such as Niẓamuddin Awlia, Ṣ'adī, Hafiz, Imām 'Abul Qāsim Kashrī.

There are innumerable orders of the Sūfīs who may be classified according to the principles and practices of the Pīrs or according to the country they live in. In India the most important of the Sūfī orders are:—

(1) Chishtia—(*a*) Niẓamia section.
(*b*) Ṣabirī ,,

(2) Naqshbandia—four Qayyums.

(3) Qadiria—(*a*) Bahul Shahī Section.
(*b*) Maqim Shahī ,,
(*c*) Naw Shahī ,,
(*d*) Husayn
(*e*) Myañ Khel

(4) Suhrawardia—(*a*) Jalalī Section.
(*b*) Makhdumī Section.
(*c*) Ism'ail Shahī Section.
(*d*) Dawala ,,

(*e*) Lal Shahī Section.
(*f*) Rasul Shahī ,,

(5) Other orders—(*a*) Uwaysī Section.
(*b*) Madarī ,,
(*c*) Shattarī ,,
(*d*) Qalandarī ,,
(*e*) Malāmatī, etc.[1]

The following are the principal Sūfīs who have expressed their opinions on music either for or against: Abū Naṣr Sarraj (one of first writers on Sūfīsm in Arabic), Imām Ghazālī, Shaikh 'Alī bin 'Uthman Hudhwīrī (first writer of Sūfīsm in Persian), Junayd Baghdadī, Muhammad bin Ṭaher, Shihabuddin Suhrawardī, Shaikh Aḥmad Mujaddidī Naqshbandī, Khawja Niẓamuddin Chishtī and his followers like Kuṭubuddin, Fariduddin, Niẓamuddin, Salim and others. Mohiuddin bin Arabī, Mohsin Fanī, Abdur Rahman us Salamī (author of Kitāb us Samā'), Dhun-Nun Misrī, Abū Muḥammad Jorayrī, Jalaluddin Rumi, Muslehuddin Ṣadī and others.

Imām Ghazālī in his two famous books *Ihya-ul Ulum wa Din* (Revival of sciences) and *Kimia-i-Sa'adat* (Chemistry of happiness) have advanced a philosophical background of music. In his chapter on music in Kimia, Ghazālī has defined music as 'the fire inside the stone'. It comes out when it is struck, and it burns the 'whole forest'. Music is like a light emanating from inside a mine which is the human heart. It reveals the beauty inside—it is '*Tanasub*'. Tanasub is the reflection of the beauty of the world. It reveals the '*Jamal*', '*Ḥusn*' and '*Tanasub*' of the universe— it is the unity of the two worlds. Music leads everything to finality.

Then Imām Ghazālī goes on arguing against the view-point of the Mullas. He says that Mullas are of two kinds:

Ẓaheriin (external), ظاهرين and
Baṭeniin (internal), باطنيين

The former decides things by the external manifestations and the latter by what is latent. Accordingly Imām Ghazālī, a Mulla, ordinarily thinks in terms of the 'material' (things apparent). Sūfī defends music on the grounds that it leads to love of God and anything that brings man nearer to God is lawful; hence Sūfīs hold music as lawful. Whereas the Mullas hold that love may grow between the same species: a tiger may love a tiger, a sparrow may love another sparrow, a man may love another of the same species. As God has no species or genus, He is beyond the sphere of love of man. Thus according to the Mullas, Sūfīs mislead themselves and others by pleading love of God as the basis and defence of music. They hold that love of God, if it may be so called, is to submit to His commands and to surrender to His will. In Islam the inherent idea is 'surrender'; a Muslim is he who has 'surrendered'. Further the Mullas hold that love is a matter of reciprocity which is impossible

[1] *Tasauf-i-Islam*, by Abdul Mājid, Azamgarh, p. 45.

between man and God. Man feels by five senses but God, being unlimited, is beyond the approach and reach of the five human senses which are but limited. So the Mullas who are 'Ẓaheriin' condemn music as is understood by the Sūfis.

To this, Imām Ghazālī, in his chapter on 'Maḥhabbat' (love), has given a very philosophical yet logical reply. The great Imām says that human heart can hardly remain empty; it always craves for association. By nature, it wants to associate with things beloved. If the heart is to love, the best love must be for the best of the treasures—the best treasure is certainly God. If man does not love God, he must by nature love something other than God, which is of lesser value than God. So according to Imām Ghazālī love of God is permissible. Further God has said in the Qur'an:

يحبهم و يحبونه

Yu ḥibbo hum o yu ḥibbuna hu.

'God loves them and they shall love God.' [1]

The Prophet has said:

'He has no religion who cannot love God and the Prophet more than any of his possessions.'

Love has been permitted in the Qur'an as follows:—

قل ان كان آباءكم و ابناءكم و اخوانكم . . . . .

Qul inkāna ābāokum wa Abnā wa Kum
Wa Akhawānukum . . . .

'Love of God is more than the love of parents, children and brothers.'

Love by and through senses, as is understood by the Mullas (Ẓaheriin), is the sensual love—physical love, and the object of love may be changed, transferrable and transient. They are objects of the animal world. But beyond the five senses, which every animal possesses, there is yet another sense called the sixth sense which differentiates man from animal. It is through this sense that man can soar to the heights from which he can love God, and love of God may be best realized through music which reveals the hidden treasures inside the heart.

Ghazālī has classified music under three heads:—

(1) Music as sports (لهو), which is unlawful because it creates disturbance.

(2) Music as delight (لذت), which has reference only to the joy of the heart for the sake of delight only. The green grass, running waters, budding flowers, singing birds please the five senses and make a man happy; and they are not unlawful. Why should music which pleases the sense of audition be interdicted as unlawful? Pleasure of the senses is perfectly justified in Islam; music is a source of delight of sense, pure and simple.

[1] Illumination in Islamic Mysticism, by E. J. Jurji, p. 44.

(3) Music is permissible (مباح) because the Prophet has set an example by enjoying it himself and allowing others to enjoy it.

Imām Ghazālī then quoted profusely the practices of the Prophet, specially the tradition of 'Ā'yesha enjoying the performance of Abyssinian acrobat accompanied with music in front of his mosque. He has drawn five conclusions from it, namely:

(*a*) (Music) 'Sports' may sometimes be enjoyed.

(*b*) It may be enjoyed near a mosque.

(*c*) It was a kind of request of the Prophet, because He asked 'Ā'yesha if she would enjoy the acrobat's performance.

(*d*) The example proves that it is lawful to make women and children happy by giving them opportunity for enjoyment of sports.

(*e*) Finally it was a command of the Prophet.

دونكم يا بنى ارفد بازى مشغول باشيد

Dona kum ya bani arfada babazi mashgul bashed.

'Oh the children of Arfad (Abyssinia)! go on with performance.' [1]

So said the Prophet to the Abyssinian.

Some say that Abyssinians were mere performers of feats of war and there is no reference to music. But Ghazālī is definite that Abyssinian performance was accompanied with music, etc., which was a normal custom of the Abyssinian acrobats.

بازئ جنگیان رقص و سرود بوده

Bazīe janghiañ Raqas wa Sorud buda.

'The sport of the fighters was with music and dance.' [2]

In Arabic, the oldest book on Sūfīsm is *Kitābul Lum'ai fit Taṣauuf* by Abū Naṣr Sarrāj, which has discussed the question of music in Islam. The great author was known as *Ṭawosul Foqara'* (the peacock of the Sūfīs). Though the author has been referred to by famous writers like Fariduddin Aṭṭār and by Jamī, yet his book could not be traced till Prof. Nicholson of Cambridge found a manuscript of *Kitābul Lum'ai* with Mr. Elis.[3] He searched for another copy which was found in the British Museum. The learned professor compared the two manuscripts and produced a very nice edition of this famous book '*Kitābul Lum'ai*'.

In the 9th chapter of this book, the author has discussed the question of music under the following sub-heads:—

(*a*) Varieties of music.

(*b*) Diversity of opinions as to its import.

(*c*) Melody and audition.

(*d*) Audience.

[1] *Kimiā-i-S'a'adat*, pp. 220-221.

[2] Compare Bukharī's Hadīth published from Lahore in 1341 A.H., p. 123.

[3] Copied by Aḥmad bin Ẓaheri, dated 638 A.H./1284 A.D.

(*e*) Public and individual music.
(*f*) Disciples and beginners in the art of music, etc., etc.

Abū Naṣr Sarraj has assigned a very high place to melody and music. He has based his defence of music on Hadīth :[1]

مابعث الله نبياً الّا حسن الصوت

Ma ba' tha Allāho Nabiyan illa Hasan as Ṣaut.

'God has not sent any Prophet but with a melodious voice.'

زَيِّنُوا الْقُرْآنَ بِاَصْوَاتِكم

Zayyeinul Qur'ān a be aṣwatekum.

'Beautify the Qurān with melody.'

مَا اَذَنَ اللّٰهُ تَعَالٰى لِشَيْئٍ كَمَا اَذَنَ لِنَبِيٍّ حَسَنِ الصَّوْتَ

Ma azanallāho ta'āllah le Shayin
Kamā Azana le Nabiyin Ḥasnaṣ Ṣaut.

'God has not given permission (so strongly) for anything as He has given permission to the Prophets for melody.'

Then the learned Sūfī goes on discussing the different measures of music. He quoted the expressions of Sūfīs like Junayd Baghdadī, Abul Ḥasan Nurī, Ḥudhwiri and others who enjoyed music. Like Ghazālī he supported music even when the common people enjoy them for mere delight (لذّت). Abū Naṣr Sarraj enthusiastically quoted Hadīth to show that 'Ā'yesha, Abū Bakr, Belal and other great Ṣaḥābīs enjoyed music for mere delight as did the Prophet on 'Id days with Daff. Mālik bin Anas, 'Abdullāh bin Ja'far, 'Abdullāh bin 'Umar, Imām Shafi'i have been quoted to justify the recitation of verses and poems in melodious voice.

Abū Naṣr Sarraj has classified the audience (سامعين) into three groups according to their personal capacity :

(*a*) مبتديان و مريدان Mubtadyan and Muridan. (The beginners and the disciples.)
(*b*) متوسطين و صديقين Motawaseṭin and Ṣiddiqin. (The advanced and the purists.)
(*c*) عارفين 'Arifin. (The mystics.)

Finally the author has advanced very learned arguments both for and against music.

Junayd Baghdadī, the famous Sūfī, is of opinion that music by itself is not unlawful. But it becomes unlawful when it is not done properly; it becomes 'Ḥaram'. He insists on three factors which must be taken into serious consideration in giving judgment on music:

[1] Whatever may be the authenticity of these Hadīth, the fact that they are there, is enough to indicate the tendency of the traditionists in regard to music.

(*a*) Zamān (Time). زمان
(*b*) Makān (Place). مكان
(*c*) Ikhwān (Company). اخوان

In times of prayer or in times of taking food, or while engaged in one's duties, one should not enjoy music.

In a dirty place, in a dark room, in the house of a tyrant, music will cause pain instead of pleasure. So it should not be done there.

Music may be enjoyed only in company of persons who are fit to enjoy it. Music should not be enjoyed with a person who is too much engaged in worldly affairs; with a person who has no music in his ears or who is unwilling or inattentive—because in such company music will produce no effect. Junayd Baghdadī says that great restraint must be maintained in the enjoyment of music.

Shaikh 'Alī bin 'Uthman Hudhwīrī in his famous book '*Kashful Maḥjub*' (Withdrawal of the Screen) has discussed the question of music in the 25th chapter of his book. He has divided the chapter into ten sub-heads and has based his arguments in favour of music on the basis of '*Tartil*' (Science and art of recitation) of the Qur'an.

Abdur Rahman Lahorī in his book called *Kitāb-us Samā'* has supported music and has quoted the following authorities.

'*Ikhwanūs Ṣafa*' (Brethren of Purity) is an encyclopedic work in 50 tractates. There is no particular author of this vast work, but the scholars are of opinion that it is a compilation of various authors who formed a society for the pursuit of holiness, purity and truth, and established amongst themselves a doctrine whereby they hoped to win the approval of God, maintaining that the religious law was defiled by ignorance and adulterated by errors, and that there was no means of cleansing and purifying it except philosophy, which united the wisdom of faith and the profit of research. They held that perfect result would be reached if Greek philosophy was combined with Arabic religion.[1] The most important of this group is 'Abu Solaiman Muḥammad bin Ma'shar though Ibn ul Jaidi is claimed by some scholars to be the author. I have used the Persian translation by Maulana Aḥmad, a descendant of Imām Ja'far Ṣadiq (1304 A.H.).

Ikhwanūs Ṣafa has discussed music from the Greek standpoint, the word Musīqa (موسيقى) has been traced to Greek root 'Maw'—meaning 'Sound' and 'Saqi' meaning 'Knots'. So it is a science of sound and notation (ناد). Pythagoras has written an excellent book on music (sound). Aristotle's work on sound has been translated into Arabic by various scholars. According to Greek conception, sound is primarily connected with the soul and not body. But when sound is rendered into rhythm, it establishes connection between the soul and body, and music comes out of this combination of soul and body. Then it is called '*samā*'—or what is known as audition.

[1] Ref. is to *Tarikhul Hukama*, edited by Lippert, 1, p. 83.

Ikhwanūs Ṣafa tells that audition is the gift of God and the use of the gift of God is perfectly justified.

اَلَّذِیْ جَعَلَ لَکُمُ السَّمْعَ وَ الْبَصَرَ

وَ الْاَفْئِدَةَ قَلِیْلًا مَّا تَشْکُرُوْنَ

Allaḍi Ja'ala la kamus Sāmā' wal baṣara
Wal afedata qalilum ma tash karun.

'He ('Allāh) Who has given you the power of *audition*, the power of sight, the power of understanding, you be too thankful to Him.'

Ikhwanūs Ṣafa mentioned the names of twelve Arabic notations and suggested their scientific background in consonance with the twelve planets in the constellation. Then there is a short discussion on Hindu notations which are three hundred and sixty in number and are based on mathematics, astronomy and astrophysics. *Ikhwanūs Ṣafa* is enthusiastic on music.

Abū Sa'id Faḍul ullah of Khurrasan—357 A.H./967 A.D.—heard music and invited Sūfīs to join music with him.[1]

Singing was practised in 'Umar's tomb by Shaikh Abu'l Faḍl Ḥasan, in presence of Abu Sa'id.[2]

Qasharyia at first doubted the permissibility of audition but in the end followed it in the house of Abu Sa'id after a long discussion.[3]

Sūfīs hold, as Nicholson writes, that progress in mystic life becomes quicker and easier through music.[4]

Ibn-ul Farid says (Odes):—(440 A.H./1050 A.D.)

'In music I behold my Beloved with all my being; I am riven asunder by the struggle of my spirit escaping from the body.'

Abu'l Qāsīm al Baghwī says:—

'Music is food for the spirit. When the spirit obtains its food, it attains its proper station and turns aside from the government of the body; then appears in the listener a commotion and a movement.'

Abū 'Abdillāh al Niyaji says:—

'Audition starts thought and produces admonition; all else is temptation.'

The author of *Latayef* says[5]:—

این فقیر مدتِ سی سال در تحت قبّهٔ نیلگون و زیر گنبد گردون پرکاروار گردیده و بملازمت اکابر روزگار رسیده و از بزم نعمت ایشان جرعه چشیده و خلعت همت و نعمت این خوب‌کیشان در بر کشیده هیچ کس از طائفه بےسماع نیافته و همه این اشغال داشتند، اگرچه بعض اکابر و برخے امائل

[1] Studies in Islamic Mysticism, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 188.
[5] Quoted in *Ihqāqus Sama'*, by Maulana 'Abdul Bārī, p. 19.

بےسماع هم بودند و لیکن انکار نداشتند و از مشائخ ما تقدم حضرت سید الطائفه و ابوبکر شبلی و معروف کرخی و سری سقطی و بایزید و ابو سعید ابی الخیر و عبد الله ضعیف و حاجی شریف و عزیزانے که در تذکرة الاولیاء مذکور اند و بزرگانے که در طبقات الاصفیاء مسطور اکثر از آنها صاحب سماع بودند و از مشائخ متاخر حضرت گنج فرید الدین و قاضی حمید الدین و خواجه قطب الدین و شیخ نظام الدین در روایت صحیحه که از ایشان رسیده معلوم شده که همه تواجد کرده اند و رقص فرموده پس هرکه سماع را منکر باشد و حرام گوید پس گفته باشد که این همه اولیائی ارتکاب حرام کرده باشند و این سخن از عداوت بود «و من عادی اولیائی فقد بارزنی بالمحاربه» با حق تعالیٰ حرب کرده باشند ۞

In faqīr muddat i si sal dar taḥte qobba-i nilagūn o jeregumbed i ghardun por kārwār gardidah o ba-molazimat-i akāber-e rozgār rasidah az bazme ne'yamat-i eshān jura-i-chashidah o khel'at-i himmat o ne'yamat-i īn khūb keshān dar bar kashidah hech kas az ṭāifa-i be sam'a na yāftah o hama īn ashghāl dāshtand agar che b'āḍ akāber o barkhe-e-amāthir be sam'a ham budand o lekin inkār na dāshtand o az mashāikhe mā taqaddam ḥaḍrat sayidut Ṭāifa o Abu Bakr Shibli o m'arūf karkhi o Seri Saqaṭi o Bāyazīd o Abu Sa'yid Abul Khair o 'Abdulla ḍa'if o Ḥāji Sharīf o 'azizān-e ke tadhkiratul Awlia madkūr and o buzurgān-e ke dar ṭabaqāt-ul-aṣfhia masṭur akthar az ānha ṣaheb-e-sam'a budand o az mashaikhe motaakhkher Ḥaḍrat Shaikh Fariduddin o qāḍi Ḥamiduddin o Khwājah Kuṭubuddin o Shaikh Niẓāmuddin dar rewayat-i ṣaḥiḥah ke az eshān rasidah m'alūm shūdah ke hama tawajud kardaand o raqṣ farmudah pas-har ke sam'a rā munker bāshad o ḥarām goed pas goftah bāshad ke īn hamah awalia irtekāb-e-ḥarām kardah bāshad? O īn sokhan az 'adawat būd, 'O man'āda walian faqad bārazanī bil mohārebah' ba Ḥaqt'ala ḥarb kardah bāshand.[1]

I, this faqir for thirty years, moved like a compass beneath the blue sky and the moving doom and in the service of the great men of the time and I tasted bits of grace of their assembly and I put upon myself the cloth of their courage and grace of these gentlemen. I have not found any of that assembly to be without audition and all were engaged in this (music). Even if any of them did not hear music, but he did not prohibit it. And many of the old shaikh, such as Haḍrat Sayadut Ṭāifa (Junayeed Baghdadi), Abu Bakr Shibli, M'aruf Karkhi, Sari Saqaṭi, Bāyazīd, Abu Sa'yid Abul Khair, 'Abdulla ḍ'aif, Ḥāji Sharīf and those who have been mentioned in *Taḍkirātul Awlia* and *Ṭaba-qatulAṣfia*,—were men of music of the modern (Shaikhs), Shaikh Fariduddin, Qāḍi Hamiduddin, Khwāja Quṭubuddin and Shaikh Niẓamuddin are found, on correct authorities, to have enjoyed ecstasy and dance. Those who are prohibitionists

[1] احقاق السماع صفحه ۱۹

and condemn it as unlawful, say that all these awlias (lovers of God) were performers of unlawful things. This is something of enmity, for the Prophet told, 'He who has been enemy to the lovers of God, fights with God.'

Bedāṇ ke dar istemā'e sarod ikhtelāfe foqaha ast, Imām Shāf'i o Shamsul āemmai seṛakhsi az foqahae Ḥanafiah o Shaikh Abu Yazīd Bisṭāmī o Shaikh Ibn-e-'Arabī qāel ba ḥall ānd o tafsilash dar mowḍ'a ast. Pas iltizām-e-shunidan-e-ghenā' bar har murid lazim nist che har kas liyāqat ān nadārad, o ḥale ān mashruṭ ast, bachand sharuṭ o yāftah shudnash dar hamah kas ghair mumkin, o ān shoruṭ īn ast:—ke darān raghbat ba dunyā o ḍikhre fawāḥish o ṭariqe lahwe o maḥfil-e-fussāq o majm'ai niswān na bāshad o sāme'a az ahle nafs na bāshad o shunidanash baiẓ-hār-e-fakhr o rea nabāshad o izhār-e-ojd badarogh na nomayed o ta bamaqdūr ḍabt karda bāshad o qalbash pur az 'ishq-e-khudā bāshad ke ghina maskane qalbe oo (او) bāshad che naghmah rā tathirāt ast kathirah pas agar in sharuṭ dar zāte khud jam'a dārad pas oorā mubāḥ ast o chun shaikh oo iltizame sem'a midārad o oo jām'eush shoruṭ pas iltezam ān awla ast o bedun ijtem'a shoruṭ ḥarām lakin darīn zamān jam'eush shoruṭ nāderul wajud ast lehaḍā foqha hukm baḥurmat ān dadah and muṭlaqan o fil ḥaqiqat-'Laisa hakaḍa bal le ahleha ḥalalun o leghaireḥā harām.'

Maulana Niẓamuddin Muhammad Sahalvi says in *Manaqab-i-Rezzaqia*.[1]

بدانکه در استماع سرود اختلاف فقها است، امام شافعی و شمس الأئمه سرخسی از فقهای حنفیه و شیخ ابو یزید بسطامی و شیخ ابن عربی (رضوان الله تعالی علیهم اجمعین) قائل بحل اند و تفصیلش در موضع ست . . . . پس التزام شنیدن غناء بر هر مرید لازم نیست چه هر کس لیاقت آن ندارد، حل آن مشروط است بچند شروط و یافته شدنش در همه کس غیر ممکن و آن شروط این است که دران رغبت بدنیا و ذکر فواحش و طریق لهو و محفل فساق و مجمع نسوان نباشد و سامع از اهل نفس نباشد و شنیدنش باظهار فقر و ریاء نباشد و اظهار وجد بدروغ نه نماید و تا بمقدور ضبط کرده باشد و قلبش پُر از عشق خدا باشد که غناء مسکن قلب او باشد چه نغمات را تاثیرات است کثیره، پس اگر این شروط در ذات خود جمع دارد پس او را مباح است، و چون شیخ او التزام سماع میدارد و او جامع الشروط، پس التزام آن اولی است و بدون اجتماع شروط حرام ٭

لاکن در این زمان جامع الشروط نادر الوجود ست لهذا فقهاء حکم بحرمت آن داده اند مطلقاً و فی الحقیقة لیس هکذا بل لِاهلها حلال و لغیرها حرام ٭

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

احقاق السماع صفحه ے Know ye! regarding music there is difference amongst the jurists (Foqaha). Imam Shāfī' and Shamsul 'Ayema Sarkhasi from the Ḥanafi jurists, and Shaikh Abu Yazid Bistami and Saikh Ibn i Arabi—all these jurists admit its permissibility. You may find the details in these places...... But it is not necessary for every follower to take to audition as his way. How can those who do not deserve it (hear it)? And its permissibility depends on certain conditions. It is impossible to get all those conditions in every man. These are the conditions. (The hearer) must not have (1) love of material world, (2) not remember evil things, (3) not be in the way of bad sports, (4) not be in the company of bad men, (5) not be in the assembly of fallen women, (6) not be a man of flesh, (7) audition must not be for pretension of spirituality, (8) its appearance shall not be for display of ecstasy, (9) as far as possible, should be controlled, (10) heart will be full of absolute love of God—so that the song will make his soul clean. Wonderful are the effects of tunes and notes.

And if he had collection of all these conditions, for him the music is permissible. If his Shaikh (teacher) take the way of music, and he fulfills all the conditions, then the imposition (acceptance) of the way of music is better. If all these conditions are not there, music is not justified (حرام). But in this age a collection of all these conditions is hardly found. For this jurists have opined in favour of non-permissibility. But really the fact is not that. It is permissible for those who deserve it and prohibited for those who are otherwise.

Dhun-Nun, the Egyptian says: 'Audition is a divine influence (warid ul-haqq) which stirs the heart to seek God: those who listen to it spiritually (bahaqq) attain unto God (tahaqaqa), and those who listen to it sensually (ba-nafs) fall into heresy (tazandaqa).' This venerable Sūfī does not mean that 'audition is the cause of attaining unto God, but he means that the auditor ought to hear the spiritual reality, not the mere sound, and that the divine influence ought to sink into his heart and stir it up. One who in that audition follows the truth will experience a revelation whereas one who follows his lower soul (nafs) will be veiled and will have recourse to interpretation (ta'wil).'[1]

Shibli says: 'Audition is outwardly a temptation (fitnah) and inwardly an admonition (ibrah): he who knows the mystic sign (isharah) may lawfully hear the admonition; otherwise, he has invited temptation and exposed himself to calamity—i.e. audition is calamitous and a source of evil to any one whose whole heart is not absorbed in the thought of God.' Abu' 'Ali Rudbari said, in answer to a man who questioned him concerning audition: 'Would that I were rid of it entirely because man is unable to do every thing as it ought to be done, and when he fails to do a thing duly he perceives that he has failed and wishes to be rid of it altogether.'

Re. the principles of audition, Hudwiri is of opinion that 'no fixed law should be laid down for one and all, and that it should be decided by the

[1] Islamic Sufism, by S. Ikbal, pp. 269-270.

capacity of the singer and hearer. What is "Ilahi" (Divine) for a man of pure heart becomes "Lahi" (frivolous) for a man of loose morals. As men differ in their temperament, permission to enjoy music should be given very carefully and cautiously.' He has divided the hearers (mustami'in) into two classes:—

(*a*) those who hear the spiritual meaning,

(*b*) those who hear the material sound.

Those who hear music and follow the truth (حق) they are justified, and those who enjoy the effervescence (غليان), they are false (باطل).[1]

The whole of this topic has been well illustrated by the story of David which runs as follows:—

'God made David His vicegerent and gave him a sweet voice and caused his throat to be a melodious pipe so that wild beasts and birds came from mountains and plains to hear him, and the water ceased to flow and the birds fell from the air. It is related that during a month's space, the people who were gathered round him in the desert ate no food, and the children neither wept nor asked for milk, and when the folk departed it was found that many had died of the rapture that seized them as they listened to his voice. One time, it is said, the toll of the dead amounted to seven hundred maidens and twelve thousand old men. Then God, wishing to separate those who listened to the voice and followed their temperament from the followers of the truth (ahl-i haqq) who listened to the spiritual reality, permitted Iblis to work his will and display his wiles. Iblis fashioned a mandoline and a flute and took up a station opposite to the place where David was singing. David's audience became divided into two parties: the blest and the damned. Those who were destined to damnation lent ear to the music of Iblis while those who were destined to felicity remained listening to the voice of David. The spiritualists (ahl-i-ma'ni) were conscious of nothing except David's voice, for they saw God alone; if they heard the Devil's music, they regarded it as a temptation proceeding from God, and if they heard David's voice, they recognized it as being a direction from God; wherefore they abandoned all things that are merely subsidiary and saw both right and wrong as they really are. When a man has audition of this kind, whatever he hears is lawful to him.'

Famous Sūfī saints like Khawaja Mu'inuddin Chishtī (founder of the Chishtia Cult), Shaikh 'Abdul Qadīr Jilani (founder of the Qadiriah School), Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardī (founder of the Suhrawardī sect) and Shaikh Aḥmad Sayyid (the founder of the Naqshbandī order) who have large number of followers, have given their opinions of music.

In India, the Chishtia is the most famous of all Sūfī orders. It was introduced into India by Khawaja Mu'inuddin Chishtī born in 1142 A.D. He came to India with the army of Sultan Muḥammad Ghorī in 1192 A.D. and

[1] Islamic Sufism, S. Ikbal, p. 280: Though Sarda Ikbal has used *Khusful Majhub* of Hujwiri, he had not the courtesy to recognize it clearly.

two years after settled at Ajmir opposite to the famous Hindu pilgrimage of Pūshkar where he left his earthly remains at the ripe age of 96. Of his spiritual descendants a large number have been recognized as 'Cherags' (lights)—such as Quṭubuddin of Delhi, Fariuddin of Shakarganj, Jalaluddin of Panipath, Niẓamuddin Awlia of Balkh, Muḥammad Ṣādiq of Gungoh, Shaikh Salim of Fatehpur. The order is famous for adoption of music as a part of their religious system and they think that the nearest cut from men to God is through music. They have been branded often as heretics by the orthodox for their extremely eclectic and free views. Niẓamuddin Awlia, whose real name was Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Daniyal al Bukharī, was one of the most notable Muslim saints who is respected even today by the Hindustanis irrespective of castes and creeds. His views on music have been expressed in his 'Fatuḥat' (collection of letters) now embodied in Panj Ganja Chishtia. He says that music is 'Mobaḥ'. In *Siyar ul Awlia*, it is told that Niẓamuddin Awlia was once questioned about the propriety of music. He enthusiastically supported it and produced some Hadīth on this behalf. Mullas refused to accept these Hadīth, and the saint cursed them with pestilence which visited them later on. This is also mentioned in *Ferishta*. He appointed salaried Qawwals to sing in his hamlet. Niẓamuddin's view may be summarized as follows:—

> Music by itself is not 'ḥaram', but common people may make it 'ḥaram' by applying it for prohibited things. For the better class people who are in the way of God, it is 'mobaḥ': for the Sūfīs it is 'Mustaḥbab'; for the lover of God it is 'Ḥalal'. A Chishtia upholds 'the hearing of harmonious sounds moves the heart and kindles the fire of love for God'.[1]

Author of *Siyar ul Awlia* says, 'I went and sat in front of a tomb. The spiritual musical performances in the congregation were of its highest order and the singers and Sūfīs were excited.'[2]

Shaikh Burhan (1462–1562) delighted in music.[3]

Myan Shaikh Mohiuddin Abū Yūsūf (1602–1689) enjoyed music and even Aurangzeb slackened his rigours of the ban of music against him and he enjoyed it in spite of the ban.[4]

The Naqshbandī order is against music, but it does not say that music is absolutely unlawful. Bahauddin Naqshbandī says:—

نه این کار میکنم و نه آن کار میکنم

Na in kār mi kunam o na ān kār mi kunam

'I do not do this nor do I do that (neither haram nor halal).'[5]

Between the prohibition of Naqshbandī order and the liberty of the Chishtia stands the middle course of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardī.

[1] Sufism, its saints and shrines, by John A. Sobhan, Lahore, p. 215.
[2] *Sayir-ul-Awlia*, p. 315.
[3] *Akbar Akbyar*, p. 326.
[4] *Mirat-i Ahmadī*, p. 69.
[5] *Jowtiz-i-Sama'*, p. 21.

Shaikh 'Abdul Qādīr Jilānī, the founder of the Qadiriah sect, in the 6th chapter of his book *Fatḥul Ghaib* has discussed the question of music.

The learned Sūfī in the 2nd chapter of his famous book *'Awariful M'aarif* says that the Qur'an and Hadīth should be recited in a melodious voice.

Shihabuddin Suhrawardī says that those who oppose music do not know the life and actions of the Prophet and of the Ṣaḥābīs. As such music should not be condemned.[1]

He says in his '*Awarif*' advising his son in regard to music:—

يا بنى لا تنكر السماع

Ya Bonaia la tun kereis samā'.

'O my son, do not reject music.'

Of the Persian Sūfīs, a large number of them have discussed the subject of music, though as a class the Persians are Shi'ās, and the Shi'ās are generally opposed to music. The Persian Sūfīs are enthusiastic supporters of music. Rumī says that the whole universe came out of sound (नाद - ناد) and to this eternal sound, the world will ultimately dissolve. Maulana Rumī says:—

راز پنهان است اندر زير و بم
فاش اگر گويم جهان برهم زنم

Rāz pinhān ast andar zīr o bam
Fāsh agar guyam jahān barham zanam.

'The mystery is hidden in the subtle and coarse notes.
If I reveal them, the creation will be dislodged.'

Further the Great Maulana Rumi conceived the whole life of a man and the musical notes are but the call of the body by the soul.

بشنو از نى چون حكايت ميكند
وز جدائيها شكايت ميكند

Bishnu az nay chun hekayet mikunad
Waz judai ha shekayet mikunad.

S'adi says in *Bustan*:—

جهان پر سماع است و مستى و شور
وليكن چه بيند در آئنه كور

Jahān pur sama' ast o masti o shor,
O lekin chebenad dar āy'anie kor.

'This world is full of music, ecstasy and notations; but what can a blind man look through the mirror?'

Further the great savant says:—

اگر از برج معنى بود سير او
فرشته فروماند از طير او

[1] *Ihqāqus Sama'*, by 'Abdul Bārī, p. 18.

Agar az burje ma'ni buad sair-e-oo
Ferishta fero mānad az ṭair-e-oo.

'If the musician soars up to the pinnacle of ecstasy, the angel cannot follow in pursuit of him.'

S'adi has drawn beautiful comparison between camel and man who does not appreciate music and has condemned the man as something lower than animal.

Appreciation of music by the Persian poets cannot be better expressed than by the following words of the great Persian Sūfī:—

رويم بروى دلبر و قوال در سرود
دستم بدست شاهد مقصود در سماع

Ru-em ba ru-i dilbar o Qawwal dar sarod,
Dastam badast-e-shahid maqṣud dar samā'.

'The eyes were fixed on my beloved's and the musician was on his song; my hand resting on the hand of my love in rapturous song.'

DEVAPUTRA [1]

By

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I. APPELLATION OF KUṢAṆA KINGS

It is commonly thought that the designation *devaputra*, 'god-son', applied in India to the kings of the Kuṣaṇa dynasty, was copied from the ancient Chinese imperial title, *T'ien-tzŭ*, 'Son of heaven'. Justification of this view cannot be found in any novelty in the very widespread notion of divine descent of kings and emperors: even in Homer the kings are 'Zeus-born' (διογενής); nearer to India in space and much nearer to the Kuṣaṇas in time, the title θεός, 'god', was borne by Ptolemy VI in 164–146 B.C., as also by a Parthian Arsakes on the Indian border; an earlier Parthian, Mithradates II, was θεὸς εὐεργέτης, another, Mithradates III, was θεὸς εὐπάτωρ, and a third and fourth, Phraates II and III, were θεοπάτωρ, 'god-fathered', their fathers having perhaps been apotheosized; in India every king was *deva*. The justification would be sought in the historical fact that the designation

[1] The view that *devaputra* was not an imitation of the Chinese imperial title 'Son of heaven', but should be understood in its Indian sense, was propounded and discussed in a draft chapter on the 'Kushan Empire' submitted to the Editor of the 'Cambridge History of India', Vol. II, in 1922, and it was thence noticed by Prof. de la Vallée Poussin in his admirable *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* (1930, p. 312). In view of the fact that the publication of the volume has not yet (1944) taken place, and also of M. Lévi's valuable article discussed below, a further treatment of the subject is here essayed.

appears first with the Kuṣaṇas, whose ancestors had migrated from the vicinity of China and whose empire, when it took shape, was in communication and contact with that Power. A possible fallaciousness in the reason, however, appears upon consideration of the historical facts.

It is possible that the nomadic Yüeh-chih people of the first quarter of the second century B.C., when inhabiting Kan-su (between the later Tun-huang and Kan-chou) had heard of the Chinese, who were still at a distance from their country; although the Chinese may scarcely have heard of them, since it was indirectly, from the Hsiung-nu (see Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, III (1874), p. 415, and De Groot, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, I, pp. 76-7), that the Chinese court learned of their defeat by the Hsiung-nu in 176 B.C. and (only during the period 140–134 B.C.) of their migration, *c.* 140 B.C., to the west.[1] But it seems hardly doubtful that both in Kan-su and during the earlier part of their sojourn in the west the Hsiung-nu loomed larger than the Chinese in their minds. Towards the close of the first century B.C. a Chinese text (*Shih-chi*, *c.* 123, § 98, trans. Hirth, *op. cit.*) complains of the greater deference shown by the peoples west of Farghāna towards the Hsiung-nu, 'indeed they were more afraid of the Hsiung-nu than of the Chinese ambassadors'. Even in Chinese Turkestan the Hsiung-nu influence was during the whole middle half of the first century A.D. superior to that of the Chinese; so that king Hsien of Yarkand, who from 38 to 60 A.D. was 'master of all the States east of the Pamir' and at times also of Pamir Sakas and of Ta-yüan (Farghāna), was known in neighbouring States as 'the *Shan-yu*', this being the Hsiung-nu royal title.[2] Among the Hsiung-nu themselves, when they began to break up, there were at one period as many as five rival *Shan-yu*'s. Now the Hsiung-nu *Shan-yu* was also entitled, we are told,[3] 'Son of heaven', whether an indigenous notion or borrowed in ancient times from the Chinese. If the Kuṣaṇas of the first century A.D. had invested their rulers competitively with the title 'Son of the gods', it would have been in opposition to the Hsiung-nu rather than to the Chinese that the claim was made.

II. As an Indian term

But we should not overlook the fact that *devaputra* is an Indian term, not invented by, or for, the Kuṣaṇas. With the meaning 'god-son' it is found in the *Ṛg-Veda*.[4] In the inscriptions of Bharaut, long prior to the Kuṣaṇas, it occurs with a meaning which Professor Lüders conjecturally (*List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, nos. 774, 814) renders by 'angel', as Speijer had done in his translation of the *Jātaka-mālā* (see Index). The Pāli has it as an old standing appellation of Māra, god of love and death, and also in a wider, classificatory use.[5] With the Buddhists of about the fourth century A.D. the *devaputra*'s

[1] Hirth, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 37 (1917), p. 93; De Groot, *op. cit.*, II, p. 9.

[2] See Chavannes in *T'oung-pao*, 1907, p. 198.

[3] See Wylie, *J. Anthropol. Institute*, III (1874), p. 410; Parker, *China Review*, XX, pp. 8-9; De Groot, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 53-4; K. Shiratori in *Memoirs of the . . . Toyo Bunko*, I, pp. 8, 11.

[4] X, 62. 4.

[5] See the *Pali Dictionary*, s.v.

were a class of divinities, distinguished, but not consistently, from the *Yakṣa*'s and having representatives in most countries, as particularized at length in a list contained in the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (see Lévi in B.É.F.d'E.-O., V, pp. 264–8).

Lévi, however, who has discussed the term *devaputra* with citation of valuable new materials (*Journal Asiatique*, CCXXIV (1934), pp. 1–21), held (p. 15) nevertheless that, as a royal title, it was borrowed, from the Chinese,[1] by the Kuṣaṇas, for whom with its proper Indian signification it would have been humiliating, not a cause of pride. The point of this observation is, however, blunted when we note that *devaputra* was never, at any rate in early times, adopted by the Kuṣaṇas as an official title. It never appears on any of their coins, its reading on a coin of Kujula Kara Kaphsa being an error.[2] Wima Kadphises is *maharaja rajadiraja sarvaloga-iśvara mahiśvara*, but never *devaputra*; Kaniṣka is *basileus basileōn*, *shaonano shao*, but never *devaputra*, and the like applies to all his successors. Even in the Peshawar Casket inscriptions,[3] which are our nearest approach to a document officially authorized on the part of Kaniṣka, the title *devaputra* is wanting. Moreover—and this is a remarkable fact—neither the Chinese nor any other foreign sources betray an awareness of a title 'Son of heaven' applied to the Kuṣaṇa kings, at least until a comparatively late period, when, in a translation of an Indian Buddhist text (see *infra*, pp. 16 sqq.), they were included among the four, regional, 'great kings', who were 'Sons of heaven'. How comes it then that the title is so commonly present in dedicatory and other inscriptions

[1] Lévi's suggestion (pp. 18-9) of an Iranian intermediary is based upon the occurrence of the term *βγpwr*, as probably a Pahlavī form = *baγpuhr*, in one of the early Sogdian letters recovered by Sir A. Stein from the Chinese *limes* in Kan-su and edited by Professor Reichelt in *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, II (see Glossary, p. 47). Apparently (see Schwentner in ZDMG. 93 (1938), p. 88) Lévi has been followed in this opinion by Professor Schaeder (*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, XLI (1938), col. 598), who regards the form *Bαγpūr* as 'Saka' and concludes that it was brought by the Yüch-chih in their original migration from the Chinese border in Kan-su. In the letter the term is thought to be used as a collective designation of the Chinese, and literally it might translate, no doubt, the Chinese expression 'Son of Heaven'. But *βαγ* = 'god' seems not to be known in 'Saka'.

Even apart from the unfounded supposition that the speech of the Yüch-chih in Kan-su was 'Saka' (or Iranian of any kind), the suggested intermediary seems unconfirmed and improbable. The Sogdian letter can hardly be dated earlier than *c.* 150 A.D., since it mentions Krorayina (Reichelt, II, p. 4), a Chinese colony whereof the foundation was not even proposed before 119 A.D. (see Chavannes in *T'oung-pao*, II, vi (1906), pp. 248, 251-2, and cf. Reichelt, p. 6). At that date the designation *devaputra* had been in common application to the Kuṣaṇas during about 70 years (inscription of *c.* 79 A.D. in *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 975-6); and, as concerns a 'Saka' source, the outstanding fact is that neither *devaputra* nor *βαγpūr* nor any equivalent is ever evidenced or inferable in regard to any preceding or subsequent ruler of known Saka affinity until we come to Marālbāshī *jezdampurā* of *c.* 700–800 A.D., whose title, like the *gyasta-vūra* noted *infra*, is *derived from* the Sanskrit expression, *devaputra*. Also the equation *Bγpwr* = 'Son of Heaven' seems highly questionable. Can it denote 'the [Chinese] officials'? Even the addressee of a letter is *Bγwxwtcw*, 'god-lord', and 'god-son'.

[2] This is stated after consultation with Mr. Allan, who has re-examined the coins on which Cunningham had read the title.

[3] See Spooner in A.S.I. Report, 1909-10, pp. 135–144, and Konow, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions*, pp. 135 sqq.

dated in the Kaniṣka era and even in an inscription on the base of the statue of perhaps a Kuṣaṇa king, and on a statue of Kaniṣka himself, set up in the Kuṣaṇa Valhalla at Mathurā ? [1] It must be that *devaputra* was not a title, but a complimentary epithet, current only among the Indian subjects of the Kuṣaṇas and therefore with its Indian meaning. Similarly, though every Indian king was addressed as *deva*, we shall not find an Indian king referring to himself as *deva*, any more than an English king styling himself 'My Majesty' or 'Our Majesty'. It is noticeable that even in the third to fourth century Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan the term *devaputra* occurs only in datings and in references to the kings by other persons, and not in direct communications from the kings, such communications commencing simply *mahanuava maharaya lihati*.

Had the Indians any particular conception when they initiated the fashion of referring to the Kuṣaṇa kings as *devaputra*, a designation which they do not seem to have applied to the preceding Greek, Saka or Pahlava rulers? The term is evidently classificatory, and it must denote a class of beings belonging to the *deva*-world, but not sufficiently distinct or limited in number to be included in the closed list of the Thirty-three. There are some indications that the *devaputra*'s were divinities having special functions, departmental beings: the two citations of the term in the *Jātaka-mālā* of Śūra (tr. Speijer, pp. 94, 135) refer to the *devaputra*'s in charge of the rains; it is noticeable also that in a Saka-Khotanī text (*Jñānolkādhāraṇī*) edited, with translation, by Leumann (*Buddhistische Literatur*, I: *Nebenstücke*, pp. 157–162) the term, translated *gyastavūra*, along with *gyastaṣṣaa* = *devasuta* (pp. 157, l. 40, 158, ll. 24, 34-5), is applied to the Sun and Moon,[2] who with the other heavenly bodies are definitely included among the Caturmahārājakāyika gods, typical *devaputra*'s (see *Abhidharma-kośa*, tr. de la Vallée Poussin, III, p. 159). In the *Pāli Dictionary* we find note of another particular function attributed, in Buddhism, to *devaputra*'s: this is that of acting as a sort of guardian angel to *arhats*; an instance being the Kakudho *devaputto* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (*Culla*, VII, 2, 2): even the throne seat (*bodhi-maṇḍa*) whereon Buddha attained his Enlightenment had been constructed by *devaputra*'s (*devaputrehi nirmita*, *Mahā-vastu*, III, p. 275, ll. 1-2). The *devaputa* Arhadgupta of Lüders' *List* proclaims this function by his very name, a Prākrit compound = '*Arhat*-protector'.

The *devaputra*'s, whom by reason of their multitude—*devaputrasahasrāṇi dharaṇīye pratiṣṭhitā* (*Mahā-vastu*, III, p. 275, l. 3)—we may define as 'miscellaneous *devas*', were in danger of being confused with two other groups of divine beings, namely the *deva*'s proper and the *yakṣa*'s. The Pāli *Jātaka* commentary (III, p. 261, l. 12) goes so far as to identify the two terms—*devo ca nāma devaputto*. In any case the two belong to the same *pariṣad*—*api ca kho devaputto devaparisāyaṃ dhammaṃ deseti* (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*, II, p. 186, 3).

[1] See A.S.I. Report, 1911-12, pp. 120 sqq.

[2] In the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* also (XV, v. 72) the sun (*sūryendro*) is a *devaputra*.

Sometimes the Buddhists may have sought to depreciate the Brahmanical deities by using *devaputra* in place of *deva*: in the *Lalitavistara* (ed. Mitra, p. 2)—*Maheśvarapramukhān aprameyān devaputrān* 'countless *devaputra*'s, headed by Maheśvara'—and pp. 127-8, *maheśvaro devaputraḥ śuddhāvāsakāyikān devaputrān āmantryaivam āha* 'the *devaputra* Maheśvara thus addressed the *devaputra*'s of the Śuddhāvāsa heaven'.

Similarly in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*, VI (ed. Nobel, pp. 85, 91), the *devaputra* Maheśvara is no less a person than the great god Śiva. But the outcome may be the opposite of this, as when Buddha himself is said to have been (*Jātaka*, IV, pp. 100–4) a *devaputta*. The *Yakṣa*'s, terrestrial powers with largely, it seems, local connections, may as a class have suffered from a drawback by reason of their familiarity in popular worship, where their grotesque, pot-bellied, images and frequently malignant disposition confined them to a low order of divinity (Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, pp. 40 sqq., Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pp. 4–8). Yet even as a class they are described in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (XX, 7–9, Vol. II, p. 256, where their groups are specified) as 'of various complexion, miraculous power, brilliant (*jutimanto*), fine-complexioned, glorious (*yasassino*)', and elsewhere also their brilliance is mentioned: and when Sakka = Śakra and Vessavaṇa = Vaiśravaṇa are reckoned as *yakkha*'s (*Pali Dictionary* and *Majjhima-nikāya*, 37), evidently the sense is not far different from that of *deva*; and the close contact of the term with *devaputra* is shown not only by frequent connection of the two and by identification of them (*yakkho ti devaputto* in the *Petavatthu* commentary, 113), but also by alternation, as when Buddha, a *devaputta* as shown above, is in *Milindapañho* (trans. Rhys Davids, I, p. 289, n. 2) a *yakkha*.

The most conspicuous case of identification of *devaputra* and *yakṣa* is that of the four 'Regents of the Quarters' (*dik-pāla*), who by the Buddhists are named the 'Four Great Kings' (*Caturmahārāja*), viz. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa. If we disregard Māra, these seem to be the divinities who in Pāli are most frequently designated *devaputta*. Yet on the Bharaut *stūpa* Virūḍhaka and Vaiśravaṇa (Kupira = Kuvera) are both figured as *yakkha*'s. It seems likely that the change evidenced by the Pāli texts had been by way of promotion. Discharging functions which in Brahmanism were exercised by (eight) great *deva*'s, of whom one was identical with Vaiśravaṇa, they were clearly raised above the ordinary *yakṣa*'s of more limited, or quite local, authority: they became 'great *yakṣa*'s' or '*yakṣa*-kings' or the 'four great kings'. Kuvera, in particular, as regent of the north, controller of wealth and associate of Śiva, demanded a high consideration. The Buddhist cosmology has systematized this: in the *Abhidharma-kośa*, the most authoritative source, an intermediate place is found [1] for the Caturmahārājika deities on the fourth terrace of Mt. Meru (and the other great mountains), above the *Caturmahārājakāyika*'s, who include the *yakṣa*'s, and below the Thirty-three,

[1] See trans. by de la Vallée Poussin, III, pp. 159-161. In the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* a whole chapter (VI) is devoted to the Caturmahārājas.

who were too long established to be displaced in the system. The system was sufficiently practical to allow of popular local distinctions between certain deities who enjoyed a rather superior respect, and who accordingly were styled *devaputra*'s, and others, *Gandharva*'s, *Yakṣa*'s, *Nāga*'s, etc. ranking lower. The distinction is carried out in the long list of countries, Indian and Central-Asian, cited from the *Candragarbha-sūtra* by Lévi in his early article, published in B.É.F.d'E.-O., V (see pp. 264–8). Here most of the countries are provided with names of divinities belonging to the several classes, and in each case the *devaputra*'s, where present, head the list.

Naturally, however, nothing could prevent the exaltation of individual members of the several classes. Even in India, for reasons already mentioned, Kuvera overtopped the other three world-regents. As Vaiśravaṇa, he attained in Central Asia a commanding status in the Buddhist pantheon: in Khotan he had been from the beginning the chief deity of the country, supposed to have presided over the foundation of the State; and in the eighth century he was there a 'lord of *Yakṣa*'s', a '*deva*-king', a 'great king', 'king of the northern region', and even a *Tathāgata* (Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, I, pp. 12, 181, 202, 253, 256, 307, 314). His associate, Śrī-devī, who in *Jātaka* No. 382 (text, III, p. 257) is Siri-deviyā, a *devadhītā* (feminine of *devaputta*), daughter of Dhataraṭṭha = Dhṛtarāṣṭra, one of the four 'Great Kings', or 'World-regents', held a corresponding rank.[1]

III. Application of the Term to the Kuṣaṇas

From these considerations it appears that the title *devaputra*, whether understood in a general sense or as referring to some particular divinity, could not in application even to the great Kuṣaṇa kings have been demeaning. But in which sense was it actually applied? If the Indians had been struck by some vague similarity between the figures of the grand *Yakṣa*'s, exemplified by the Parkham and other statues, and those of the burly Kuṣaṇa kings, they would have seen in the superior title, *devaputra*, a more acceptable connotation. Or were they thinking in particular of Kuvera, who, as regent of the north and god of wealth, would have been an apt prototype of the northern potentates, with their lavish gold coinage, and whose images (see Vogel in *Bulletin de l'École Francaise d'Extrème Orient*, III, pp. 149–163, and Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, pp. 118–120) tend to have a *quasi*-Scythian physiognomy? Aśvaghoṣa does indeed address his 'great king Kanika' as 'guardian of the northern heaven' (*Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*, v. 47). Or did they mean even Śiva-maheśvara, whom we have seen styled *devaputra* and who is the sole deity figured on the coins of Wima Kadphises?

Possibly it may be helpful to note that the Buddhist texts extracted by Lévi ('Notes sur les Indo-scythes', *Journal Asiatique*, IX, viii (1896), pp. 444 sqq.) do not seem to refer to Kaniṣka as *devaputra*, a title rarely absent from the inscriptions mentioning the king. Instead they use a term which in the Chinese versions appears as *Chen-t'an* and which Lévi originally[1] understood as = *Cīna-sthāna*, 'China', and so implying the Chinese imperial title, 'Son of heaven': for this reason Lévi, in his translations, substitutes the word *devaputra*. The Chinese expression had previously been reproduced by Beal (*Indian Antiquary*, XV, p. 356, and *Buddhist Records*, I, p. 56 n.) as *Chandan*, and by him had been explained as meaning 'of Gandhara', 'Gandharian'. Subsequently Lévi, in view of a note by Śarat Chandra Das (*J.A.S.B.*, LV (1896), p. 193), which adduced *Candana* as a name of Khotan, inclined to the view that *Candana* was a Tibetan reproduction of *Chen-t'an* = *Cīna-sthāna*, but that in connection with Kaniṣka 'China' really meant Chinese Turkestan or Khotan: this did not, however, affect his view that the intended meaning was 'king of China' = 'Son of heaven' = *devaputra*. In an important posthumous article (*Journ. Asiatique*, ccxxviii (1936), pp. 61–121), which I am discussing elsewhere, Lévi renounces (p. 80) this view, and clearly demonstrates by interesting evidence that *Chen* (or *Chan*)-*t'an* represents a title in wide use among the Yüeh-chih as a designation of the younger brother of a king:[2] the title in its Sanskrit form was *Candana*.

It is unfortunate that the Buddhist texts containing the title *chen* (or *chan*)-*t'an* are known only in Chinese versions and not in the original Sanskrit. The one partial exception, the '*Sūtrālaṃkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa', as represented by the fragments of the '*Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā*' of Kumāralāta',[3] does not include the passages in question. But Lévi's citations in the *Journal Asiatique*, ccxxviii (1936), pp. 77–81, leave no doubt that the Sanskrit form was in fact *Candana*; and it certainly seems as if the term was used by the Buddhist texts where we should not have been surprised to find *devaputra* instead.

In adducing and discussing (pp. 76–9) the occurrences, rare in Brahmanical sources, comparatively frequent in early Buddhist texts (Pāli *Nikāyas*, etc.), of *Candana* as a personal name, Lévi notes as a 'curious and perhaps significant' fact that even in the very ancient texts the most prominent is a *devaputra* Candana: after what has been said above we should suspect his identity with the Candana who in the *Dīgha-nikāya* (text, Vol. II, p. 258) is named among the entourage of the 'Four Great Kings' and who in another passage (Vol. III, p. 204) appears in connection with *Yakkha*'s, *Mahā-yakkha*'s, *Senāpati*'s, *Mahā-senāpati*'s, etc. What significance attaches to this fact Lévi has not, in the unfinished article, expounded. But we, on our part, may feel confident that the Buddhist authors of the texts concerning 'Candana Kaniṣka' knew

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[1] The *devakanyā*'s and *devaduhitṛ*'s are likewise mentioned, along with the *devaputra*'s, in the *Maitreya-samiti* texts analyzed by Leumann, pp. 264–6, 273.

[1] See his article *Deux Peuples Méconnus* (1896), pp. 239-240 of the reprint in *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* (1937).

[2] For the particulars connected with Gandhāra, Wakhān and Further India, see pp. 81–4 of Lévi's article and as regards Wakhān the original documents published by Chavannes in *T'oung-pao*, II, v (1904), pp. 51 & n., 54, 55, 82.

[3] On this see Lüders' edition of the fragments discovered by him and his discussion, pp. 17 sqq., and Lévi, *J. As.*, ccxi (1927), pp. 95 sqq., ccxxviii (1936), p. 80, n. 1.

the *devaputra* Candana from their canonical writings and knew a *Candana* Kaniṣka from mundane information: in using the title *Candana*, when it came to them in connection with Kaniṣka, they can hardly have failed to think also of *devaputra*. To the less literary people, the composers and readers of dedicatory inscriptions, the *devaputra* Candana may have been unknown: for them the class-name, *devaputra*, would be a more intelligible substitute. This interpretation implies, of course, that in some circles an etymologizing association of Candana Kaniṣka and Candana *devaputra* had in fact taken place. In view of the etymological passion of Indian and Central-Asian people, who have rarely spared the foreign names brought to their notice, this may be thought to have been inevitable: and such inevitability is apparent from another handling of the same foreign name, when Aśvaghoṣa (*Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*, v. 83, and the note in *Ind. Ant.*, xxxii, p. 349) brings it punningly into connection with *candra*, 'moon', and perhaps also with *caṇḍa*, 'violent'.

From this point of view it would seem that Lévi's original conception of *devaputra* and *chen* (or *chan*)-*t'an* as virtually equivalent was correct, if we omit the reference to *Cīna-sthāna* (China or Chinese Turkestan), which has been withdrawn. But we might still inquire whether in the application of the term *devaputra* to Kaniṣka some particular *devaputra* or kind of *devaputra* was popularly envisaged. The sun and moon, both of which in the *Abhidharma-kośa* belong to the class and which in the *Jñānolkādhāraṇī* also are, as we have seen, so designated, could have been in people's minds, and a reference to either of these could be harmonized with the above-cited passage from Aśvaghoṣa's *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*. Or it might be Kuvera Vaiśravaṇa, as suggested by Aśvaghoṣa's reference to Kanika as 'ruler of the northern region' and by the later inclusion of the Yüeh-chih, as ruling the north-west, in the system of the four 'Sons of heaven'. But it may have been merely general; and at present we do not seem to find ground for making a choice.

IV. Kaniṣka as Devaputra

One point, however, stands out clearly, and it is of great chronological moment. In case the development was on the lines here sketched, it seems certain that the designation *devaputra* was not applied to any Kuṣaṇa king prior to Candana Kaniṣka: and it would follow that the *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khuṣaṇa* of the Taxilā Silver Scroll inscription [1] was Kaniṣka. Hitherto this possibility has been ignored, mainly, no doubt, because in this, as in the Panjtar inscription of year 122, the Kuṣaṇa king's name is not given. Any other reason would be hard to find, whether in the circumstances of the discovery of the scroll or in its contents. The scroll comes from a part of the Taxilā terrain occupied during a long period, where have been found coins of Kaniṣka and his successors. It was discovered, as we learn from Sir John

[1] Edited by Sir John Marshall, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 973–7, and Professor Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, pp. 70–7.

Marshall's descriptions (*A.S.I. Report*, 1912-3, pp. 18-9; *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, pp. 973–5; *Guide to Taxila*, pp. 51–3), in a chapel subsidiary to the Dharmarājika *stūpa*, built in a style dating from about the middle of the first century A.D.: it had been deposited at the slight depth of about one foot below the floor. It seems likely that the 'Bodhisatva-house' named in the inscription as the place of deposit was that same chapel. In the contents of the inscription we could hardly expect to find anything discriminative as between Kaniṣka and an immediate predecessor, more especially as, if Kaniṣka is meant, the date of the inscription would probably be in, or near, his first year. In the phrase *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Khuṣaṇasa* the absence of the king's personal name, which seems to link the inscription with the *maharayasa Guṣaṇasa* of the Panjtar inscription, is more than compensated by the addition of *devaputrasa*, which is not included even in the most flamboyant of the coin legends of Wima Kadphises, where he appears as *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa*. The *devaputrasa* of the Scroll inscription is the first known instance of the application to the Kuṣaṇas of the designation *devaputra*, which regularly, though not invariably, recurs with Kaniṣka and his successors; the retention of the old era in the first, or nearly the first, year of a new reign is natural. The narrowing effect of the prepossession of scholars in regard to the person may be seen in statements concerning the monogram at the end of the scroll: thus we are informed that 'the monogram is characteristic of coins of Vima-Kadphises, but it is also found on coins of his predecessor', it 'is known from the coins of Kujula Kara Kadphises, Wima Kadphises and Zeionises'. Who would have suspected that its most numerous, exclusive and almost unfailing occurrences are on the coins of Kaniṣka? Should it be established that the *devaputra* of the inscription is Kaniṣka, then in the year 136 = *c.* 78 A.D., Kaniṣka was already reigning in India; and this would end all controversy concerning his era.

V. Indian Doctrine Concerning Devaputra and the 'Four Sons of Heaven'

So far we have been concerned with the original application of the term *devaputra* to the Kuṣaṇa rulers and the manner in which it may have come about. As to how the term was understood by Indians, at any rate by Buddhist Indians, of later Kuṣaṇa times, there cannot be any doubt. For Lévi drew attention (*J. As.*, ccxiv (1934), pp. 1 sqq.) to Chapter XII (*Devendra-samaya-parivarta*) in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*, which he shows to belong to that period, where the question is actually asked why kings are called *devaputra*.

> *kathaṃ manuṣyasaṃbhūto rājā devas tu procyate* |
> *kena ca hetunā rājā devaputras tu procyate* ||

'how is a king born as a man styled god' (*deva*)? and for what reason is a king styled *devaputra*?'

The answer is that before being born as a man he was abiding among the gods (*deva*) and that, because the Thirty-three gods (each) contributed to his substance,[1] therefore he is 'god-son'—

api vai devasaṃbhūto devaputraḥ sa ucyate ||
trayastriṃśair devarājendrair bhāgo datto nṛpasya hi |
putratvaṃ (sic) *sarvadevānāṃ nirmito manujeśvaraḥ* ||

The author explains the appellation on purely Indian lines and does not even conceive the possibility of its being a translation of a foreign title. The explanation, given at a time when the term had been, no doubt, many years in use, cannot, indeed, be decisive in regard to its origin; but, occurring in a text which frequently mentions the celestial *devaputra*'s, it is distinctly adverse to a separation of the two cases. That the Kuṣaṇas are envisaged is obvious, since no other Indian kings are known to have been styled *devaputra*. It is noticeable that, as Lévi has pointed out (p. 11 n.), in the Chinese translations (the Sanskrit originals being lost) Nāgārjuna's commentary on the *Prajñā-pāramitā* mentions the 'state-king' called 'Son of heaven' (no doubt *devaputra*) as an example of a 'god [not "god-son"] by name',[2] and the *Abhidharma-mahā-vibhāṣā* groups, as 'one-region-kings', the Kuṣaṇa and Muruṇḍa kings with the Chinese 'son of heaven': both texts belong to the Kuṣaṇa period. Apparently, therefore, Nāgārjuna did not understand *devaputra* literally, and the *Mahā-vibhāṣā* did not accord to the Kuṣaṇas and Muruṇḍas the title 'son of heaven' in its Chinese meaning.

Evidently the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* knows nothing of the doctrine of the 'four sons of heaven' which otherwise could hardly have escaped mention in the chapter (VI) entitled *Caturmahārāja-parivarta*. But a passage rendered by Sylvain Lévi (*J. As.*, IX, ix (1897), p. 23, n. 2), as from a Buddhist *sūtra* translated into Chinese in 392 A.D., introduces the four in the following terms:—

> 'In Jambū-dvīpa there are 16 great kingdoms with 84,000 walled cities; there are 8 kings and 4 "sons of heaven". In the east there is the "Son of heaven" of the Tsin (= China under the Tsin dynasty, 265–420 A.D.): there the population prospers. In the south there is the "Son of heaven" of India: there the land has many celebrated elephants. In the west there is the "Son of heaven" of Ta-ts'in (the Roman empire): there the earth abounds in gold, silver, jewels, jade. In the north-west there is the "Son of heaven" of the Yüeh-chih: there the earth has many excellent horses.'

The text goes on to give some particulars concerning the 84,000 cities and, further, concerning the '2,500 sea-kingdoms' and the 5 kings, ruling each over 500 kingdoms. In the same connection Lévi refers to a well-known

[1] The doctrine, as Lévi notes, of Manu VII, 3 sqq. It is not necessary here to discuss details of reading and translation, in regard to which reference may be made to Lévi's article and the notes in the edition by Professor Nobel, pp. 133–5.

[2] As distinguished from 'god by birth', 'god by purity', and 'god by inborn purity'.

passage where Hsüan-tsang (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 13–7) discourses concerning the four rulers who, when there is no paramount *cakravartin* king, jointly govern Jambū-dvīpa; in the south the 'lord of elephants' (*gajapati*); in the west the 'lord of treasures' (*ratnapati* or *dhanapati*); in the north the 'lord of horses' (*aśvapati*); in the east the 'lord of men' (*narapati*). Hsüan-tsang does not expressly identify the four kingdoms; but from the particulars which he proceeds to add it is evident that he has in mind India (south), the Sasanian empire (west), the Hsiung-nu, Turks, etc., of Central Asia (north), and China (east): the inference is confirmed beyond all doubt by a statement of a literary collaborator of Hsüan-tsang, who names India (south), Persia (west), the Hsiung-nu = Turks (north), and China (east) (Pelliot in *T'oung-pao*, 1923, pp. 108–110, 125).

In 1918 (*J. As.*, XI, xi, pp. 82-3, 159–160) Lévi mentions that the passage in question, with a further passage (concerning certain States in India), is not found in the *sūtra* text as extant, but is given in a compilation of 516 A.D. as an extract from the *sūtra*. Professor Pelliot, in an article ('La théorie des quatre Fils de Ciel', *T'oung-pao*, 1923, pp. 97–125) devoted to this subject, suggests (p. 105) that the citation may be from a different, earlier (266 or 281 A.D., p. 101) Chinese translation of the *sūtra*, known to have existed, remarking that in any case the composition of the translation is singularly incoherent and confirms the suggestion of a Chinese catalogue of 594 A.D. to the effect that it consisted of extracts from a larger work. The passage, which in the Chinese version has, Professor Pelliot assures us (p. 105), transcription of an archaic type, certainly, by reason of the stock numbers, such as 84,000, and other features, represents an Indian original.

In the theory three distinct elements can be recognized, namely: (1) the doctrine of four great States situated at the four cardinal points of the compass; (2) the distinctive characteristics of the four great States; (3) the identification of the States with existing great powers. As regards No. 2, Professor Pelliot has shown (pp. 111–6) that the notion of a division of India (not the world), after the time of the great legendary sovereigns, between three successions of kings, 'lords of horses' (*aśvapati*), 'lords of elephants' (*gajapati*), 'lords of men' (*narapati*), or four, when we add the 'lords of parasols' (*chattra-pati*), is a late popular notion, not found in the literature. Every Indianist will subscribe to this view. But Pelliot proceeds (pp. 116–9) to show that some such notion, with Iran as the land of wealth, India of elephants, China of men, and the Turks of 'fierce beasts' (instead of 'horses'), was communicated in the ninth century A.D. by a Chinese emperor to an Arab traveller.[1] At a date much more remote, namely *c.* 245–250 A.D., a Chinese ambassador to Fu-nan, a State in Indo-China partly corresponding to the later Cambodia, reported that in the foreign countries there was a saying that under heaven there were three abundances, abundance of men in China, abundance of gems

[1] Pelliot refers to the translation of the 'Voyage of the Arabic Merchant Sulayman', by M. Ferrand, who has further written in *BSOS.*, VI, pp. 329–338, on this subject.

in Ta-ts'in (the Greco-Roman east), abundance of horses among the Yüeh-chih (pp. 121–3). Pelliot plausibly suggests that the saying, obviously not of Chinese origin and partly corresponding, though without mention of the cardinal points, to the extract from the Buddhist *sūtra*, arose in India, which, as the point of observation, would naturally omit to name itself as the fourth.

From an Indianist point of view this suggestion invites consideration both in respect of the substance of the saying and in respect of its terms. The general criticism that no such saying is known in Indian literature may be put aside on the ground that it was a popular dictum, evoked by the active commercial intercourse of the early centuries A.D., which in later India lapsed into oblivion, and that it did indeed find its way into a Buddhist *sūtra*. But it is not easy to see how Indians should have come to regard the Greco-Roman west as the land of gems instead of as a land which had much wealth for purchase of Indian gems:[1] it is still harder to ascribe to populous India the notion of China, of which the Indians knew very little, as abounding in men; that the Yüeh-chih country was a land specially of horses, which is not known to be a fact and is not indicated by the Kuṣaṇa coinage, may indeed have been inferred from incidents such as that of the four Yüeh-chih horses brought to Fu-nan, as reported by the above-mentioned Chinese ambassador, by an envoy of an Indian king. Possibly the repute of the Yüeh-chih in regard to horses may have accrued to them as representatives of northern Asia, which with good reason, considering the horsed Hsiung-nu and later nomads, may have been very widely famed in that respect: the Yüeh-chih horses may, in fact, have been transmitted from Farghāna, with its choice breed which at the beginning of the first century B.C. provoked a Chinese conquest of the country. We do not therefore find in the substance of the saying anything pointing to India in particular as the source: and, if we proceed to include India as the 'land of elephants', we have a notion quite natural in outsiders, such as the Greeks and the Baktrian informants of Chang Ch'ien,[2] but not found in India itself. On these grounds it seems preferable to attribute the saying to the 'foreign kingdoms' whence it was reported and to understand primarily the countries of Indo-China and Malaisia, where the active trade communications, illuminated by the researches of Sylvain Lévi and Professor Pelliot, may have given birth to it. In those countries China may indeed have been conceived as a land of vast population, and the omission of the old familiar neighbour, India, may have been almost as natural in the States of Indianized culture as in India itself.

The terminology also is provoking: what Indian terms are represented by 'China', Ta-ts'in, 'Yüeh-chih'? Are we to understand *Cīna* (no doubt, quite justifiable), *Yavana* (or *Romaka*) and *Tukhāra*? The last-named is, in fact, known to have been rendered into Chinese by *Yüeh-chih*,[3] and *Yavana* (or *Romaka*) is possible enough. The application of *aśvapati*, 'lord of horses', and *gajapati*, 'lord of elephants', primarily designations of functionaries, to rulers of States strong in cavalry and elephant squads is in itself quite reasonable and can, in fact, be instanced.[1] But that the Indians should have originated the use of the word *narapati*, 'lord of men', so common, as Pelliot has remarked (p. 115), in the general sense of 'king', as the appellation of the ruler of a particular State notable for its 'men', is not less improbable linguistically than is conceptually an Indian recognition of China as being such a State. We can think of only one way in which such a use can have arisen, namely if *narapati* in this sense was a translation of a foreign term, so that both the idea and the expression came from outside. As for *devaputra*, which, since the Yüeh-chih come into the question, must in the passage be the Indian term represented by the Chinese 'Son of heaven', the notion of a *devaputra* of India (*Bhārata-varṣa*? *Āryāvarta*?), as distinct from the Yüeh-chih, is so unheard of that we may doubt whether it was ever put into Indian words, except in the *sūtra* passage itself and in connection with the four-empire theory.

As regards the location of the four States at the four cardinal points, it seems not insignificant that, while absent from the report of the Chinese envoy, it occurred, if it did certainly occur, in the approximately contemporary Buddhist *sūtra*. Does it not seem as if the original saying, with its popular recognition of the three (or four) great States, had come to the knowledge of the much-travelled Buddhist pilgrims and propagandists and had by them been fitted into a pre-established framework? The long prior existence of such a framework is, as we have seen, a fact: the system of the four 'regents of the quarters' existed in the earliest period of Buddhism and was a permanent part of its cosmography and theology. And what was the common designation of the four regents? The 'four great kings' (*catur-mahārāja*). And what was the regular expression for their divine status? They were 'sons of gods' or 'of the god class' (*devaputra*). Thus the Buddhists, before contact with the saying concerning the three (or four) great existent States, were aware that each of the four cardinal points was ruled by a divine 'great king' (*mahārāja*) who was a *devaputra*, the appellation which quite certainly stood in the Indian *sūtra*, if authentic, where the Chinese version has 'son of heaven' (*t'ien-tzŭ*), the Chinese imperial title. It seems impossible to suppose that this correspondence can have been absent from the consciousness of the author of the *sūtra*.

But there was also a further special link. One of the great States mentioned in the saying, namely that of the Yüeh-chih, was actually under a ruler respectfully known as *devaputra*, and was associated with one of the cardinal points, namely the north. Here we seem to find the germ of the whole later theory of the four 'sons of heaven'. It does not seem accidental that, in addition to the inclusion of the Yüeh-chih in the earliest known record of the theory, namely that extracted from the Buddhist *sūtra*, another Chinese

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[1] Perhaps the notion really came from China, where it appears as early as in the *Later Han Annals*: see Chavannes' translation in *T'oung-pao*, 1907, pp. 181–4.

[2] See Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 98; De Groot, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20.

[3] Lévi, *Journ. As.*, IX, ix (1897), p. 10, n. 1.

[1] Pelliot mentions (p. 114) the *gajapati* kings of Orissa.

work of the third century A.D. (see Pelliot, p. 123 n.) states concerning the Yüeh-chih independently that their king has the title 'son of heaven'. Thus we are led to the conclusion that the theory of the 'four sons of heaven' resulted from conflation of an ancient doctrinal framework with a popular saying concerning three (or four) great States which in fact, by reason of their geographical situation, readily adapted themselves to it, but that the link was supplied by the circumstance that one of the States had separately acquired for its head the designation 'son of heaven'. The fact that in the *sūtra* the Yüeh-chih are placed not, as by Aśvaghoṣa, in the north, but in the north-west, which from the Indian point of view is more exact, seems to be a concession to actuality, indicating that the conflation, or the composition of the Buddhist *sūtra*, took place in India, not in some other region of the Buddhist world.

The superior validity of the framework is seen in its persistence through the changes in the later selections of the representative States, selections adapted to the times. In the time of Hsüan-tsang, as we have seen, the Yüeh-chih had been replaced by the Turks, and the Greco-Roman world by Persia (the Sasanians). In the ninth century A.D. the Khalifate had pushed itself into the place of the Sasanians, regarded as the central power, while in another contemporary account it made itself a fifth, greatest of all (Pelliot, pp. 116–120). A more or less contemporary Tibetan version (Thomas, *Tib. Literary Texts and Documents*, I, p. 276) had the Turks in the north and the Tajiks (Perso-Arab world) in the west.

The characteristics of the different States likewise undergo modification. In the Tibetan version the west is no longer the land of gems, but, more sensibly, of wealth; and this seems to be accepted by the two Arab accounts in respect of their country. China was evidently not content to rank simply as the 'land of men' and added a gloss, claiming the excellence of a peaceful, orderly State: the Tibetan version terms it the land of 'wisdom'.[1] To the Tibetans, with their own great armies of mounted men, the north could not be distinctively the 'land of horses', and so the Turk country became the land of 'arms': to the Arabs it is the land of 'fierce beasts'. Finally, India, the 'land of elephants', is in the Arabic-Chinese account also the land of 'wisdom', whereas to the Tibetans it has become simply the land of 'religion'.

It appears, therefore, that about the middle of the third century A.D. it became for the first time known in China, from an Indo-Chinese source, that the Yüeh-chih rulers had an appellation which, as rendered into Chinese, was verbally identical with the ancient Chinese imperial title 'son of heaven'. The fact that the Chinese in all their Central-Asian intercourse with the Yüeh-chih had not previously heard of the appellation suffices in itself to prove that it was not one adopted by the Yüeh-chih in actual competition with the Chinese empire: it would, no doubt, be beside the mark to point out that the Chinese title has a meaning quite different from anything normally expressed by the Indian *devaputra*, 'son of a god' or 'son of the gods'; but,

[1] Even in the *Later Han Annals* of the Chinese (see Chavannes in *T'oung-pao*, 1907, p. 218) this notion is expressed.

as has been stated *supra*, there is no evidence to show that the term *devaputra* was ever, at any rate at an early period, adopted by the Yüeh-chih rulers as a title. The earliest available indication of its being even understood in the Indian and Greater-Indian world as a title seems in fact to be the report of the Chinese envoy, about the middle of the third century A.D., to Indo-China and the, perhaps approximately contemporary, version of an Indian Buddhist *sūtra*.

In India itself the term *devaputra* has never, except in reference to the Yüeh-chih, been used as an appellation of royalty: this may have been due in part to reaction from its application to foreign rulers; but far more probably it was simply because to Indians the *devaputra*'s, as a particular class of divine beings, were the familiar connotation of the term and because, as an honorific appellation of kings, the term had long been forestalled by *deva*. Indo-China also, where the introduction of Indian culture probably antedated the Kuṣaṇa empire, had no *devaputra*. The Ceylon inscriptions and histories (*Mahā-vaṃsa* and *Cūla-vaṃsa*) likewise ignore the term. As regards Chinese Turkestan, we have seen that the Kharoṣṭhī documents of c. 200–300 A.D. apply the term, chiefly in datings, to the Shan-shan kings: in c. the eighth century its equivalent (*jezdaṃ-purā*) in Professor Konow's 'new Saka dialect' from Marālbāshī (Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1935, pp. 772 sqq., see p. 818) occurs once, in a dating. Presumably there is here an imitation of Kuṣaṇa India. From the other States, except Khotan, the evidence is too exiguous to justify any positive statement; but the fact that from the Khotan records the application of the term to royalties is totally absent suggests that in Kuca also and other kingdoms the same may have been the case; if so, one reason may have been, as in India, familiarity with the expression 'god-son' as denoting a particular class of divine beings: and this is supported by the above-noted occurrence of the term, in a Saka-Khotanī rendering, with that signification.

The application of the term 'god-son' to kinglets in Shan-shan and elsewhere in Chinese Turkestan may be regarded as in itself a proof that the term did not imply any competition with the great Chinese 'son of heaven': the signification in the two cases was entirely different, the *devaputra*'s being a class, numerous, whereas the 'son of heaven' was essentially unique.[1] There is, however, one instance of late date, where such competition may be described as likely. In the eighth century A.D. the Tibetan rendering *Lha-sras* is applied to the famous *Btsan-po* Khri-Gtsug-ldeẖu-brtsan, whose queen was Chinese: in editing the documents (*J.R.A.S.*, 1927, p. 839; 1928, pp. 73, 74, 87, 90) I regret to have overlooked the real significance and to have given as translation merely 'prince'; there is no doubt that the *Btsan-po* himself is meant, and the expression occurs similarly in Tibetan elsewhere.[2] At the time

[1] So Lévi in *J. As.*, ccxxiv (1934), p. 18. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* has a chapter (XV) entitled 'The prophecy of the Ten Thousand *Devaputra*'s'.

[2] It is used as rendering of *devaputra* in the Tibetan version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*: see the extract printed by Lévi in *Journal Asiatique*, ccxxiv (1934), p. 7.

the Tibetan power had in about a century of almost continuous war shown itself fully a match for that of China: the two ruling dynasties had an intimate mutual acquaintance, having been more than once associated by marriage. Hence a competitive claim on the part of Tibet is quite intelligible. But even here a doubt is not precluded. The Tibetan Buddhists were familiar with the term 'god-son' in their texts and in the Buddhist usage of Chinese Turkestan; and in their translations they had used the identical expression, *Lha-sras*, so that they may have meant 'god-son' and not 'son of heaven': moreover, the doctrine of the divine descent of the *Btsan-po*'s was not only ancient in Tibet, but was also proclaimed formally on official occasions, as may be seen exemplified in the famous treaty inscriptions of Lha-sa (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 923 sqq., esp. p. 949, ll. 17-20) and in the text edited in *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, pp. 77-8, where the phrasing is, so to speak, stereotyped. Probably the doctrine is old indeed, being involved in the ancient Bon-po cosmology, with its two heavens and descents therefrom. It is therefore in its essence rather akin to the Chinese doctrine than dependent upon it; but this does not preclude a rivalry of phrase with the Chinese or, on the other hand, an appropriation of something current in some State of Chinese Turkestan.

SIR WILLIAM WATSON

By

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The Victorians—poets and politicians and prophets—are, for all their solemnity and solidity the subject now of ridicule or at best of gentle superior criticism. They are so distant from the stern realities of today, it is said: they lived in such an attractive imaginary earthly paradise; they so ignored harsh truths and preferred to pin their faith to God in His heaven; their comfortable belief in the federation of the world has been proved to be so false; their major problems, Free Trade and Protection, the education of women, the Tractarian movement, the Bulgarian atrocities, the War in Crimea, seem in the retrospect so petty; they were, in short, so Victorian that it seems, except for historical reasons, hardly worth while attending to them. But it is no use forgetting that today is the heir of yesterday, and, whether we like it or not, we are descended from the Victorians. Is it, however, quite clear that they have no intrinsic worth? Are they not worth a study for their own sake? Is there not in them largeness of utterance, nobleness of vision, healthiness of outlook, energy, power, grace and the other qualities that ensure permanence? The robust humour of Dickens; the tragic intensity of Thomas Hardy; the moving eloquence of Newman; the clear, keen insight of Matthew Arnold; the encyclopaedic range of Tennyson's interests; the psychological studies of

Browning; Swinburne's impassioned and elemental energy; William Morris' dreams of tomorrow's uprising to deeds that shall be sweet; the tender lyrics of Christina Rossetti; the perfection of the prose style in Walter Pater; Yeats, whose melody never failed him—is one to ignore all this merely because it is Victorian? 'Q', a sure judge of literary excellence, a man of letters more than a mere professor, says:

> 'After many months spent in close study of Victorian verse, I rise from the task in reverence and wonder not only at the mass of poetry written with ardour in these less-than-a-hundred years, but at the amount of it which is excellent, and the height of some of that excellence; in some exultation too, as I step aside and—drawing difficult breath—gaze after the stream of young runners with their torches.'

I maintain that at no period of English literary history has so much been produced and so much of real excellence. They had defects, too, 'thick', in the words of Tennyson, 'as dust in vacant chamber'; but under the dust, under the dead weight of contemporary rust, there is pure gold.

It is of a late Victorian that I write in this paper. I have not cared to obtain knowledge of his life. I have contented myself with a study only of his published work. Sir William Watson is a writer whose work can be appraised without any reference to the circumstances of his career. I do not know if he was born in a well-to-do family; if he went to a University; what job he had; what, in legal phraseology, his ostensible means of living were; where he lived; whether he was married and had children. Nor is any of this information necessary in order to enjoy and criticize his literary work.

Watson's first volume 'The Prince's Quest' was written in 1880 and his active literary career continued for half a century. His intense patriotism, his transparent sincerity, his manly outspokenness, his sense of the high dignity of the poetic muse, are characteristics that one can notice in all the stages of his career. One notices, too, the marvellous felicity of phrase—a little too polished, too faultless for lyric passion and energy, indicating rather thought, deliberation, criticism than abandon, liveliness and vivacity. There is eloquence and grace, and a uniformly high standard of finish. There is no trace anywhere of slovenliness or haste. The poet seems to have thought carefully over every phrase and every line and given to it a polish and a grace that may appear a little cold, a little too perfect, but that is a testimony to his skill as a verbal artist. Scattered all over his work are jewelled phrases, verbal gems such as:

'The mystery we make darker with a name.'
'And little masters make a toy of song.'
'Keats, on his lips the eternal rose of youth.'
'The earth was all in tune, and you a note
Of Nature's happy chorus.'
'I have seen the morn one laugh of gold.'

'O lives, that nameless come and noteless go.'
'Who tilled not earth, save with the harrow of war.'

But while he is obviously in love with words, he is no lover of many words. As he says in the 'Preface' to 'Poems, Brief and New', he has studied brevity. He succeeds in packing many thoughts into a line and a whole landscape in a few phrases. His opinion on the subject is expressed in the lines:

'Since Life is rough,
Sing smoothly, O Bard.'

Many of Watson's poems are distinctly literary, owing their inspiration to literature and men of letters, reminiscent of great passages, and yet characterized both by originality of expression and freshness of approach. In 'Wordsworth's Grave', written in the eighties, we have for the first time an endeavour to combine elegiac emotion with penetrative criticism. In one stanza he distinguishes Wordsworth from other masters:

'Not Milton's keen, translunar music thine;
Not Shakespeare's cloudless boundless human view;
Not Shelley's flush of rose on peaks divine;
Nor yet the wizard twilight Coleridge knew.'

He goes into the heart of Wordsworth's poetry when he says:

'Thou hadst for weary feet, the gift of rest.'

In the same volume he refers to 'the frugal note of Gray', surely a more fit phrase than Matthew Arnold's—'He never spoke out'. And how exquisitely he describes Burns:

'On life's broad plain the ploughman's conquering share
Upturned the fallow lands of truth anew.'

This is how he sums up the main features of the poetry of the eighteenth century:

'Thenceforth she but festooned the porch of things'

—external decoration, touching but the outer surface of life, not plumbing the deeps, playing but on the porch, never venturing to enter the heart.

On Shelley's Centenary in 1892, he described 'the ineffectual angel' as

'A singer, who, if errors blurred
His sight, had yet a spirit stirred
By vast desire,
And ardour fledging the swift word
With plumes of fire.'

On the death of Tennyson he wrote 'Lachrymæ Musarum', the poem by which perhaps Watson is best known. Obviously he took as his model Tennyson's Wellington Ode, but the poem is unquestionably a noble and sincere tribute from a young poet to the most picturesque and melodious singer who had dominated literature and stirred the popular imagination for over

half a century. He laments that the life that seemed a perfect song is o'er; he mourns for the singer of undying songs is dead.

'For us, the autumn glow, the autumn flame,
And soon the winter silence shall be ours.
Him the eternal spring of fadeless fame
Crowns with no mortal flowers.'

Here are two passages culled from different poems on Shelley:

'Who pre-eminently of men
Seemed nourished upon starbeams and the stuff
Of rainbows and the tempest, and the foam.'
'The hectic flamelike rose of verse,
All colour and all odour and all bloom,
Steeped in the moonlight, glutted with the sun.'

Here is a sentence on Keats:

'Great
With somewhat of a glorious sunlessness.'

In the poem entitled 'In Laleham Churchyard', where Matthew Arnold is buried, there is insufficient appreciation of his poetic achievement and inadequate criticism; but the following lines are a fair summing up of his main gifts:

'And nigh to where his bones abide,
The Thames with its unruffled tide
Seems like his genius typified,—
Its strength, its grace,
Its lucid gleam, its sober pride,
Its tranquil peace.'

Landor's 'Hellenics' he describes as

'The bland Attic skies
True-mirrored by an English well.'

On Burns:

'A Shakespeare, flashing o'er the whole
Of man's domain
The splendour of his cloudless soul
And perfect brain.'

And again:

'He came when poets had forgot
How rich and strange the human lot,
How warm the tints of Life; how hot
Are Love and Hate;
And what makes Truth divine, and what
Makes manhood great . . . . .

A dreamer of the common dreams,
A fisher in familiar streams,
He chased the transitory gleams
That all pursue;
But on his lips the eternal themes
Again were new.'

There appeared in the 1893 edition of 'Lachrymæ Musarum' a bitter poem on Oscar Wilde, which Watson omitted from his 'Collected Poems'. Here are four lines on him:

'And as for us—to our disgrace;
Your stricture's truth must be conceded;
Would any but a stupid race
Have made the fuss about you *we* did?'

Another ungenerous poem appeared in the 1890 edition of 'Wordsworth's Grave'—an uncharitable attack on Ruskin:

'Yes, you have carried, we are well aware,
Up to its highest point of cultivation,
The art of talking nonsense with an air
Of inspiration.'

The epigram has not had a prosperous career in England, particularly in verse. But Sir William Watson has written many excellent, pithy epigrams which have much of the effectiveness of those attributed to Martial. Indeed, one may look upon the epigram as Watson's most successful lyric form. There is a large range of themes—and invariably the style is distinctive. He tried to follow the view which he expresses in one of his critical essays that 'Passion plus self-restraint is the moral basis of the finest style'. Of the achievement of the poet he says, of the discovery of poetic beauty in unexpected places, of the communication of loveliness to unpromising material:

'The Poet gathers fruit from every tree,
Yea, grapes from thorns and figs from thistle he.
Pluck'd by his hand, the barest weed that grows
Towers to a lily, reddens to a rose.'

On 'The Three Kinds of Song' he expresses his partiality for the kind that supplies nourishment both to the spirit and the mind, that satisfies the intellect as well as the heart, that is both thoughtful and emotional:

'Song have I known that fed the soul,
And song that was like a foaming bowl;
But the song that I account divine
Is at once rare food and noble wine.'

There are some bitter lines on modernist verse and specially on its formlessness, its deliberate defiance of metrical laws, and the delight it takes in irregular patterns:

'I bought one day a book of rhyme—
One long, fierce flout at tune and time;
Ragged and jagged by intent,
As if each line were earthquake-rent.'

I may also draw attention to 'A Recipe'—or 'hints on how to write poetry such as may please certain contemporary palates':

'Let metre eternally jump, jolt, and lurch:
For infinite crudeness make infinite search . . . .
So beware lest a line inadvertently scan,
And of course be as odd and as queer as you can . . . .
And write in a fashion that makes men of sense,
At the mere name of Poetry, haste to fly hence.'

Two epigrams more—both rather bitter in tone—may be quoted. The first is entitled, 'Loves and Hates':

'I love the poet of cloudless ray;
Love, too, the folded, golden vapour;
But hate the humbug who all day
Serves up deliberate fog on paper.'

The other is addressed 'To a Successful Man':

'Yes, titles, and emoluments, and place,
All tell the world that you have won life's race.
But then, 'twas your good fortune not to start
Handicapped with a conscience or a heart.'

A devoted disciple of Wordsworth's, Watson learnt much from nature and specially celebrated the beauty of nature. There is no evidence that he learnt from it anything of moral evil and of good, nor that he read any philosophy in it. He is content to see and feel and drink in its beauteous sights and sounds and sometimes find in them a reflection of his mood and a picture of the life of man. The following quatrain best illustrates his nature-poetry:

'Spring, the low prelude of a lordlier song:
Summer, a music without hint of death;
Autumn, a cadence lingeringly long:
Winter, a pause;—the Minstrel—Year takes breath.'

Here are some pretty lines to April:

'April, April,
Laugh thy girlish laughter,
Then, the moment after,
Weep thy girlish tears!
April, that mine ears
Like a lover greetest,
If I tell thee, sweetest,
All my hopes and fears,

April, April,
Laugh thy golden laughter
But, the moment after
Weep thy golden tears!'

In another poem he speaks of Nature 'who never negligently yet fashioned an April violet' and 'who suffers us pure form to see in a dead leaf's anatomy'. The contrast between men and nature is brought out in the poem entitled 'The First Skylark of Spring'—evidently inspired by Shelley:

'We sing of Life, with stormy breath
That shakes the lute's distemperedstring;
We sing of Love, and loveless Death
Takes up the song we sing . . . . .
But I am fettered to the sod,
And but forget my bonds an hour:
In amplitude of dreams a god,
A slave in dearth of power.'

The same contrast is expressed in an epigram:

'Toiling and yearning, 'tis man's doom to see
No perfect creature fashion'd of his hands.
Insulted by a flower's immaculacy,
And mock'd at by the flawless stars he stands.'

In a different key is the poem 'The Lark and the Thrush'—reminiscent of Wordsworth's 'Lesser Celandine' and 'The Green Linnet':

'O from too far, and from too high,
In too pure air above,
Doth the great Rhapsodist of the sky
Utter melodious love.
Bird that from neighbouring tree does pour
Songs of less heavenly birth,
'Tis thine, thine, that can pierce me more,
Sweet Rhapsodist of the Earth.'

Both Shelley and Wordsworth have their share in the fashioning of the poem entitled 'Rejuvenescence'—the 'Immortality Ode' and 'The West Wind' must have suggested the underlying thought:

'The Day is young, the Day is sweet,
And light is her heart as the tread of her feet.
The Day is weary, the Day is old:
She has sunk into sleep through a tempest of gold.
Sleep, tired Day! Thou shalt rise made new,
All splendour and wonder and odour and dew.'

I shall quote one more specimen of Watson's nature-poetry, a vivid and powerful word-picture of a storm from the poem entitled 'In the Midst of the Seas':

'Many have sung of the terrors of the Storm;
I will make me a song of its beauty, its graces of hue and form;
A song of the loveliness gotten of Power
Born of Rage in her blackest hour,
When never a wave repeats another,
But each is unlike his own twin brother,
Each is himself from base to crown,
Himself alone as he clambers up,
Himself alone as he crashes down;—
When the whole sky drinks of the sea's mad cup
And the ship is thrilled to her quivering core,
But amidst her pitching, amidst her rolling,
Amidst the clangour and boom and roar,
Is a Spirit of Beauty all-controlling.'

Watson took at one time, quite early in his career, a lively interest in politics. He was no supporter of Jingoism. He was a firm believer in the value of freedom for all races and not only for England. He passionately denounced all those who stood in the way of other nations attaining freedom. Naturally verse written as part of current political polemics can have but a transitory interest and can hardly be of value once the ashes of controversy are cold. Watson did not raise any issues that are permanently engaging man's attention; this portion of his work is the one least likely to last. One of his collections, published in 1897, is entitled 'The Year of Shame'. He says:

'Never henceforth, O England, never more
Prate thou of generous effort, righteous aim,
Whose shame is that thou knowest not thy shame!'

In another poem, written 'during estrangement', he says 'as architects of ruin we have no peers', and

'Redder from our red hoof-prints the wild rose
Of freedom shall afresh hereafter spring.'

In connection with the South African War, he says:

'Ah, not today is Nature on our side!
In mountains and the rivers are our foe.
And Nature with the heart of man allied
Is hard to overthrow.'

In 'Harvest', he says:

'A naked people in captivity;
A land where Desolation hath her throne;
The wrath that is, the rage that is to be:
Our fruits, whereby we are known.'

And in 'The True Imperialism':

'Vain is your Science, vain your Art,
Your triumphs and your glories vain,
To feed the hunger of their heart
And famine of their brain.'

In 'Metamorphosis':

> 'Shouting her own applause, if haply so
> She may shout down the hisses of the world.'

But this mood did not last long. In the 'Ode on the Coronation of King Edward VII', he says:

> 'Proudly, as fits a nation that hath now
> So many dawns and sunsets on her brow,
> This duteous heart we bring.'

Naturally, scattered over the pages of Watson's several books, are many pieces that deal with weightier matter, have a considerable ballast of thought and meditation, and touch the depths of life. There is no obligation for a lyric poet to be a philosopher. Indeed, should he lose himself in the mazes of divine philosophy, however charming it might be, the less poet he! But the best poetry is a combination of thought and fancy and melody. If we read Watson with care, we shall find him frequently expressing a mood of discontent with things as they are, of deep dissatisfaction with the hard terms of human life, of despair that one must fret one's soul 'with crosses and with cares'. It is not the 'pale contented sort of discontent' of which Keats speaks in 'Lamia'. The following lines express the prevailing mood:

> 'Man only, irked by calm, and rent
> By each emotion's throes,
> Neither in passion finds content,
> Nor finds it in repose.'

In another poem he states the same uncertainty about the nature of existence on earth:

> 'On from room to room I stray,
> Yet my Host can ne'er espy,
> And I know not to this day
> Whether guest or captive I.'

The concluding stanza of the poem entitled 'The Hope of the World' is in the same strain:

> 'Here, where perhaps alone
> I conquer or I fail.
> Here, o'er the dark Deep blown,
> I ask no perfumed gale;
> I ask the unpampering breath
> That fits me to endure
> Chance, and victorious Death,
> Live, and my doom obscure,
> Who know not whence I am sped, nor to what port I sail.'

That some sorrow is inevitable and that luck consists in the number of errors one can avoid is the theme of the lines 'To a Friend':

> 'For they are blest that have not much to rue—
> That have not oft mis-heard the prompter's cue,
> Stammered and stumbled and the wrong parts played
> And life a Tragedy of Errors made.'

The glory of the past and the brightness of the hope for the future sustains man's faith:

> 'And I count him wise,
> Who loves so well Man's noble memories
> He needs must love Man's nobler hopes yet more.'

That is an expression of the nineteenth century creed of Progress which, in 'A Death in the Desert', Browning says, is—

> 'Man's distinctive mark alone,
> Not God's, and not the beasts'; God is, they are;
> Man partly is, and wholly hopes to be.'

John Morley, looking back in the evening of his days to the period when he also shared passionately in this faith, asserted that Progress stands for a working belief that the modern world will never consent to do without. In the poem entitled 'The Dream of Man', Watson also puts forward the view that struggle, effort, aspiration are what make life liveable. Man is shown in it as having conquered Death, but that gives him no satisfaction. Life without any necessity for conquest seems empty. At 'his dreadful zenith', he cries for help to God:

> 'And Deity paused and hearkened, then turned to the undivine,
> Saying, "O man, my Creature, thy lot was more blest than Mine.
> I taste not delight of seeking, nor the boon of longing know.
> There is but one joy transcendent, and I hoard it not but bestow.
> I heard it not nor have tasted, but freely I gave it to thee
> The joy of most glorious striving, which dieth in victory." '

I have mentioned earlier some of the brief criticisms of some men of letters which Watson has put into verse; a word may now be said of the volume which he called 'Excursions in Criticism', and which he described as 'the prose recreations of a rhymer'. It was published in 1893. Two critical dicta deserve to be specially noted: 'True criticism, when it approaches the work of the masters, can never be quite cool . . . . . it is the critic's business to feel, just as much as to see'. And, secondly, 'There can be no doubt that Style is the great antiseptic in literature—the most powerful preventive against decay'. Two other short sentences may be quoted—this on Saintsbury—'Mere ease of style often gets more credit than is its due. It is ease with power, or ease with splendour that is the valuable thing'; and this on James Russell Lowell—'It is delightfully fresh and tonic, with a certain saline shrewdness in it, reminding us that it has come across the ocean'. But two more

elaborate passages will illustrate the quality of his critical judgments and specially the earnestness which mark them. Writing of Burns, he says:

> 'All Burns's qualities are on the great scale. Look at his humour. This laughter is no crackling of thorns under a pot, but a sheer blazing and roaring of piled-up faggots of fun. It is the very riot and revelry of mirth; there is something demoniacal about this hilarity. Even the coarseness that goes with it hardly offends us, it is so manifestly and naturally of a piece with the utter licence and abandonment which this lord of literary nonsense has for the nonce decreed.'

This of Ibsen:

> 'He shows us little but the ugliness of things; the colour seems to fade out of the sunset, the perfume seems to perish from the rose, in his presence. But if power and impressiveness are their own justification, Ibsen is justified; for whatever else he may or may not be, he is powerful, he is impressive. To those enthusiasts, however, who would place him on an equality with the greatest dramatists, sane and sober criticism can only reply: No; this narrow intensity of vision, this preoccupation with a part of existence, is never the note of the masters: they deal with life: he deals only with death-in-life. They treat of society; he treats only of the rottenness of society. Their subject is human nature —his, human disease.'

Watson does not attain the eminence of the masters. He has not their spontaneity, nor their breadth and depth. But as one who upheld the dignity of the muses and strove to serve them assiduously, as a skilled craftsman, he holds a high place. As he says himself:

> 'Not mine the rich and showering hand, that strews
> The facile largesse of a stintless muse.
> A fitful presence, seldom tarrying long,
> Capriciously she touches me to song—
> Then leaves me to lament her flight in vain,
> And wonder will she ever come again.'

THE HISTORY OF THE SRI VIJAYANARAYANA TEMPLE OF BELUR (MYSORE STATE)

By

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BELUR is a small town now; but eight hundred years ago it was the capital of a mighty empire ruled by a line of Yadava kings known as the Hoysalas. This dynasty was at first subordinate to the Chalukya Empire, but later on it became independent and ultimately controlled the destinies of even the Cholas and Pandyas in the far south of India.

The Temple

The first ruler to break off from the Chalukyan yoke was king Vishnuvardhana popularly known also as Bittiga or Bittideva and it was he who built the main temple of Kesava in Belur. The artistic greatness of this structure has all along been attracting to the place crowds of visitors, both Indian and foreign. Students of art have never ceased to wonder at the grandeur of the structures, the charm of the sculptures, the variety of the ornamental details and the minute and delicate carvings of the pillars and panels, the doorways and ceilings. The successive friezes, rising one upon another, depict a series of decorative motifs, birds, animals or dancers, all full of life and vigour, with a bewildering variety of attitudes and movements. A valuable monograph has been prepared for publication, giving an exhaustive description of the temple, and its architecture and sculptures, with numerous photographs and drawings.

Hoysala Structure

The inscriptions state that Vishnuvardhana built the temple in commemoration of his victory against the Chola viceroy of Talkad, while tradition has it that he built the temple in token of his having been converted to Vaishnavism by the great teacher Rāmānujāchārya, who had for a time migrated from the Chola country to the realm of the Hoysala king. From a detailed study of the structures, it looks very probable that he built only the star-shaped *garbhagriha*, the *sukanasi* and the cruciform *navaranga*. The large niches, friezes and sculptures on the outside, as also the beautifully designed inside pillars and ceilings, including three of the doorways, were carved in his time. The *garbhagriha* was surmounted by a high star-shaped tower of brick and mortar supported by wood-work and plated with gold-gilded copper sheets. Standing on a high platform on the top of a rising ground, the structure had a commanding appearance. The beautiful image of Kesava, called Vijayanārāyaṇa by the builder, was installed in the sanctum in 1117 A.D.

Chennigaraya

At about the same time, Vishnuvardhana's senior queen Santaladevī, though inclined to Jainism, did not fail to make her contribution. She got built the Chennigaraya temple, similar in form to the king's temple, though less elaborate and less ornamental. The image of Chennigaraya installed by her is almost exactly like that of Kesava in the main temple, though smaller in size. It bears the votive inscription of the queen.

Narasimha I

Narasimha I, son and successor of Vishnuvardhana, made grants for the maintenance of the temple and the regular conduct of worship. The existence of his Durbar scene to the north of the *navaranga* doorway indicates that he might have made some improvements in the temple.

Ballala II

The next king Ballala II got constructed in 1175 a fine pond called *Vasudevatirtha* to the north-east of the temple and in 1180 a low-roofed storehouse in the north-west corner of the compound. Among other works carried out during his reign may be mentioned the kitchen on the eastern side near the well and the rampart wall

with its two *mahadvaras*. The *navaranga* pavilion of the main temple, which up to now was open on all sides, was covered with perforated screens and the three entrances were provided with massive battened wooden doors. Supporting towers were erected on either side of each doorway, while in the interior of the temple the *navaranga* was separated from the *sukanasi* by the insertion of a beautifully carved potstone doorway. Further, in the compound of the temple, a shrine with charming sculptures like those at the *Kedaresvara* temple at Halebid was constructed for god Vīranārāyaṇa.

In the days of Vīra Ballala III one of his officers, named Somayya Danayaka, got the central tower rebuilt with brick and wood.

Vijayanagar

When the Tughlaks invaded the Dakhan, their officer Gangu Salar of Kalburgi laid siege to the temple and burnt its gateway. Shortly afterwards he founded the Bahamaṇi dynasty.

The Vijayanagar emperors spared no pains in preserving, as a matter of policy, all that was good and beautiful. In 1381 Kampanna, an officer of Harihara II, set up four granite pillars to support the cracked roof stones in the *sukanasi* of the main temple. In 1387 Malagarasa, another officer, replaced the broken *kalasa* with a rolled-gold one. In 1397 Gunda, a general under Harihara II, built the seven-storeyed *gopura* in place of the old *mahadvara* which had been burnt and pulled down by Gangu Salar. During the succeeding years three important buildings, namely, the Saumyanayaki shrine, the large *mantapa* on the west and the Andal shrine were put up behind the main temple; in their construction materials from the ruined Hoysala buildings at several places were freely used. A good part of the *navaranga* of the Chennigaraya temple was also rebuilt during the Vijayanagar period, while a number of minor erections were done here and there in the compound of the temple, like the *dipa-stambha*, the *uyyale-mantapa*, the *yaga-sala* and the Narasimha and Rama shrines. During the fifteenth century the materials of the ruined Siva and Jain temples were utilized for the construction of the Naganayakana mantapa right in front of the main temple. Naganayaka mentioned here was possibly an officer under Saluva Narasinga of Vijayanagar. The Tuluva emperors of Vijayanagar claimed the deity as their family god. Several repairs and minor constructions were undertaken and completed during the period of the Nayak chiefs of Belur.

Mysore Kings

The work of the Mysore kings in Belur is seen ever since the beginning of the eighteenth century. A small *kalyana mantapa* on the north side of the temple was built in 1709. Another *mantapa* and a small pond were constructed in 1717. Venkata, a chief of Belur, who remade the tower of the main temple in 1736, was a vassal of Krishnaraja II of Mysore. But shortly afterwards the tower became damaged once again and was repaired by a certain Nanjayya, an officer under Krishnaraja II. In the eighties of the last century the *vimana* tower became so ruined that it had to be dismantled to save the main temple from collapsing. But the courtyard still remained overcrowded with ugly and highly dilapidated structures of later periods.

The Renovation Committee

On the recommendation of the Archaeological Department in 1929, the question of opening out the courtyard and renovating the temple stage by stage was taken up by the Mysore Government, and the Belur Temple Renovation Committee was formed in 1935 for carrying out the work systematically. All the ugly and dilapidated later structures like the Naganayakana mantapa were removed and the sculptures were cleared of age-old soot and wax. The ceiling of the *sukanasi*, the north-east wall of the main temple and the sanctum of the Chennigaraya shrine were rebuilt, the buildings abutting the east, south and north ramparts were repaired, the compound was paved, new images of Ramanuja and Garuda replaced the damaged ones, a new car shed was built, the front of the temple was improved, electric lighting was installed and a host of smaller repairs were carried out. The materials were obtained free locally. The Archaeological, Muzrai, Public Works and the Electrical Departments gave their supervision with little extra cost and the funds generously granted by Government from the Muzrai and State funds were utilized mainly for the workmen's wages and other sundry expenses. The total work carried out is estimated at nearly five lakhs of rupees, while the actual expenses have amounted to only a little over one lakh. This conservation work and the scientific skill, zeal and co-operation evinced by the various limbs of the Government of Mysore in carrying it out, have won the admiration of the Director-General of Archaeology in India and other distinguished visitors.

H.H. The Maharaja

Thanks to the generosity of His late Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV and His Highness Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur—may His dynasty endure for ever—the labours of the Renovation Committee have been rewarded by the preservation of one of the greatest treasure-houses of Indian art. The temple has been restored as nearly as possible to its original form. Only two major items of work now remain to be attended to: the *mahadvara* and the *vimana*.

Bhakta Vigraha

In commemoration of the work carried out during the enlightened rule of His late Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV and as a mark of His Highness' devotion to the deity and personal conservation of the temple, a statue in bronze of His late Highness was got prepared at the Chamarajendra Technical Institute, Mysore. It is now consecrated and installed at the temple along with the metallic statue which is traditionally identified with Vishnuvardhana, the builder of the temple.

Commemoration

Following the ancient custom, a commemorative inscription in Kannada has also been set up, giving a very brief account of the history and conservation of the temple.

A NOTE ON PERSIAN, TURKISH AND ARABIC MSS.

By

MR. FAZAL AHMAD KHAN, M.A.

The Archaeological Department acquired a few years ago a unique collection of manuscripts of great historical value. This is the donation of Dr. B. C. Law, a well-known scholar and philanthropist of Calcutta.

The most important of these manuscripts is a Turkish manuscript of the work of Mir Ali Sher Beg Nawai. Mir Ali Sher Beg was born at Herat, and studied at Meshad and Samarkand. After having completed his studies he entered the service of Sultan Husain ibn Biqara, the ruler of Herat. Sultan Husain in recognition of his distinguished services, invested Mir Ali Sher with the dignity of Beg and appointed him governor of Asterbad. But Mir Ali Sher Beg was not content with this job and renounced the profession of arms in favour of spiritual contemplation and literary leisure. Mir Ali Sher Beg was an excellent poet in the Persian as well as the Turkish language. His Diwan or collection of odes in the Chaghtai or pure Turkish under the poetical title of 'Nawai' amounts to ten thousand couplets, and he had left a noble monument of his learning and assiduity in his parody of Nizami's five poems, containing nearly thirty thousand couplets which are universally admired. In the Persian language 'Nawai' wrote a Diwan, under the Takhallus or poetical title of Fani (Perishable). In Turkish poetry 'Nawai' has no rival. The present manuscript which is entitled 'Khamsa-i-Nawai' comprises the following five poems:—

(*a*) Sab-i-Sayyara, 'The Seven Planets', for Nizami's 'Seven Faces or Images'.

(*b*) Haiyrat-ul-Abrar, 'The String of Pearls', for Nizami's 'Treasury of Secrets'.

(*c*) Shirin Farhad, 'The Loves of Farhad and Shirin', for Nizami's 'Khusrau and Shirin'.

(*d*) Laila Majnun, 'The Loves of Laila Majnun' are both alike.

(*e*) Aeena-i-Sikandri, 'The Rampart of Alexander', for Nizami's History of Alexander.

In three poems Mir Ali Sher Nawai has eulogized Maulana Jami and Sultan Husain. In the fourth he has eulogized Badi-Uzzaman, the Sultan's son. In the fifth poem he has, after eulogizing the Sultan, given him advice. Nawai dedicated this work to Sultan Husain ibn Baiqara, whose beautiful portrait in ink-drawing of extreme finish we see in the manuscript.

On different folios of the manuscript there are royal seal impressions of Mughal emperors, and endorsements of Emperor Hamayun and Maulana Jami. Careful examination of the seal impressions has revealed that these impressions are doubtful. As for example, when we study the seal impression of Emperor Babur his father's name comes out as Sultan Shikh Mirza, while whose real name was Umar Shaikh Mirza. Again in the same seal impression there is

one letter which appears to have been misengraved as nothing can be made out of it. For the 'Great Seal' of Akbar, the folio of a manuscript is not the proper place to be stamped. This seal which contains the names of Akbar and those of his ancestors up to Amir Timur, was stamped only on Kingly Farmans and letters to foreign kings.

The engraver seems to have copied the impression of this Great Seal from same Akbari Farman. As regards the genuineness of the endorsements nothing can be said at this stage with certainty. The object of stamping forged seals on old manuscripts and paintings is simply to give historical value and importance to them, and after it becomes a problem to distinguish between the genuine and the forged ones.

The present condition of this manuscript caused by bookworms gives some indication of its wanderings from place to place and from person to person, but since the later Mughal times when Turkish was hardly read by the courtiers in India, it is unlikely that it was much read or enjoyed.

There is no colophon giving the date of its transcription. But on folio 1*a*, year 886 A.H. is written which is said to have been put down by Maulana Jami when writing the endorsement above this date.

Another manuscript of great value and interest is the famous 'Khamsa-i-Nizami', 'Quintet', or 'Panj Ganj', or 'Five Treasures', of Nizami of Ganjah, the celebrated romantic poet of Persia (A.D. 1140–1203). It took Nizami about thirty years (1165–98) to compose five poems and after his death when arranged together formed the Khamsa.

The immortal poems were written at the solicitation of contemporary monarchs and princes. These poems not only contain mere love stories, but they 'teach moral lessons of unaffected piety and true wisdom, and also depict the good and bad tendencies of the human mind, the struggles and passions of men'.

The manuscript is in a much better condition than the Khamsa-i-Nawai. It is elegantly written in Nastaliq characters and lavishly illuminated with Persian paintings illustrating the text. The Persian artists took their subject from poetry and romance. The artist fused into his design the utmost expressions in telling his story, and this fact is witnessed in these paintings. The paintings which are 11 in number represent the phase of Persian art before its maturity and introduction in India under the Mughal emperors. Human action and emotion remain the principal theme in these paintings.

Seals of Mughal emperors and nobles such as Babur, Akbar, Abdur Rahim and Aurangzeb, are also to be seen, the last of which being those of Husain Quli Khan, and Syed Muizz Khan, nobles of the time of Emperor Muhammad Shah. The fate of these seal impressions appears to be the same, as those of the previous ones.

There is a bit of controversy regarding the date of transcription of this manuscript. The first poem of the Khamsa is not dated, but the dates in other poems hardly correspond to each other. Colophon at the end of Khusraw and Shirin gives the date 855, the figure 8 is somewhat doubtful. Laila

Majnun's colophon bears the date 955, which appears to be later addition. At the end of fourth poem the date is given in letters and figures—855, with the name of the month Jamadi-us-Sani, but the word Sani has been misspelled. The colophon of the last poem Sikander Namah has been damaged. The name of the month Jamadi-us-Sani and the unit and tenth of the date, viz. 55, are quite clear. So the name Jamadi-us-Sani and the units and tenths of two poems, i.e. Haft Paikar and Sikander Namah correspond to each other. So we can infer the date of transcription of the manuscript as 855 A.H.

Another Persian manuscript is the famous love story of Laila Majnun, an Eastern romance sometimes called the Persian Romeo and Juliet, and which is similar in some respect to Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, and in imitation of Nizami's well-known Masnawi of the same style, written by Maulana Abdullah Hatifi, nephew of the celebrated poet Jami. Among the numerous Persian poems on the love story of Laila Majnun, that of Maulana Hatifi seems to be the simplest and most pathetic.

The present manuscript is believed to have been written in the time of Emperor Akbar. On the paintings in this manuscript we see the names of the painters who flourished during the reign of Akbar, such as Farukh the Qalmaq and Tara.

The manuscript is in good condition. It is illustrated with 7 paintings relating to the story, which are supposed to be the best specimens of Mughal art in India. It was during the reign of Akbar that Persian influence in Mughal art was apparent, and within no time a new style developed. Akbar tried to create an art that would bear comparison with that of his ancestors, and the Indian miniatures are thus translations of Persian originals. Bihzad's paintings appealed much to the Indian taste. The artists of Akbar's time have worked in the same style and it is difficult to find out the difference.

The calligraphy is of a very high standard in Nastaliq characters. The borders of the paintings are lavishly embellished in gold with the pictures of birds and animals. The name of the transcriber and the date are not given.

There is another Persian manuscript named Nasihat-ul-Muluk written by Shaikh Sadi of Shiraz (A.D. 1175–1292), a celebrated Persian poet. Nasihat-ul-Muluk, which means, 'Advice to Kings', is a small tract and was written, as Shaikh Sadi states, in the beginning of the book at the request of a friend whom he addresses as his son.

The manuscript is well written in Nastaliq style, which is of very high standard. The borders of the manuscript are beautifully decorated with gold floral designs.

In the Delhi Fort Museum, there is an original Persian petition which was presented to Emperor Shah Jahan. This petition was written and presented by Abdur Rashid Dailmi, better known as Aga Khan. He was a court calligraphist of Emperor Shah Jahan, as well as tutor of Prince Dara Shikoh.

The calligraphy of the present manuscript resembles to a very great extent with the above-mentioned petition, and so we can safely conclude that the manuscript was transcribed and presented by Abdur Rashid Dailmi to Emperor Shah Jahan. Moreover the portrait of Shah Jahan in the manuscript bears a very close similarity with the portrait of Shah Jahan in the petition. The last few pages of the manuscript are missing.

Besides the Turkish and Persian manuscripts one is in Arabic. The manuscript contains the Arabic collection of traditions of the holy Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him), with special reference to prayers, styled *Hasn-i-Hasin*, 'The Strong Castle'. The prayers were compiled by Shafiite Shaikh Shamsuddin Abu Alkhair Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ali bin Yusuf al'umari aldemishki alshirazi, known as ibn-aljazari who was born in A.H. 751 (A.D. 1350) at Damascus and died at the age of eighty-two (A.D. 1432). Aljazari completed this collection at Damascus in A.D. 1389, revised, partly enlarged, partly curtailed it in Shiraz and then it was sent by Maulana Najib Shafi to Ahmed Shah of Gujrat.

The book is divided into six chapters. There are comprehensive explanatory notes in Persian on the margins of the text. The calligraphy is of second rate in Naskh style. The first two pages of each chapter are lavishly decorated with gold and other colours.

At the end of the manuscript there is an endorsement which indicates that the present manuscript was transcribed for one Mian Saif-uddin. The present condition is due to damage by worms and the total number of pages is 515. The name of the transcriber and the date are not given.

LĪLĀTILAKA—A STUDY

By

PROF. K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A.

Līlātilaka is the oldest available treatise on Malayalam grammar and rhetoric and as such it occupies a unique place. It has attracted considerable attention among Malayali scholars and critics. The text is now available in two editions, the original edition of Sri A. K. Pisharody and the latest one of Sri K. V. Moosad; but the two editions do not reveal any material difference. There have also appeared a large number of papers, almost all of them in Malayalam, some discussing the date, others pointing out differences in reading and still others elaborating the grammar of the text. The importance of the text is our main excuse to add to the list of papers already existing on the text.

The author has quoted a large number of verses and these give us the names of over thirty heroines, who resolve themselves into two dozen *Nāyikas*, presumably from different works then popular in the land. These verses depict how the charms of feminine form ensnare, enslave and stupefy man, sometimes immersing him in bliss ecstatic and sometimes steeping him in the throes of misery and despair, and thus indirectly sing the glories of perfect womanly beauty in their fullest and richest sex-appeal. The obvious con-

clusion, then, is that there existed *anterior to the period of the author of this text* a rich crop of love lyrics in our language—a view which is only supported by the works *US.*, *UC-C.*, and *KS.*; and this must certainly set those thinking who would put down the beginnings of our literature to the post-fifteenth century on the basis *merely* of the *assumed* dating of the *RC.*, *supposed* to be a Malayalam work, which a section of our scholars, *uncritically enough*, hold to be the first literary work in Malayalam language.

It is, again, interesting to remember that none of the heroines, described in the verses cited in the text, belongs to the Sanskritic pantheon. The love lyrics of the period, then, drew their *Nāyikas* from local, possibly, contemporary life. It is a very pertinent question to ask here why our poets did not go in for Sanskritic heroines and themes. Indeed this is an important question. For, in the first place, Sanskrit has all along been exerting a preponderating influence upon our language and literature, and in the second place, since the fifteenth century, all our literary themes were taken mainly, if not solely, from Sanskrit literature.

The earliest specimens of Malayalam literature, we hold, were Tolan's verses—translations of the verses in the two Sanskrit dramas, *SD.* and *TS.* These renderings, naturally enough, had Sanskritic themes, were couched in classical metres and were in a language which was made, perhaps consciously, grotesque by freely mixing up Sanskrit and Malayalam in varying proportions—a type of language which, under the title *Maṇipravālam*, later becomes the stylistic norm of our literary language. These first renderings, made for the use of *Vidūṣaka* on the local stage, were, however, intended to serve a comic effect—to evoke the laughter of the audience. Naturally, therefore, if this mode was wholly borrowed for literary use in Malayalam, there was the possibility of such literature being treated in a comic spirit. To obviate this difficulty, the older writers introduced, we believe, a change in the mode which consisted in replacing Sanskrit themes by local themes—an aspect which we find illustrated in *US.* and *UC-C.* Naturally enough at a later date, when *Maṇipravālam* became the accepted literary style, as a result of the popularity of *Sandeśas* and *Campus* we find a further elaboration of Sanskrit themes in the same form and in the same language, as evidenced by the large output of *Campus* in our literature during the fifteenth century with their counterpart of a local theme worked up in *Mahākāvya* form in the *CU.* and a Sanskrit theme worked in Dravidian form in *KG.* With *Maṇipravālam* as the accepted literary language, the possible permutation is a Sanskrit or local theme in Sanskrit or Dravidian form, and we get typical instances for all the four varieties. The first creative period of our literature was, therefore, a period of experimentation of forms and themes in *Maṇipravālam* style; and no wonder that the author of *LT.* distinguishes at least nine varieties of this style—a something which only substantiates, indirectly though, the conclusion we have already set forth that there must have existed numerous love-lyrics in our language in the period, immediately preceding the age of the author of *LT.*

The citations in the text indicate originality of poetic conception as well. Evidences for instance the comparison of a lady's calf to a bottle, her foot to a tortoise, her neck to a bottle, her cheeks adorned with sweat to a mirror set with pearls or Lakṣmī adorned with drops of milk, as she rose out of the milk ocean, her speech to drops of milk, her laughter to a piece of milk in the beaks of a parrot, or a swan besmeared with honey or a pearl set in ruby, her complexion to the tendrils of a mango tree, etc. Compare again the quarrel of the varied organs of sense in the raptures of sensuous bliss or the description of a lady going to temple in wet clothes—a sight familiar with us even today, or the description of *Sṛngara* of the *Sambhoga* variety based upon what we may term free love, so characteristic of our land—a freedom which has ignorantly been interpreted to mean nothing short of licentiousness. Thus the innovations introduced in the body naturally enough affected the spirit as well of our poetry.

The heroes mentioned in the citations in the text are Goda Mārtaṇḍa Varma of Kolamba, Vīra Ravi Varma of Veṇāḍ, and Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Pāṇḍyeśa of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The first of these is described as a very generous ruler and great warrior. He had no issue to succeed him for a long time, but, at last towards the close of his life, an heir was born to him, which event he signalized by lavish gifts to all. The last three are described as fighting successfully against the *Turuṣkas*. We learn also the Vikrama Pāṇḍya and the Pāṇḍyan king were not getting on happily together, that Vīra Ravi Varma fought with the former, defeated and captured him prisoner and then having made a present of him to the Pāṇḍyan king, mitigated the insult done him by marrying Vikrama's daughter. These verses, then, treasure up for us the joint endeavours of *Malayālis* and *Pāṇḍyans* to oust Muslims from South India. And lastly, one of the verses, cited from *KS.*, has preserved for us an ancient tradition that Kalidasa intended his *M-S.* for his own wife, the sister of the great king Vikramāditya, and this lends support for the traditional view which associates Kalidasa with the court of Vikramāditya.

On the basis of the personalities, described in the citations, given in the text, an attempt may be made to fix up the age of the work. Pāṇḍyan history tells us that Māravarman Kulaśekhara Deva had a co-regent, named Vikrama Pāṇḍya, who died in 1296 A.D. and, since then up till 1401 A.D., that history does not know of any Pāṇḍyan prince of this name. Could Vikrama, figuring in the citations here, be identified with the co-regent of Māravarman Kulaśekhara Deva? Such an identification would be an anachronism, since he is described as having fought the Muslims who came to South India only fourteen years after his death. Secondly, Pāṇḍyan history, so far as it is known, is silent, regarding the enmity between Māravarman and his co-regent Vikrama; it is equally silent regarding a Vīra Ravi Varma of Veṇāḍ fighting against Vikrama and then defeating and capturing him prisoner and then the two again fighting together against the Muslims on behalf of Māravarman Kulaśekhara. The citations in *LT.* should, therefore,

be taken as giving us a new glimpse of Pāṇḍyan history which has yet to be located historically.

Some scholars have identified Vīra Ravi Varma of Veṇāḍ with Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara Deva of the Kūpakas. We have elsewhere noticed the untenability of this identification. To summarize our arguments: In the first place, Kūpaka and Veṇāḍ were distinctly different kingdoms during this period and continued to be so for centuries afterwards; and it is manifestly absurd to identify the king of one kingdom with a king of another kingdom, purely because they happen to possess the same name. Secondly, there is no reference at all in any of Ravi Varma's epigraphs that he ever fought Vikrama Pāṇḍya of the Pāṇḍyans—note Ravi Varma of the Kūpakas came into limelight only after Vikrama Pāṇḍya's death—defeated him, took him prisoner and made a present of him to the Pāṇḍyan king or that he married his daughter: on the other hand, they tell us that he fought Vīra Pāṇḍya and married Māravarman Kulaśekhara's daughter. Thirdly, we have no evidence at all, furnished either by his own inscriptions or by the accounts given by Muslim historians, that Ravi Varma ever fought the Muslims. And lastly, contemporaneously with Ravi Varma of the Kūpakas, there were at least two kings of Veṇāḍ which epigraphy gives us, namely, Ravi Goda Varma and Āditya Varma. Hence Ravi Varma of the Kūpakas cannot be identified with Ravi Varma of Veṇāḍ, mentioned in the verses cited in *LT*., despite the fact that the identity has been advanced and accepted by many scholars here and elsewhere; and, consequently, Vikrama Pāṇḍya cannot be identified with the prince of the same name who was the co-regent of Māravarman Kulaśekhara nor with his illegitimate son, Vīra Pāṇḍya Deva.

The citation from *US*. found in *LT*. clearly indicates that the latter could not have been written earlier than 1350 A.D. We have, therefore, to find out a Vīra Ravi Varma of Veṇāḍ and a Vikrama Paṇḍya in the latter half of the fourteenth century who successfully fought the Muslims and drove them away from South India. We do find a Ravi Varma mentioned in the ancient history of Veṇāḍ about 1400 A.D. and Prof. K. A. Sastry mentions a Vikrama Pāṇḍya, whose accession is placed about 1401 A.D. Since the citation in the text makes a distinction between Vikrama Pāṇḍya and a Pāṇḍyeśa, the events connected with Vikrama Pāṇḍya must have taken place before 1401 A.D. Here, then, we get one limit of the age of the work; and we know that Muslims were finally ousted from South India by 1375 A.D.

This view is further borne out, it seems to us, by the very last of the citations given in *LT*. The author's friends and relatives are all dead one after another; there is nothing for which he should wish to live; he has himself become old and infirm and, therefore, he admonishes his mind to devote itself to the contemplation of God. The poet thus describes himself as the last of a glorious band of scholar-poets who lived and wrote during those stirring times. If this interpretation is acceptable, then we may find a *Kalivacaka* in the expression *Cittame* occurring in the last *pāda* of the verse,

which gives the year 1391 A.D. in which case this will be additional support to the limit we have set down.

Dr. Goda Varma of the University of Travancore has advanced the view that the author of *LT*. has in his elaboration of *Alamkāras* followed Nageśa Bhatta and, therefore, must be put down to the post-Nageśa period. But we might well raise the question whether or not we may argue the other way. In other words, could not Nageśa have borrowed from the author of *LT*.? The author has shown himself quite a distinguished scholar as evidenced by his remarks on the linguistic features of Malayalam. That a Malayali scholar is not incapable of original views in the field of *Alamkāraśāstra* has been amply proved by *K-L*., written by Udayottunga, who lived more or less in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Hence we are constrained to observe that Dr. Goda Varma's views need not be the last word as regards the latest limit of the author. As matters stand now, this has to be decided on the basis of what internal evidence we get from *LT*. The absence of all quotations from the medieval Malayalam literature, such as *KG*., *R-C*., *CU*., *N-C*., etc., would indicate that the author must have lived and written his work before this period, that is, before the middle of the fifteenth century, and this view is only strengthened by the linguistic evidence, so carefully documented by my friend and colleague, Mr. L. V. R. Iyer. We might, therefore, conclude that *LT*. must have been produced some time after 1400 and before 1480 A.D., possibly the author heralding the dawn of that glorious band of scholar-poets, collectively known as *Patineṭṭarakkavikal*, who graced the court of Calicut in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

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LAND UTILIZATION IN THE DISTRICT OF 24-PARGANAS, BENGAL

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I. INTRODUCTION

The present paper embodies the results of a preliminary land utilization survey of the district carried out by the author with the assistance of his colleagues. A number of visits to different places were arranged to study the local conditions. Soil specimens collected by field-workers were subsequently analyzed in the soil laboratory of the department of geography, Calcutta University. The district lies on 26 one-inch sheets published by Survey of India, which were found to be indispensable in the study of the topographical features and drainage conditions of the district.[1] Agricultural statistics published by Government of Bengal were verified in the field, and land utilization maps illustrating this paper were prepared on the basis of those data.[2]

The origin of the district dates back to the fifties of the eighteenth century when the East India Company was striving to strengthen its position in the Gangetic delta. In 1757 they succeeded in acquiring about 9,000 sq. miles of area, that is to say, about one-sixth of the area of the present district, as a zamindari on payment of a fixed revenue. This area, including that of Calcutta granted to them by Nawab Zaffar Ali Khan was then divided into twenty-four parganas or revenue-units.[3] Since then the district is known by the name of 24-Parganas, though it may be remembered that the greater

[1] 79 B/2 to 79 B/16, 79 C/1, 79 C/2, 79 C/5, 79 C/6, 79 C/9, 79 C/10, 79 C/13, 79 C/14, 79 F/1, 79 G/1, 79 G/2.

[2] Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of 24-Parganas, 1936.

[3] According to Rai Saheb Anil Chandra Lahiri 12 were entire parganas, 11 part parganas and one was not a pargana—Melund mahal or Salt mahal.

part of the present district originally belonging to the neighbouring parganas of Nadia and Jessore was added subsequently [1] and that Calcutta was separated as an administrative convenience from the 24-Parganas in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The importance of the district mainly lies in its geographical position. It occupies the south-western part of the Ganges delta between 88° and 88° 54′ East Longitude and 22° 32′ and 22° 54′ North Latitude through which run the principal routes from the sea to the densely populated Gangetic plains of Northern India. The district is about 36 miles wide in the north and twice as much wide in the south. It covers a total area of 4,856 square miles, of which about one-quarter is still clothed with dense virgin forests. The district has well-defined boundaries in three directions. To the south of the district lies the Bay of Bengal, into which enter the Hooghly and Raimangal rivers, forming the western and eastern boundaries respectively. The northern boundary of the district runs through a slightly raised tract, overlooking marshy areas on either side. The land boundaries do not mark off this district as a geographic unit, since the same type of relief and climate, and land utilization prevail in the bordering areas of the districts of Nadia, Jessore, Khulna, Hooghly, Howrah and Midnapore.

II. PHYSIOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF LAND UTILIZATION

Relief and Physiographic Divisions

In a deltaic tract with a long coastline relief features cannot but be very gentle. The topography of 24-Parganas is not an exception to this rule, though minor topographical contrasts are noticeable throughout the district. Unfortunately a detailed contour map of the district is not available, but the few surface spot heights marked on appropriate one-inch sheets reveal the broad features of the landscape. The whole area consists of one vast plain, gently sloping seaward. It is, however, traversed by low ridges formed either of river deposits (natural levees) or of artificially built-up road and railway embankments. Several embankments have also been constructed in recent years to protect low-lying arable lands from the invasion of saline water. The interfluve area in the north is invariably studded with shallow lakes, which are gradually silting up (see Figs. 1 and 2). The entire surface of the district including the embankments lies below the 30-foot contour.

The highest surface spot height away from railway embankments is 28 feet which was recorded at the village of Bira, about 12 miles to the west of Ichapur. The surface gradient in that part is almost imperceptible, less than two inches per mile. About 11 miles north-east of Bira in the neighbourhood of Berghom another spot height of 24 feet was recorded which reveals a local subsidence northward. The Padma stream in a broad meandering curve changes its course from south to north and flows towards this subsided area. North of Calcutta we come across the following features. Firstly,

[1] In 1850 there were as many as 62 parganas according to Major Smythe.

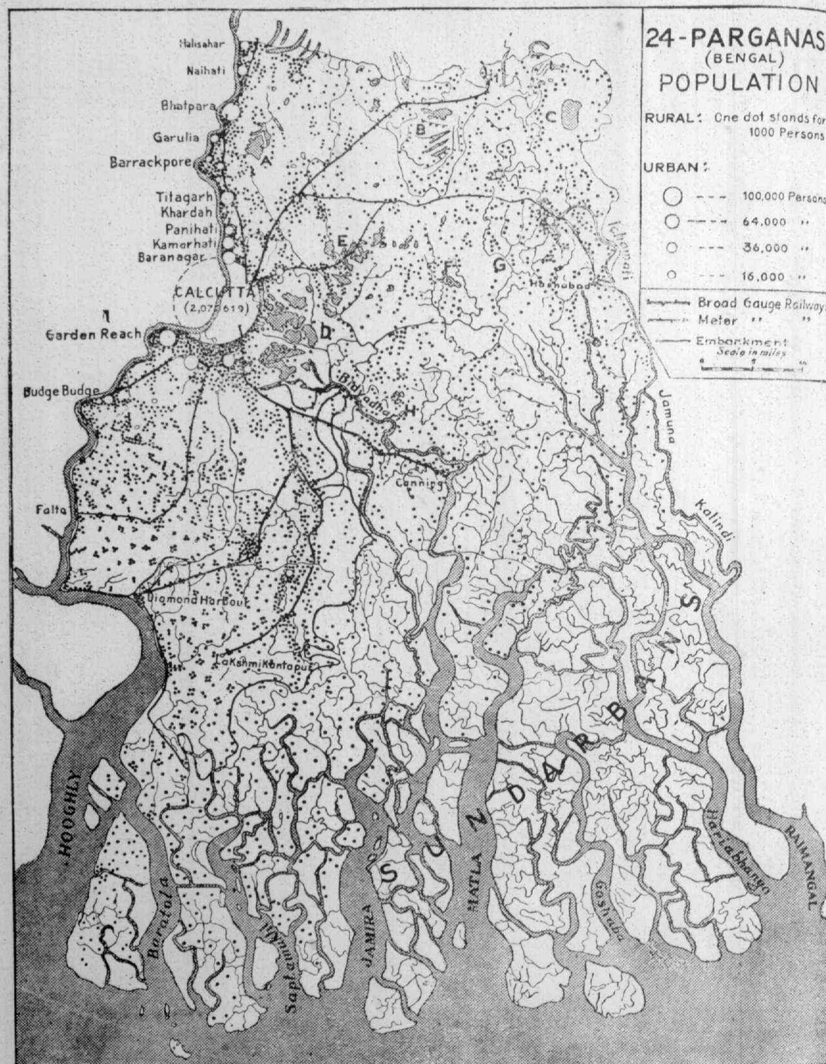


FIG. 1. The district of 24-Parganas showing the distribution of population.

[Note that the railways serve only the densely populated parts. There are very few towns outside the Upper Hooghly Plain. The Southern Plains are enclosed by a system of canals. Note also that the marsh lands prevail in the north, and that wide estuaries penetrate through the coast. The braided type of river occurs in the Sundarbans.]

Marsh Lands :—

A, Bariti bil. B, Nangla bil and a group of smaller lakes enclosed by the Padma. C, Balli bil. D, Calcutta Marshes. E, Bhubanpur bils. F, Panchilbaria bil. G, Padma bil. H, Payna and Sareng bils.

Towns :—

1, Gobardanga. 2, Baduria. 3, Basirhat.

along the Hooghly there is strip of high ground, bounded on the east roughly by the Bengal-Assam main railway line. This marginal plain slopes more steeply than the interior plains, and hence is better drained. As such, it has provided in the past excellent sites for human settlements, and now contains a dense population. This plain continues southward, and henceforth be referred to as the Upper Hooghly Plain. In the north this plain slopes eastwards as well facing marsh lands which in deeper parts contain perennial water. This low-lying tract may be named as Bariti marshes. In approaching Calcutta from the north by rail or road one comes across a part of the Bariti marshes first near the railway station of Kankinara. The surface spot heights, along the railway embankments bordering the marshy area on the west, indicate a southward slope of the surface at the rate of one foot per mile.

Further east stands another strip of high ground extending eastward from the present course of the Sunti Nadi. From east to west it is about 5 miles wide. Here the ground slopes westward. It may be named the Sunti Plain.

East of the Sunti Plain another low-lying area of about 100 square miles occurs, which is almost enclosed by a broad meandering curve of a sluggish stream, here known as the Padma. Within this area are found a series of crescent shaped depressions almost parallel to the present stream, all being abandoned courses of the same river (see Fig. 2). The pattern of the alluvial lakes suggests that the area has suffered some local disturbances which led to the gradual westering of the river from a pivotal point, leaving behind part of its course at successive stages. This area may be designated as the Padma Plain. Further east lies a somewhat raised ground, the Ichamati Plain, which slopes gently eastward. The Ichamati Plain overlooks in the east another marshy tract, locally known as the Balli *bil*, which was once connected with the Dantbhanga marshes lying further south. These plains and marshes extending from the foot of the Upper Hooghly Plain right up to the eastern boundary of the district may be grouped together, and named as the Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains.

South of the northern plains stretches another group of plains, locally known as the Barasat-Basirhat Plains. The embankment of the Barasat-Basirhat Light Railway which runs through these plains from west to east forms a conspicuous feature of the landscape. The surface spot heights on the railway embankment range between 28 feet in the west and 23 feet in the east, but these heights are no indication of the general level of the country, which hardly rises over 10 feet. A continuous belt of dry plains, without being interrupted by north-south running rivers or their silted-up channels as in the north, enabled a railway and a metalled road to be built right across the country. In the southern margin of these plains occur marsh lands, of which the Bhubanpur marshes in the west are the deepest and contain water throughout the year (see Plate IVA). The low-lying tract in the east including the Padma *bil* is much shallower.

The rich arable lands of the district comprising the southern plains occur to the south of Calcutta between the old and present courses of the Hooghly. The surface spot heights along the Kalighat-Falta railway range from 12 feet in the south to 15 feet in the north. West of the railway embankment the ground level drops to some 3 feet, as indicated by the surface spot height at the Samalia Trigonometrical Station. The bank of the Hooghly immediately west of this low-lying plain is still lower by another 2 feet, as shown by the spot height at Brul. This area may be named as the Budge-Budge-Bishnupur Plain. The ground rises, however, further south in the neighbourhood of Diamond Harbour below the confluence of the Hooghly and the Damodar. The Damodar is the first important river to join the Hooghly in its lower reaches, and is partly responsible for raising the southern flood plains of the Hooghly higher than those of the north. The Rupnarayan river which enters into the Hooghly about 6 miles south of the first confluence supplemented the work of the other two rivers in raising the level of the flood plains. Most of the bench marks in these plains indicate a height of over 20 feet. These higher areas may be referred to as the Kulpi-Diamond Harbour-Falta Plains. Along the eastern border of the plains an old course of the Hooghly with high banks is still recognizable. The high banks had once provided better sites for settlement than the neighbouring low-lying areas. These may be named as the Baruipur-Jaynagar Plains.

The rest of the district is included in the Sundarbans proper, and forms a vast swamp, lying at the mercy of sea-water. This may be divided into three parts based on the degree of land utilization—(1) the Northern Plains of the Sundarbans, (2) the Reclaimed Sundarbans, and (3) Sundarban Forests. The northern plains of the Sundarbans have been settled so long ago that they retain very few traces of reclamation, except in the east. In these plains high village sites, so characteristic of the densely populated plains of the district, are few and far between. The western part of these plains, however, was settled much earlier than the eastern, and hence village sites much above the general level of the country concentrate more in the west. These plains may be divided further into three parts, the Hasnabad Plain in the east, the Harua Plain in middle and the Bhangar-Rajarhat Plain in the west. The famous Calcutta marshes, which occupy a saucer shaped depression occur immediately to the west of the Bhangar-Rajarhat Plain. The characteristic features of reclamation, however, are clearly visible in the plains of Sagar and Kakdwip in the west, and those of Canning and Sandeskhali in the east. These reclaimed plains have been cleared of forests and put under the plough.

The remaining part of the Sundarbans still awaits development. It is heavily forested today, the reserved and protected forests covering an area of about 1,240 square miles, more than one-third of the total area of the district. A number of islands with rather steep edges, which represent the southern extension of the delta face have not yet been united with the mainland. They lie near the mouths of the Hooghly, Matla, and other Sunderban rivers.

The Drainage and Reclamation of the Sundarbans

The Hooghly and the Ichamati are the two important rivers of the district, forming its western and eastern boundaries respectively. But from the point of view of drainage the Hooghly is of very little use, especially in the north, as its catchment basin does not lie within this district due to human interference. North of Calcutta several important drainage channels had, however, been constructed in the past joining the interior with the Hooghly, but their mouths have, in most cases, been almost silted up. The Mathura *bil* in the north which still has some sort of connection with the Hooghly through the Bagher Khal illustrates this point. During the time of our visit we found it almost dead, and choked with a thick mantle of water-hyacinth floating on it. The same thing had happened to most of the streams which used to drain the Amdanga-Sarupnagar and Barasat-Basirhat Plains of 24-Parganas. The Sunti Nadi has become a mere shadow of its former size. It flows southward very sluggishly until it enters into the Bhubanpur marshes. Two other streams in this part of 24-Parganas have deteriorated considerably. They were named after the two mighty rivers of India—the Jumna and Padma, which suggest that they must have been once powerful rivers of this district. The field evidence such as the disproportionate width of the river bed compared to the river which flows through it, corroborates the above statement. Both of these streams used to flow southwards for a considerable distance before joining the Ichamati. In fact the Ichamati below Taki is still known by the name of Jamuna, though their confluence lies much higher up today. On entering the district it flows sluggishly eastward into the Ichamati, thus rendering its former catchment basin completely water-logged.

The Padma, though equally sluggish, drains a larger area. It flows first southward, and then in a broad meandering curve turns northward, joining the Ichamati a little below the Jamuna confluence. Its former course can be traced by connecting a number of alluvial lakes, some of which are locally known as Padma *bils*.

The silting up of these natural drainage channels has given rise to marsh lands in the northern part of the district, and rendered them agriculturally unproductive. Moreover, the water-hyacinth, an obnoxious weed interferes with the proper utilization of the sluggish streams, marshes and tanks as fisheries (see Plates IIIA and VIB). The poor drainage is also responsible for the deterioration of the health of the rural population.

The Ichamati is the only important drainage channel in this portion of the district, though unfortunately it lies in the extreme east. Its effectiveness as a drainage and navigable channel can be considerably increased by straightening this river between Basirhat in south and Chanduria in the north. The river meanders between these two places for 40 miles, throwing

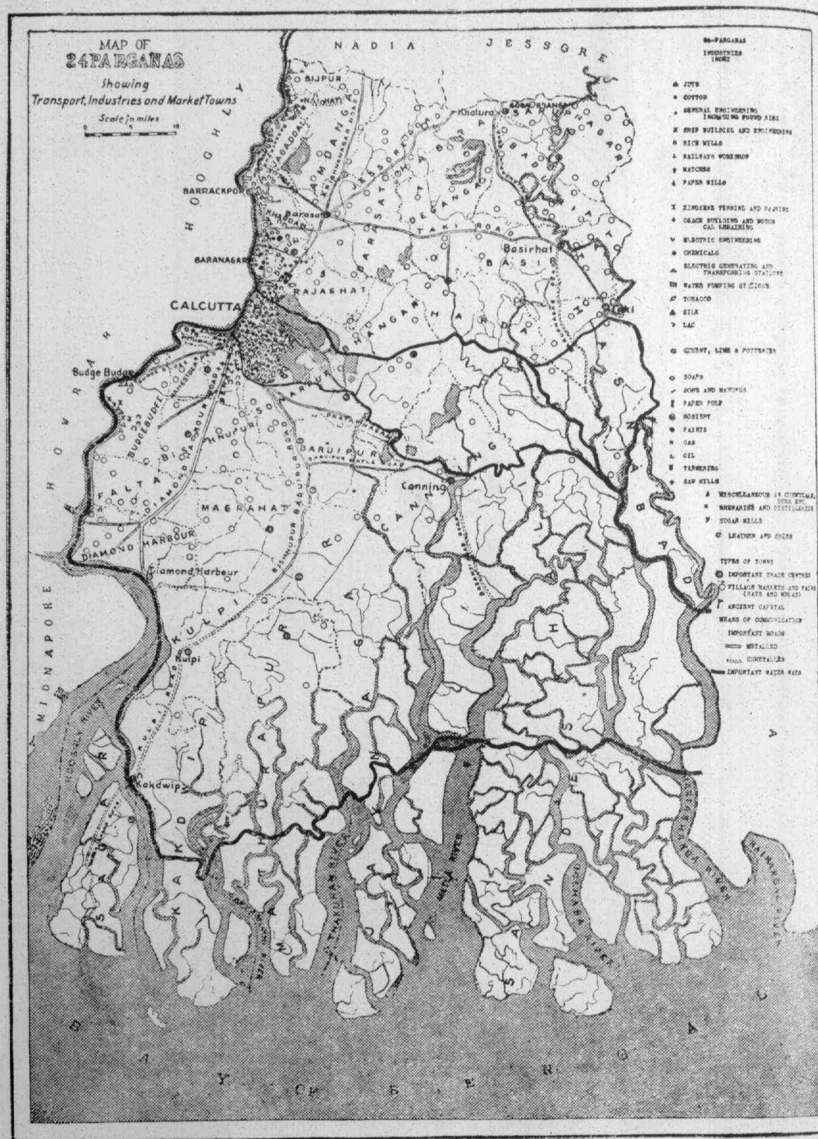


FIG. 2. The district of 24-Parganas showing location of industries and market places, and principal roads and waterways. The location of the thanas of this district has also been shown.

[Note that the industries are located mainly on the bank of the Hooghly from Calcutta northward. There are several mills also in the south of Calcutta as far as Budge-Budge. The pattern of roads resembles that of railways. The three important east-west waterways are to be noted. The Hooghly in the west and the Ichamati in the east traverse the whole length of the district from north to south and are navigable throughout the year. Barasat and Basirhat are the main nodal towns in the rural north.]

a number of ox-bow lakes on its right bank, whereas the straight course will hardly be 18 miles. The Balli marshes drain into the Ichamati by means of a small drainage channel, which was constructed in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Of the marshes in this area, the Bariti *bil* in the west, the Nangla group *bils* in the middle and the Balli *bil* in the east form conspicuous features of the landscape. The deeper parts of these *bils* were found to occupy an area of about 63 square miles, which can be transformed into fisheries. The Bhubanpur group of *bils*, which is partially drained by the Harua Gang, occupies an area of another 16 square miles (see Plate IVA). In contrast with the northern marshes these contain salt water and are tidal.

In the northern plains of the Sundarbans the drainage is equally defective. It is true that a large number of rivers and canals such as the Harua Gang or the Bidyadhari river, the Chaumuha Gang, etc., flow through the eastern part of this region, that is to say, over the Harua and Hasnabad Plains, but their beds rise above the surrounding country. They have, consequently, been embanked to protect the low-lying cultivated fields from the invasion of salt-water which they carry, without making a proper arrangement for draining the interior. The eastern part of the region comprising the Plains of Bhangar and Rajarhat has no natural drainage channel excepting the Bidyadhari. A number of navigable canals like the Krishnapur canal, the Bhangar *kata khal*, the Bidyadhari *khal* run through these plains connecting Calcutta with its rich eastern hinterland. But none of these can serve as a drainage channel, as the level of water in those channels cannot be sufficiently lowered with a view to enabling the adjoining areas to be drained into them. Moreover, these canals are protected by embankments, about four feet high without having sluices, with the result that the natural drainage channels have been deprived of their catchment basin, and got silted up. The effect of the Krishnapur canal on the Bidyadhari can be cited as an example. Since the construction of the canal the river has been deteriorating, so much so that a heavy shower of rains in Calcutta invariably floods the low-lying portions of the streets, the excess of water being unable to flow immediately into the Bidyadhari which serves as an outfall channel for the rainwater and sewage of the city (Plate IA).

The three plains, which lie south of Calcutta, that is to say, the Budge-Budge-Bishnupur Plain, the Kulpi-Diamond Harbour-Falta Plain, and the Baruipur-Jaynagar Plain, are better drained than any other part of 24-Parganas. This has been achieved not by natural drainage channels, but by a number of channels constructed for this purpose. Of these the Magrahat drainage scheme is the latest venture. The Charial *khal* drains a considerable part of the Budge-Budge-Bishnupur Plain, entering the Hooghly near Budge-Budge. The other plains in this region are drained mainly by the Kaorapukur *khal*, Surjyapur *khal* and Magra *khals*, the waters of which enter the Hooghly through the main sluice gate of Diamond Harbour. The Kulpi canal drains the Kulpi Plain, and joins the Hooghly near Kulpi. Along the eastern margin of these Southern Plains runs a dry river bed, which was formerly

occupied by the Hooghly. The westward movement of the Hooghly led to the water-logging of a considerable portion of these plains until the artificial channels mentioned above were excavated.

The Sunderban area is intersected by a network of big tidal rivers, the estuaries of which penetrate far inland. Here the rivers flow not in a single channel, but in a multitude of anastomozing channels, which under normal conditions raise the level of the land through which they flow. Included within the coastline of 24-Parganas are the outfalls of the Hooghly with its distributary, the Baratola creek; the Saptamukhi; the Thakuran or Jamira; the Matla; the Gosaba; the Hariabhanga; and the Raimangal. These big rivers cover an area of about 300 square miles, that is to say, about one-quarter of the total surface of the Sunderbans, but fail to drain properly the area through which they flow due to premature reclamation of the lands. The Government did not foresee the danger of early reclamation of the Sunderban lands, when they were leased out in large blocks to individuals. Since the whole of this land was below the high water level of spring tides, the reclamation work mainly consisted of the exclusion of tidal salt-waters. The fields were enclosed by embankments and the rivers were forced to remain within their channels by artificial banks. Even the smallest water inlets were carefully confined between high embankments. The inevitable result of this interference with the natural channels was the gradual rise of the river beds above the general level of the country making the problems of drainage and of the maintenance of the embankments more and more difficult. The Matla, for example, now lies about 10 ft. above the general level of the surrounding low-lands, and may break through the embankments any moment, causing a devastating flood. Because of the rise of the thalweg, the depth of this river has also decreased considerably within the last fifty years. In some cases—the embankments once breached, were not repaired with the result that reclaimed arable land again reverted to marshy area. The Payna marsh which is partially drained by the Karati or Kuriabhanga can be quoted as an example.

To sum up, the greater part of 24-Parganas is poorly drained, giving rise to marsh lands, though Nature has endowed the district with big rivers capable of draining it most efficiently.

Soils of 24-Parganas

The soils of the district are derived mainly from sands, silts and clays deposited by the rivers partly under water and partly on flood-plains. The peat bed, which occurs at a depth ranging between 20 and 30 feet in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, whenever comes nearer the surface also contributes to the formation of certain soils.

Table I shows the results of mechanical analysis of soil samples taken from different localities, and an attempt has been made to prepare a soil map based on those data (see Fig. 9). A more detailed study of these soils in the

TABLE I

Mechanical Composition and pH values of certain soils of 24-Parganas

(All fractions are expressed as percentages of the air dry soil)

Locality	Moisture	Organic matter	Loss by solution	Coarse sand	Fine sand	Silt	Clay	Carbonates	pH value	Soil type
Upper Hooghly Plain—										
(1) Dum-Dum	4·40	9·50	?	0·60	20·80	49·54	16·46	Not determined.	8	Silt loam.
Amdanga-Sarupnagar Northern Plains—										
(2) Gobardanga	1·14	3·85	2·04	0·14	51·01	13·40	27·07		6·5	Fine sandy loam.
Barasat-Basirhat Plains—										
(3) Duttapukur	?	4·17	0·21	0·32	60·79	14·88	9·50		?	Fine sand.
Southern Plains—										
(4) Magrahat	2·90	3·50	0·75	0·97	14·85	53·75	21·25		7·2	Silt loam.
(5) Baruipur	2·90	3·50	2·02	0·40	32·40	22·75	34·75		8·7	Clay loam.
Northern Plains of the Sundarbans—										
(6) Bhangar	1·50	7·10	1·52	1·75	25·10	24·50	31·50		8·3	Clay loam.
Reclaimed Sundarbans—										
Western—										
(7) Kakdwip	1·56	3·07	1·85	0·12	25·80	12·85	50·25		9	Clay.
Northern—										
(8) Kuriabhanga	1·90	7·10	1·90	0·40	10·42	44·00	29·00		6·5	Clay loam.

field and laboratory will, however, reveal their true character. On account of insufficient data we could not correlate each of the important crops of this district with an optimum *p*H value.

Generally speaking, fine sands or sandy loams predominate in the Northern Plains. Such soils contain over 50 per cent of fine sand, from 20 to 40 per cent of silt and clay, and about 4 per cent of organic matter. The *p*H value of these soils is 6·5, the lowest in the district. These soils are porous owing to the high percentage of sand, and hence not suitable for *aman* paddy which needs standing water in the field for its proper growth. Such soils are, however, quite suitable for growing *aus* paddy, jute, potatoes and green vegetables.

The banks of the Hooghly and Ichamati, that is to say, the Upper Hooghly Plain in the west and the Ichamati, Basirhat, and Hasnabad Plains in the east consist of loams or silt loams. The Southern Plains of the district in the neighbourhood of Diamond Harbour, Falta and Magrahat are also composed of these soils. Such soils have a dark grey appearance, and agriculturally are the most important in 24-Parganas. They contain 50 per cent or more of silt, 21 per cent or less of clay, and from 15 to 20 per cent of sand. The percentage of organic matter varies considerably, from 3·5 to 9·5. The *p*H value amounts to 7, slightly higher than that of the northern sandy plains. On account of the high percentage of silt they are very retentive, and can nourish excellent crop of *aman* paddy. The percentage of organic matter in the silts of the Southern Plains is rather low, which indicates that these excellent soils could be made to give heavy yields with sufficient application of animal and other manures. The old bed of the Ganges in the Southern Plains contains a slightly different type of soil, the percentage of clay being higher than that of silt, and having also equal proportions of sand and clay. The *p*H value of this soil is the highest in the district. There are smaller patches of clay loam in the other silted up river beds.

East of the Southern Plains occurs a big patch of typical clay loams, especially along the banks of the Matla. These contain about 30 per cent of clay and 44 per cent of silt. The percentage of sand is somewhat lower. The *p*H value is considerably low, perhaps due to the prevalence of marsh lands.

Clay soils predominate in the marshy low-lying Plains of Bhangar and Harua, adjoining Calcutta, and near the mouth of the Hooghly in the neighbourhood of Kakdwip. These soils contain 30 to 50 per cent of clay, and 25 per cent of fine sand. On account of the high percentage of clay they tend to become sticky when wet and hard when dry. They cause water-logging of the land, thereby hampering agricultural operations. In the Bhangar and Harua Plains there are also patches of clay loam. The soils in the northern fringe of the Sundarbans are usually alkaline due to the infiltration of salt-water through the porous mud embankments.

In the undeveloped portion of the Sundarbans sandy soils predominate along the edges of the newly formed islands, and are almost incapable of growing crops.

III. Climatic Influence on Land Utilization

Agricultural Calendar

Owing to its location at the head of the Bay of Bengal the district of 24-Parganas receives the full force of the S.W. monsoon. The climatic changes within the district, however small, exert some influence on the distribution of crops, but unfortunately a precise account of the variations of climate cannot be given for want of sufficient meteorological data. There are only two full-fledged meteorological stations, one at Alipore (Calcutta), the head-quarters of the district (class I type), and the other at the Sagar island near the mouth of the Hooghly (class II type). Besides Calcutta and Sagar there are eight rainfall recording stations.[1] The year in this district as elsewhere in Bengal is divided into four seasons based on temperature, rainfall, and atmospheric disturbances, a very mild dry winter, which hardly lasts for three months—December, January and February; an early summer with moderate rainfall and high temperature lasting from March to May; a late summer with heavy rainfall and high temperature, known as the rainy season, lasts from June to September; and a fine autumn with some rainfall prevailing in the two months—October and November (see Fig. 3).

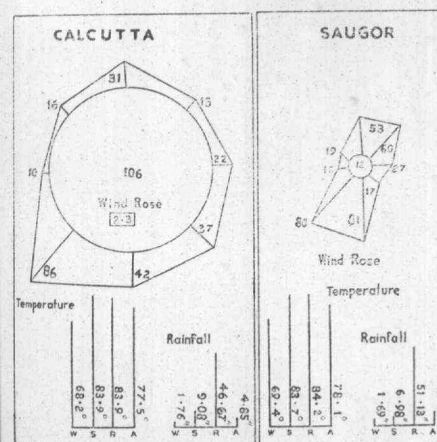


Fig. 3. Seasonal Distribution of Temperature and Rainfall, and Prevailing Directions of the Winds.

W—Winter.
S—Summer.
R—Rainy.
A—Autumn.

The activities of the farmers of 24-Parganas follow the cyclic order of these four seasons. *Aman* (winter paddy), *aus* (summer and autumn paddy) and jute are the three important crops of this district. Of these, *aman* is by far the most important. For growing it, the cultivators spend their early summer months (Chaitra and Baisakh)[2] in manuring their fields, and then

[1] Of these three are situated in the Upper Hooghly Plain (Barrackpore, Dum Dum and Budge-Budge), two in the Barasat-Basirhat Plains (Barasat and Basirhat), two in the Sundarbans (Gosaba and Port Canning), and one in the Southern Plains (Diamond Harbour).

[2] These are names of months according to Bengali calendar. For their English equivalents see Fig. 4.

wait for rains to come. They start ploughing with the first rains when the ground is softened and continue it at least for three times right in the midst of the rainy season. Harrowing, weeding and transplanting of seedlings are also done in the rainy season. Thus this is the busiest season for the farmers. Autumn is the slack season for them. The harvest starts in Agrahayan and continues for another month, when the farmers are busy again. They get another respite after the harvest, when threshing and other in-door work keep them engaged.

Those who grow *aus* paddy, which is harvested in the rainy season, plough their land immediately before and after the harvest of *aman* paddy, when the soil remains moist. Manuring, another ploughing, harrowing and finally broadcasting of seeds take place in early summer. For growing jute, the early summer months are also the busiest time, though harvest of this

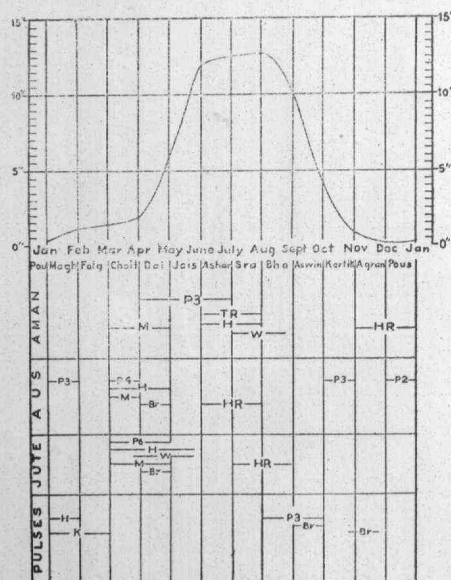


FIG. 4. Agricultural Calendar of 24-Parganas and Monthly Distribution of Rainfall.

For Main Crops :—

P—Ploughing. TR—Transplanting. W—Weeding.
M—Manuring. H—Harrowing. HR—Harvesting.
Br—Broadcasting.

For Pulses :—

H—Harvest of Musuri. Br—Broadcasting of Musuri in Aswin.
K—Harvest of Khesari. Br—Broadcasting of Khesari in Agrahayan when Aman paddy is ripe.

Bengali months :—

(1) *Baisakh*—mid-April to mid-May. (2) *Jaistha*—mid-May to mid-June. (3) *Ashar*—mid-June to mid-July. (4) *Sravan*—mid-July to mid-August. (5) *Bhadra*—mid-August to mid-September. (6) *Aswin*—mid-September to mid-October. (7) *Kartick*—mid-October to mid-November. (8) *Agrahayan*—mid-November to mid-December. (9) *Pous*—mid-December to mid-January. (10) *Magh*—mid-January to mid-February. (11) *Falgoon*—mid-February to mid-March. (12) *Chaitra*—mid-March to mid-April.

crop occurs in the rainy season. The *musuri* is usually grown in rotation with *aus* paddy. It is sown broadcast in autumn (Aswin), and harvested in winter (Magh). The *khesari* is sown broadcast in an *aman* land in winter when the paddy is ripe (Agrahayan) and harvested in winter (Magh and Falgoon). The climate, therefore, determines the nature of the activities of the farmers of 24-Parganas (see Fig. 4). Let us study in some detail the elements of climate of this district.

Temperature

Temperature is one of the most important elements of the climate of a region. Its influence on plant life is considerable. The average winter temperature in 24-Parganas is 68·2°F., but along the coast it is slightly higher, 69·4°F. The average early summer temperature is 83·9°F. and it is slightly lower along the coast. In the late summer or the rainy season average temperature remains the same or even increases slightly in the coastal areas. With the advent of autumn the temperature decreases, the average ranging between 77·5°F. and 78·1°F. Since none of the seasonal temperatures falls below 68°F., plants are never deprived of heat, without which they cannot thrive.

Table II shows the annual march of significant temperatures in the two stations. Those relating to Calcutta (Alipore) have also been shown graphically in Fig. 5. In the annual march of temperature there are two maxima,

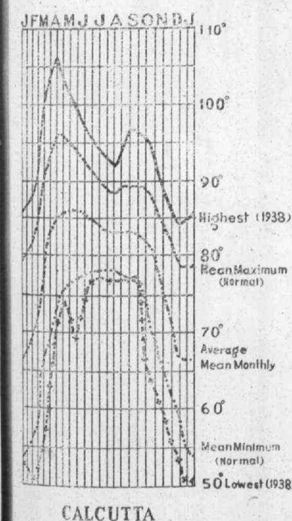


FIG. 5. Annual March of Significant Temperatures at Calcutta (Alipore).

one in April or May, and a subsidiary maximum in September, and one minimum in January. In 24-Parganas the warmest month therefore is April, except along the coast, where because of the marine influence, it is

TABLE II

Annual March of Significant Temperatures

Stations		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Calcutta (Alipore)	Mean Monthly Maximum	79·3	83·5	91·9	96·3	95·0	92·0	89·3	88·7	89·4	88·9	83·8	78·9
Sagar		77·0	80·8	86·9	90·1	91·4	89·9	78·8	87·3	88·1	87·1	82·1	76·7
Calcutta (Alipore)	Mean Monthly Minimum	54·1	59·1	68·5	75·2	77·1	78·3	78·3	78·1	77·8	73·8	63·6	54·6
Sagar		58·8	64·8	74·4	79·3	80·6	81·1	80·3	79·7	79·5	76·3	67·1	58·7
Calcutta (Alipore)	Monthly Average	66·7	71·3	80·2	85·8	86·1	85·2	83·8	83·4	83·6	81·4	73·7	66·8
Sagar		67·9	72·8	80·7	84·7	86	85·1	84·1	83·5	83·8	81·7	74·6	67·7
Calcutta (Alipore)	Highest (1938)	86	89	101	107	100	96	94	92	97	96	88	84
Sagar		82	86	92	98	95	91	91	89	91	90	85	83
Calcutta (Alipore)	Lowest (1938)	52	50	62	75	69	77	77	77	78	65	57	50
Sagar		55	52	69	77	70	76	74	76	75	68	61	55

May; and the coldest month is January. The monthly maximum temperatures rise to 90°F. or more in at least four months every year in inland areas, and range between 77°F. and 96·3°F. The temperatures in the two typical winter months, December and January, remain about the same, 79°F. (Calcutta) and 77°F. (Sagar). It is interesting to note that the monthly maximum temperature increases in September with the decrease of rainfall.

The highest monthly temperatures recorded in 1938 showed the same trend, with the difference that the highest temperature in May was considerably lower than that of April, which had recorded an unusually high temperature, 107°F. that year.

The monthly minimum air temperatures range between 54·1°F. and 78·3°F. in Calcutta, and between 58·7°F. and 81·1°F. at Sagar. The monthly minimum temperatures remain below 60°F. in the three winter months, and near about 78°F. for five months from May to September, during the growing season of *aman* paddy. The absolute lowest temperatures for 1938 were not far below the monthly minimum temperatures. In the rainy season the lowest temperatures did not fall below 77°F. The average monthly temperatures show an annual range of about 20°F.

Wind and Storm

Wind is a great benefactor of plants, as by bringing moisture from the oceans and other large bodies of water it keeps them alive. The normal directions of the surface winds in 24-Parganas are shown in Fig. 3. In winter winds from some northerly point are most frequent, but in summer the prevailing direction is south-westerly. The prevailing direction in the year as a whole is southerly or south-westerly. Since the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal lie in that direction there is copious rainfall in the district.

The annual march of wind velocity shows the minimum in winter, and with the advent of summer the velocity increases, the maximum occurring in April. The velocity of winds in coastal areas is considerably higher, in at least five months a year, ranging between 10 and 15 miles per hour. On over 100 occasions the velocity of winds dropped to nil in inland areas, whereas such calms prevailed only on 12 occasions in the coastal areas (see Fig. 3).

TABLE III

Annual March of Wind Velocity

Stations		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Calcutta	..	2	2·6	3·6	5	5	4·3	3·8	3·5	2·9	2·1	1·9	1·9
Sagar ..	..	5·2	6·3	9·3	15	12·5	11·6	14·6	14·2	7·9	5·5	5·1	5·2

The daily march of wind velocity also shows some interesting features.[1] In winter months when the monthly velocity is the minimum the hourly velocity remains below 1 mile for over 12 hours from 6 p.m. in the evening to 7 a.m. in the following morning, and then the velocity begins to increase

[1] *India Weather Review*, 1938, Table VIII.

until the maximum is reached between 10 a.m. and 11 a.m., about 4 miles per hour. In the next hour the velocity decreases to 3 miles, and remains as such till 4 p.m. In April, the hottest month of the year, when the monthly velocity of winds is also the maximum, the maximum hourly velocity also occurs between 10 a.m. and 11 a.m., 7 miles per hour. In the next hour the velocity decreases to 6 miles, and remains as such till 5 p.m. The velocity is 5 miles per hour from 5 p.m. to the midnight, and then begins to decrease steadily till 5 a.m. in the morning.

As rainfall during the early summer results largely from Nor'westers, these local atmospheric disturbances are of great importance agriculturally. The Nor'westers, locally known as Kal-Baisakhi, are sudden storms gathering in the evening from mid-April to mid-June which may be little more than thundershowers, but are sometimes little less than cyclones.[1]

Sunshine

The amount of sunshine never decreases to such an extent as to affect the life of plants. The number of days with over 6 hours of bright sunshine is the minimum in July, 7 days, and the maximum in December, 31 days. Not for a single day in March and April the duration of bright sunshine falls below 6 hours in most years.

Rainfall

It has already been pointed out that the agricultural life in 24-Parganas is regulated to a large extent by the amount and the seasonal distribution of rainfall. The Bay of Bengal branch of S.W. monsoon is mainly responsible for heavy rains in summer. It is augmented by depressions and cyclonic storms which originate in the Bay of Bengal and blow over the district.

Though the S.W. monsoon is usually expected to arrive by the middle of June, the date of arrival varies considerably in the individual years. In Calcutta the monsoon burst in the first week in 1941, in the second week in 1939 and 1940, and in the third week in 1942, though the heaviest rainfall during 24 hours always occurred between 16th and 22nd of that month (see Fig. 6). The other parts of the district also receive the first monsoonal rains on different days. In 1939 the monsoon burst in the Sagar island on the 11th with a downpour of 2 inches, and on the next three or four days there was much smaller rainfall, hardly exceeding 0·5 inch on any single day. It was clearly a cyclonic rain, bright and dry days preceding the arrival of the cyclonic wind. Further north in the Diamond Harbour Plain the monsoon burst one day earlier, and heavy rainfall continued for another two days, the total amount being 4 inches. Unlike in the coastal tract, there were drizzles for three or four days before the arrival of the monsoon. The distribution

[1] Nor'westers of Bengal, by S. B. Chatterjee, *Cal. Geo. Review*, March 1944.

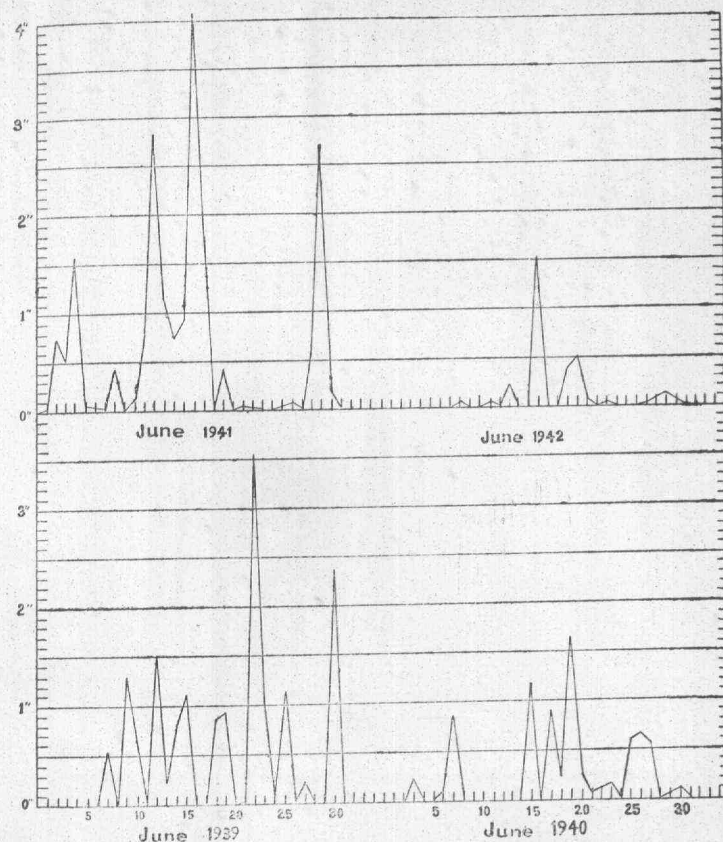


FIG. 6. Arrival of S.W. Monsoon in June. [Heaviest rainfall is recorded after the middle of the month.]

of the rainfall throughout the year in different parts of the district is shown in Table IV. Based on the average annual rainfall distribution a sketch map has also been prepared (see Fig. 8). The greater part of the district lies between 60 and 80 inches isohyetal lines.

Table IV shows the average monthly rainfall in the stations situated in different regions.

In the Upper Hooghly Plain the average annual rainfall increases from north to south, by some 10 inches. But in winter and early summer the northern part receives slightly more rain than the central and southern. In the three typical monsoonal months, June, July and August, the average monthly rainfall is over 10 inches, whereas in November, December and January it is less than an inch. In September the rainfall is somewhat lower than that of the preceding month, but by October it has considerably decreased. In February and March, the average monthly rainfall is between

TABLE IV

Average Monthly Rainfall

(in inches)

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
Upper Hooghly Plain—													
Barrackpore ..	0·39	1·28	1·65	2·09	5·49	10·42	12·23	11·41	8·62	3·82	0·71	0·31	58·43
Dum-Dum ..	0·46	1·12	1·49	2·15	5·69	11·38	12·26	11·81	9·74	4·45	0·61	0·18	61·34
Alipore ..	0·34	1·10	1·44	1·89	5·75	11·90	12·51	12·69	9·87	4·19	0·66	0·20	62·54
Budge-Budge ..	0·47	1·37	1·85	2·32	5·93	12·79	13·85	12·80	10·17	4·81	0·65	0·21	67·22
Barasat-Basirhat Plains—													
Barasat ..	0·52	1·28	1·48	2·30	5·55	10·53	11·44	11·62	9·05	4·31	0·58	0·19	58·85
Basirhat ..	0·40	1·03	1·66	2·71	6·06	12·01	13·58	11·98	8·81	4·60	0·63	0·24	63·71
Southern Plains—													
Diamond Harbour ..	0·55	1·30	1·66	1·70	5·40	11·68	14·78	13·73	10·35	5·20	0·91	0·81	67·44
Sundarbans—													
Northern: Canning Town ..	0·39	0·84	1·71	1·95	5·94	11·87	12·22	13·48	9·90	4·70	0·08	0·08	63·16
Central: Gosaba [1] ..	Nil	1·24	3·83	0·20	5·78	10·26	13·42	18·99	11·28	7·94	0·13	0·26	73·33
Southern: Sagar ..	0·30	1·12	1·43	1·14	4·41	11·54	14·65	14·18	10·76	8·14	0·27	0·27	68·21

[1] Average for 1939 and 1940 only.

1 and 2 inches everywhere. There is further increase in April, little over 2 inches. In May the rainfall has more than doubled.

The average annual rainfall in the Barasat-Basirhat Plains ranges between 59 and 64 inches, the eastern side in the Ichamati valley receiving more rains than the western portion. Here the average monthly rainfall shows the same trend as in the Upper Hooghly Plain.

In the Southern Plains the average annual rainfall is still higher, 67·44 inches. There is a higher rainfall in each of the monsoonal months, the precipitation in winter (December) and in the hottest month (April) being, however, less than that of the Upper Hooghly Plain and Barasat-Basirhat Plains.

The highest rainfall is received in the coastal areas of the Sunderbans, where four months have the average monthly rainfall of over 10 inches. But as in the Southern Plains the rainfall in April is considerably lower.

Figure 7 shows the daily distribution of rainfall in the crop-growing season for two years, 1939 and 1940. A sharp variation in the amount of

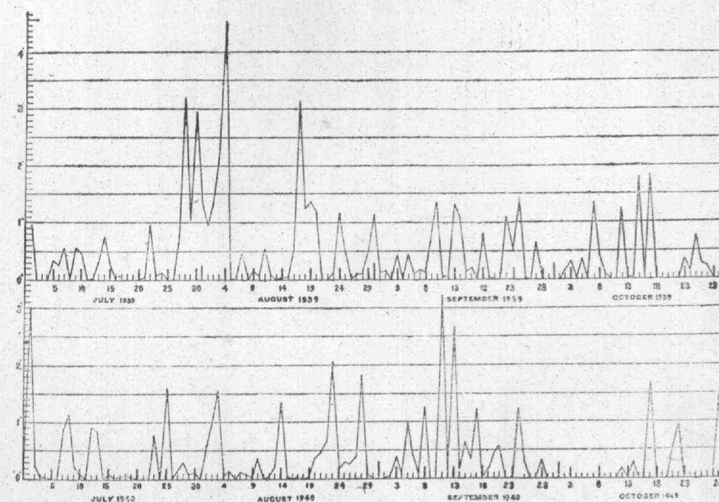


FIG. 7. Daily Distribution of Rainfall in the crop-growing season.

rainfall from day to day is the most characteristic feature. It is seldom that heavy showers continue for more than a day. There was, however, one exception in 1939, when heavy showers continued for ten days without a break from July 26 to August 4, the heaviest (over 4 inches) occurring on the last day. For the next ten days there was very little rainfall. The precipitation in the year of deficient rainfall, especially if the monsoon arrives late, tends to occur in heavier showers in the latter part of the rainy season.

This type of rainfall with heavy showers alternating with rainless days, though helpful for ploughing fields and transplanting paddy seedlings, tends

to water-log the land, making the drainage problem very difficult. Moreover, the problem of soil erosion also needs solution.

Humidity

The humidity of the atmosphere is another climatic element that has a direct relation to plant life. It is the relative humidity that determines whether the climate of a place is physically moist or dry.

TABLE V

The Annual March of the Relative Humidity of the Atmosphere in 24-Parganas

Stations		Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Calcutta	..	89	84	81	79	78	84	87	88	87	86	82	83
Sagar ..	..	90	86	83	81	81	84	87	89	87	85	85	87

The mean monthly values of relative humidity as shown in Table V indicate that April and May are the driest months in 24-Parganas. With the advent of the rainy season the relative humidity increases considerably. It again decreases after the cessation or a considerable decrease of rainfall in October, thus relieving the inhabitants of the district from the oppressive heat.

IV. THE PRESSURE OF POPULATION ON LAND

24-Parganas ranks fourth in population among the districts of Bengal, but in area it is only the seventh largest district. The population of the

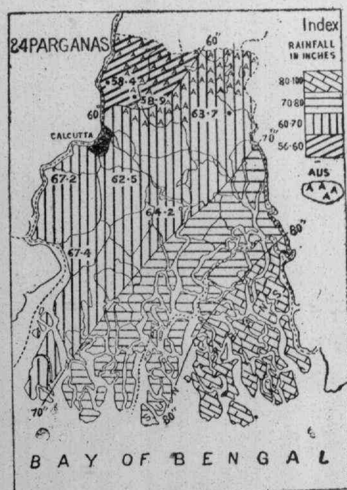


FIG. 8. Annual Distribution of Rainfall. (Note that *aus* paddy is grown mainly in the northern part, where rainfall is deficient.)

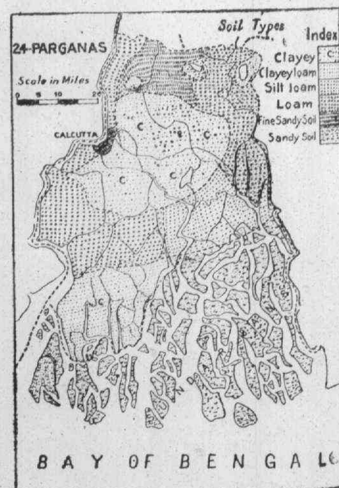


FIG. 9. Soil Map of 24-Parganas.

district as recorded in 1941 census was 3,536,386. With this to be added the population of the city of Calcutta, 2,108,891, which will bring out the true intensity of the pressure of population on land. The total area of the district including that of Calcutta is about 3,730 sq. miles. Then the density of population comes out to be over 1,500 per sq. mile. For an agricultural area, where about 60 per cent of the working population earn their living directly from the soil, this density is undoubtedly very high and is primarily responsible for lowering the standard of living of the majority of population. The growth of population in this district was found to be more rapid than that of Bengal as a whole in every census year, which may be taken to mean that conditions have had been more favourable for agriculture and manufacturing in 24-Parganas than most of the other districts of Bengal (Table VI).

TABLE VI

The Growth of Population in 24-Parganas and Calcutta as compared to that of Bengal as a whole

		Total Population 1941	Percentage of increase					
			1931–41	1921–31	1911–21	1901–11	1891–1901	1881–91
Bengal ..	..	61,460,377	20·3	7·3	2·7	7·9	7·7	7·5
24-Parganas	..	3,536,386	28·7	10·3	7·4	15·5	9·6	14·0
Calcutta ..	..	2,108,891	81·2	11·2	3·2	9·9	23·8	6·4

Since 1921 the rate of growth of population in the city of Calcutta was higher than that of the district as a whole. In the earlier decades between 1891 and 1901 a similar higher rate of growth was noticeable in the city.

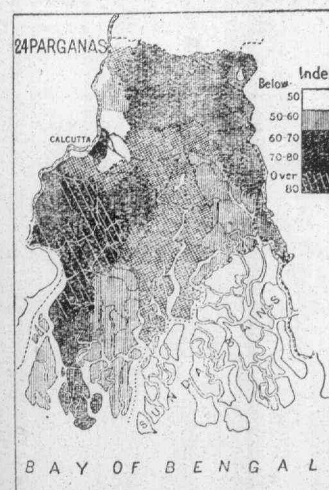


FIG. 10. Distribution of Arable Land under the Plough. (Percentages of crops in the total are of each thana.)

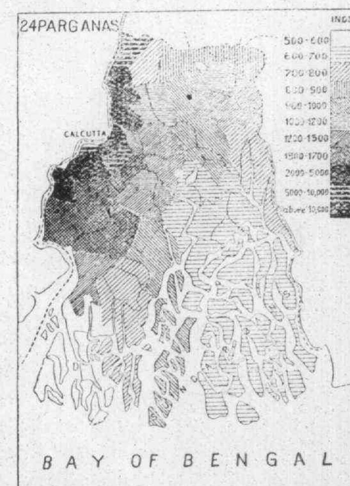


FIG. 11. Density of Population per square mile of cultivated area.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of population in the district. There are three zones of dense population. Of these the one along the bank of the Hooghly from Halisahar to Budge-Budge is the densest. It contains about one-third of the total population of the district, excluding the population of Calcutta. If we include the population of the city, this zone will be found to contain over 55 per cent of the total population. This extreme concentration of population in the Upper Hooghly Plain is due to the emphasis on manufacturing and trade. The density of population is over 4,000 per square mile.

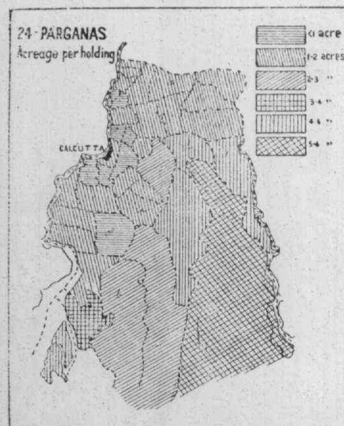


FIG. 12. Acreage for Holding.

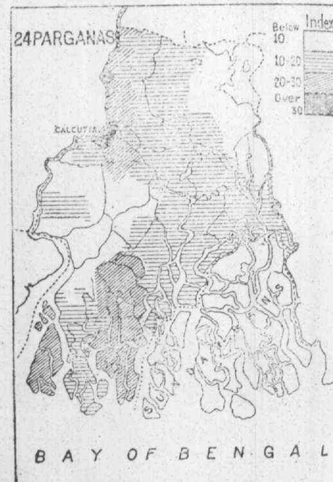


FIG. 13. Distribution of Arable Land not yet brought under the Plough. (Percentages of total area in each thana.)

The second zone of dense population occurs south of Calcutta in the Southern Plains. It covers an area of about 800 sq. miles and is roughly circular in outline. This area contains about one-quarter of the total population of the district, the density of population per square mile being 1,500. The third zone with a density little over 1,000 extends from west to east between the Hooghly and Ichamati rivers covering the whole of the Barasat-Basirhat Plains. It contains another one-tenth of the total population. Of the thinly populated areas, the Plains of Amdanga-Sarupnagar contain about 700 persons per square mile. The reclaimed belt of the Sundarbans bordering the forested area, and extending from south-west to north-east, contains some 20 per cent of the population, though the density is the lowest. The area lying further north which was reclaimed earlier contains more dense population. The Sundarban forest proper occupies the south-eastern part of the district, and covers an area of over 1,000 sq. miles. The whole of these forests has been reserved and protected by Government, and hence no human settlement could grow there.

The settlement patterns indicate the nature of land utilization. The linear pattern is very much pronounced along the bank of the Hooghly, where truck gardening is the main agricultural pursuit. A similar linear arrangement in the Baruipur-Jaynagar Plain is noticeable from Calcutta southward. The settlement here grew on the banks of the Hooghly, which was flowing then through this region. This area sends large quantities of vegetables and fruits to Calcutta markets. Further east in the agricultural zone proper the bulk of the population is found in large compact villages, spaced evenly all over the area. Even here the linear arrangement persists in some parts. In the reclaimed Sundarbans especially bordering the forests the population is very much dispersed, where compact villages have not yet been formed.

In the northern part of the district the population is somewhat scattered, though the general tendency is to keep to the linear pattern.

V. MANUFACTURING, TRADE AND TRANSPORT IN RELATION TO LAND UTILIZATION

Manufacturing

TABLE VII

Degree of Industrialization in 24-Parganas

Type.	Number of mills		Number of workers		Percentage of total workers
	Bengal	24-Parganas	Bengal	24-Parganas	
1. *Important Industries*—					
Jute Mills including jute presses	129	80	307,306	185,041	60
Cotton Mills including cotton presses and hosieries ..	71	27	32,716	12,069	37
Paper Mills including paper pulp industry	4	3	5,917	4,161	70
2. *Agricultural Industries*—					
Rice Mills ..	351	116	16,690	6,091	36
Flour Mills ..	10	6	1,517	619	40
Sugar Mills ..	11	1	3,184	120	4
Oil Mills including presses	30	6	2,000	497	20
Bakeries	6	5	1,056	1,031	99
3. *Industries using animal products as raw materials*—					
Silk Factories ..	6	5	1,175	1,118	95
Lac Factories ..	6	6	892	892	100
*Leather and Shoe Factories ..	2	1	2,913	120	3
Tanneries	6	6	618	618	100
Comb	3	1	175	76	43

* This does not include the Bata Shoe Factory, which is located in 24-Parganas and is the largest of its kind in India.

TABLE VII—*continued*

Type	Number of mills Bengal	Number of mills 24-Parganas	Number of workers Bengal	Number of workers 24-Parganas	Percentage of total workers
4. *Industries that need considerable expansion—*					
Match Factories ..	13	10	4,835	4,675	96
Rubber Factories ..	16	12	6,535	5,096	83
Soap Factories ..	11	10	955	837	88
Glass Factories ..	15	8	2,371	1,370	50
Tobacco Factories ..	2	2	1,269	1,269	100
Chemical Factories ..	15	11	3,545	3,000	84
Bone and Manuring Mills	7	5	1,720	719	41
Paint Factories ..	7	5	1,424	635	43
Potteries Factories ..	9	4	2,396	898	35
5. *Industries consuming raw iron and steel—*					
Railway workshop ..	25	5	26,285	5,104	19
Ordnance Factories ..	3	3	6,197	6,197	100
Telegraphic workshops	1	1	1,111	1,111	100
Steam boat building and dockyard engineering works	14	5	14,897	8,327	56
General engineering including electrical workshops	174	77	26,623	12,444	46
Steel Rolling Mills ..	5	2	16,906	258	1
Lead Rolling Mills ..	1	1	183	183	100
Tramway workshops ..	2	1	945	854	90
Coach building and motor-car repairing..	17	17	1,879	1,879	100
Metal stamping ..	7	4	1,377	919	66
Kerosene tinning and packing ..	11	9	2,485	2,211	88
Carpentry and cement manufacturing ..	9	7	799	655	82
Others	6	4	820	556	67
6. *Industries of public utility—*					
Electrical generating and transforming stations ..	9	4	2,456	1,569	63
Gas works.. ..	6	3	708	621	87
Water pumping stations	5	4	1,440	1,321	92
Gramophone ..	1	1	820	820	100
Mint	1	1	887	887	100
Laundries ..	7	4	420	293	69
Printing and book-binding ..	99	85	9,907	8,850	89

Table VII shows a very high degree of concentration of the industries of Bengal in 24-Parganas. The extreme localization of such industries along the river bank is shown in Figure 2. A detailed account of their distribution within this region will be given later. Jute manufacturing is the most important. About 60 per cent of the jute mills of Bengal are located in the district. This industry alone employs more than one-half of the total factory workers of the district, the average number of daily workers per mill being over 3,000. Cotton manufacturing ranks second, though it employs less than

one-tenth of the number of jute mill workers. The cotton mills of this district are of recent growth, and need much expansion. It serves as a good example of an industry that has been kept deliberately in the background despite the demand of home market, availability of cheap fuel, the long experience of a section of the population in the art of weaving cotton cloth. Silk manufacturing has been neglected as well. There are only two mills, employing just over 1,000 workers. The first paper mill was established as early as 1882, the progress of this industry has had been rather slow. The two paper mills in the district employ some 5,000 workers. Chemical, match and glass industries got a start during the last war period, and are developing rapidly in the present war-time. There are no iron and steel melting works in the district, though quite a number of engineering works consume large quantities of iron and steel.

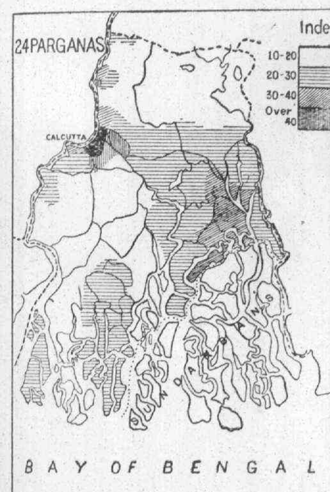


FIG. 14. Distribution of Unproductive Land.
[Percentages of total area in each thana.]

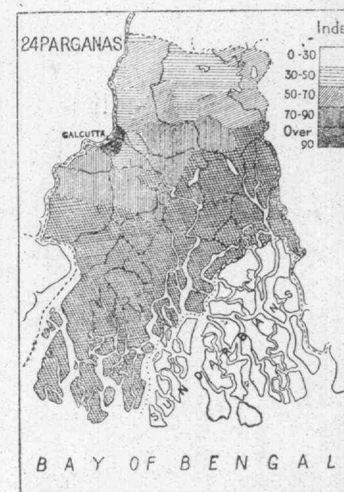


FIG. 15. Distribution of *Aman* Paddy Land.
[Percentages of Net Cropped area.]

Of the industries preparing agricultural products for food, rice mills are by far the most important. Since most of them occur in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, there are very few mills in the rural areas where they are most needed. In any industrial planning in future, this point should be taken into account. Since the majority of the population of the district eat rice as their staple food, not many flour mills are to be found in this district. The oil mills of the district mainly extract oil from mustard seeds, which is used as a substitute for butter or ghee. The tobacco industry is also fairly developed in this district, employing over 1,000 workers per day.

Of the public utility services run on factory lines the four water pumping stations of this district including the largest water works at Palta, the three

gas works, including the largest in India, the Oriental Gas Works, and the four power stations of the Electric Supply Corporation cater for the population of Calcutta and its satellite towns.

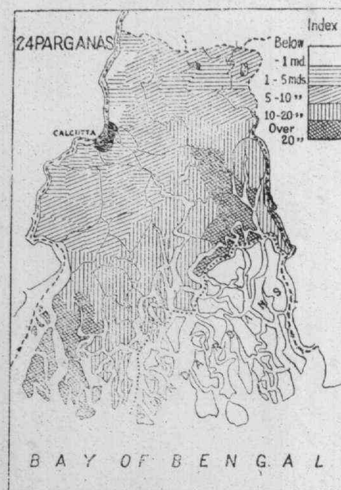


FIG. 16. Production of *Aman* Paddy *per capita.*

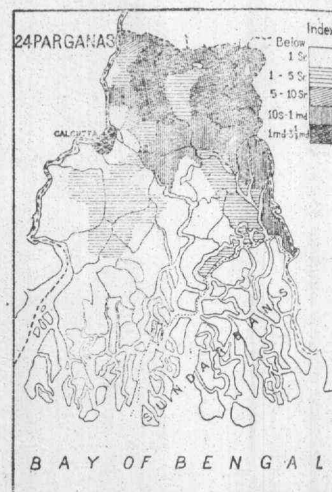


FIG. 17. Production of *Aus* Paddy *per capita.*

Since the manufacturing industries mainly concern with the processing of agricultural products, and claim not much more than 20 per cent of the total working population, the pressure of population on the agricultural land of the district has not appreciably diminished. Moreover, the extent to which these industries are localized in one part of the district, could not possibly relieve the pressure of population from the greater part of the district.

Trade

The percentage of the total working population engaged in trade is also extremely low, about 6. Most of the industrial towns are trade centres as well, Calcutta surpassing all of them in the volume and amount of trade that it handles. Figure 2 also shows the location of the important centres including village markets and annual fairs in the rural areas. The important trade centres outside the Upper Hooghly Plain are located either at a meeting place of a number of roads, as at Barasat, or at the terminus of an important road, as at Taki, or where different means of transport, roads, railways and water-ways meet each other, as at Basirhat. The navigable canals have also provided sites for the growth of trade centres such as Bhangar. In the Southern Plains the main trade centres are located either along an important road, or on the river bank. The smaller markets, known locally as *hats*, are dotted all over the country, mainly along river banks, roads and railways. These function twice a week on certain fixed days.

Transport

Transport facilities in this district leave much to be desired. Figure 1 shows the pattern of railways which radiate out from the city of Calcutta. The main section running north of Calcutta in the Upper Hooghly Plain was opened first as early as 1862. It connects most of the important towns of the district, thus serving only the urban population. There are no feeder railways to this important section. The central section of the Bengal-Assam Railway, which runs northeast from Calcutta, connects some of the towns of lesser importance situated in rural areas. A railroad of a much smaller gauge (2′ 6″) runs through the Barasat-Basirhat Plains, connecting Calcutta with rich agricultural lands in the east. The total mileage of railroads operating north of Calcutta is some 130 miles, that is to say, only one-half of a mile of railroad per square mile of area. South of Calcutta all the railways excepting one turn westwards, serving roughly an area of 800 square miles, and lying mainly in the southern agricultural plains. The railroad between Port Canning and Calcutta is the second-oldest, and that between Calcutta and Diamond Harbour, the third-oldest in Bengal. They were opened in the latter part of the last century, when the port of Calcutta was in danger of being closed down due to silting of the bed of the Hooghly. The total mileage of railroads including the narrow-gauge Kalighat-Falta line comes to about the same as in the north, though serving a much larger area.

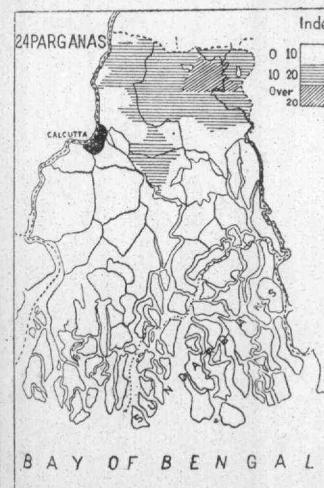


FIG. 18. Distribution of Jute Land. [Percentages of total area in each thana.]

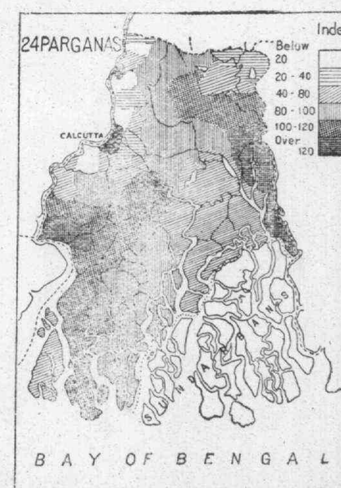


FIG. 19. Distribution of Ploughs (per 1,000 acres).

The pattern of metalled roads more or less resembles that of railways (see Fig. 2). Thus practically the same area is served both by roads and railways. There are just over 400 miles of metalled roads, and another 300 miles of unmetalled roads, the latter getting dusty in winter and muddy in

the rainy season. Of the metalled roads which do not run parallel to railroads two in the north, the Krishnanagar road and the Mathurapur road, and one in the south, the Baruipur-Matla road, carry large traffic.

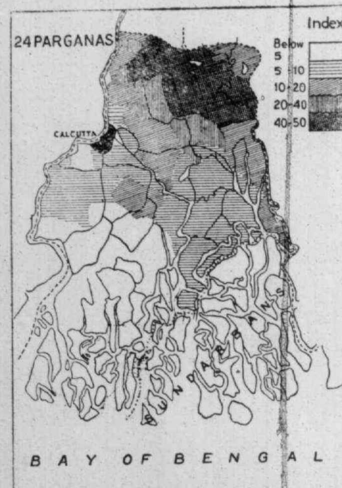


FIG. 20. Distribution of Carts. (Per 1,000 acres.)

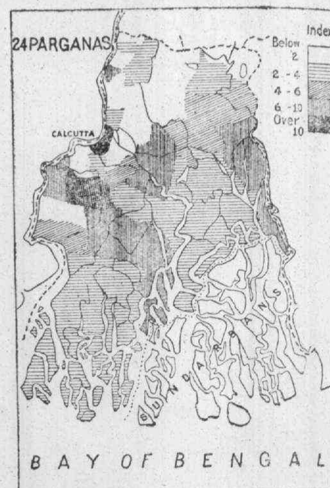


FIG. 21. Distribution of Boats. (Per 1,000 acres.)

In the absence of railways and good roads the agricultural and forest products of the southern and eastern parts of the district can be brought to Calcutta and other industrial towns only by water. There are three important water-ways connecting Calcutta with these parts of the district and beyond. The northern route is known as the Inner Sundarban Passage, the central one is known as the Outer Sundarban Passage. The southern route connects Calcutta with Assam through the Sundarbans proper and is frequented only by large steamers. To sum up, rapid land transport is not available, except in the urban and highly developed agricultural zones. This stands in the way of proper utilization of land of this district. The proximity of this district to Calcutta gives it a greater advantage over any other district of Bengal by providing a huge market for its agricultural products, provided such products, especially perishable commodities like vegetables, fruits and flowers, could be transported quick from producing areas to consuming towns.

VI. The Nature of Land Utilization and Agricultural Equipment

Land Utilization

Table VIII gives some indication of the utilization of the district from 1930 to 1942. It is seldom realized that forests in this district occupy larger area than arable land. The percentage of its land area under the plough to the total area of the district is rather low, hardly 30, whereas forests occupy about one-third of the total land surface. Even if we exclude the forested area in

the Sundarbans from the total area of the district, the percentage of the net area sown does not rise much above 40. This low percentage of land in use accounts for the heavy shortage of foods when normal trade is hampered. The industries, howsoever concentrated in this district, are not so developed as to compensate the neglect of agricultural land. It is true that the acreage under the plough somewhat increased during the decade 1930–39, but the decline in acreage during 1940-41 was something serious, especially when some 300,000 acres of land were added to this district. The shortage of agricultural labour was perhaps responsible for the decline.

TABLE VIII

Land Utilization in 24-Parganas

(Areas in acres)

Year	Total area	Forests	Arable land				Marsh land, etc.
			Net area sown	Twice-cropped area	Current fallows	Cultivable but not cultivated (culturable waste)	Agriculturally unproductive
1930 ..		1,089,516	730,800	91,300	386,148		
1931 ..			738,500	125,300	349,726	328,731	
1932 ..		1,118,238	779,300	133,200	307,826		572,645
1933 ..			780,400	131,400	307,826	307,826	
1934 ..		1,047,221	797,900	137,400	331,343	358,731	
1935 ..	3,107,840		773,900	136,400	355,343		
1936 ..			764,300	115,200	369,030	358,531	572,890
1937 ..		1,043,089	780,400	114,500	353,010	358,661	
1938 ..			821,300	113,000	312,110		
1939 ..		1,043,090	925,000	119,100	208,400		
1940 ..			910,500	112,600	223,175		572,680
1941 ..	3,381,010	1,042,815	910,400	105,400	223,275	631,840	
1942 ..			973,500	116,695	160,175		

Year	Food grains		Cash crops				
	Rice	Pulses and other food grains	Jute	Oil-seeds	Spices	Sugar-cane	Fruits and vegetables
1930 ..	691,100	29,300	68,000	1,700	3,100	1,900	16,800
1931 ..	731,200	28,100	69,000	1,800	3,100	2,000	18,600
1932 ..	803,400		45,000				
1933 ..	805,600	27,700	42,000			2,500	18,400
1934 ..	810,100		61,000	2,000	3,100		
1935 ..	789,200		57,100			2,700	18,500
1936 ..	785,200	16,400	45,000		2,300	2,800	17,600
1937 ..	795,200	15,000	53,000	1,900	2,800		17,000
1938 ..	834,900	21,200	45,000	1,500		2,700	18,700
1939 ..	949,400		40,000			3,200	18,700
1940 ..	941,000		30,000		2,400		18,400
1941 ..	919,000	20,900	45,000	1,500		2,500	18,200
1942 ..	1,012,800	21,100	24,895	1,400		2,600	18,500

In a densely populated agricultural country, where arable land is restricted in area, multiple cropping and intertillage should be practised. But in this district the acreage under more than one crop is rather small, occupying hardly more than one-tenth of the net cropped area. For the first five or six years during the period under consideration the acreage yielding more than one crop a year increased steadily, but from 1935 to 1940 it showed a decline. The twice-cropped area was less in 1942 than what it was ten years back in 1931.

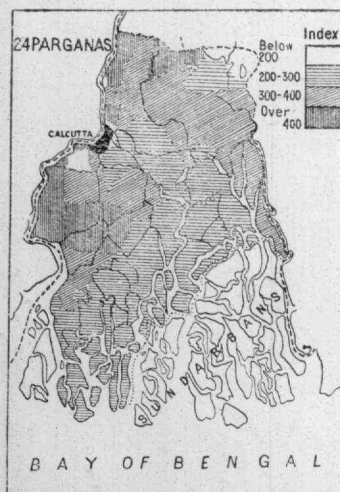


FIG. 22. Density of Cattle per square mile.

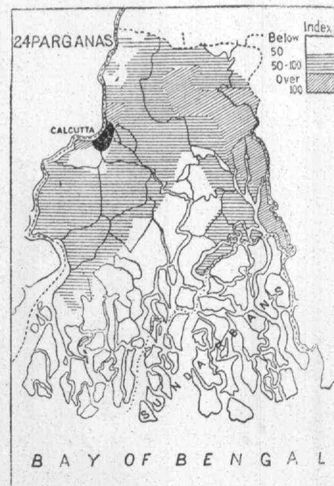


FIG. 23. Density of Sheep and Goats per square mile.

The area classed as current fallow accounted for 160,175 acres in 1942, i.e. 16 per cent of the net cropped area. In the previous year it was much higher, 25 per cent. The highest acreage of current fallow was, however, recorded in 1930, 53 per cent of the net cultivated land. During the time of the last settlement operations of the district the percentage was as low as 4, though an upward trend was then noticed.[1] Land is kept fallow for preventing soil exhaustion and its ultimate destruction, unless land is refreshed every year by natural or artificial means. In England the practice of fallowing was abandoned when there was a greater demand for food in the beginning of the eighteenth century by adopting a rotation system and manuring the cultivated fields heavily. Since in this part of the country rivers are not depositing fertilizing silts in their flood plains, and the poverty of peasants is preventing them from using artificial manures on a large scale, it is necessary to keep a certain percentage of the land fallow, but certainly not to the extent it was kept fallow in 1933. The increase in fallow land in 24-Parganas was found

[1] Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of 24-Parganas, 1924–33, page 32.

partly due to the neglect of mud embankments, which when gave way allowed salt-water to enter into the fields, thus making it useless for growing crops any longer. The big drop in the fallow land area in 1942 may be due to the reclamation of those inundated areas as a direct result of the 'Grow more food campaign' of Government. But a more vigorous policy is needed to solve this problem.

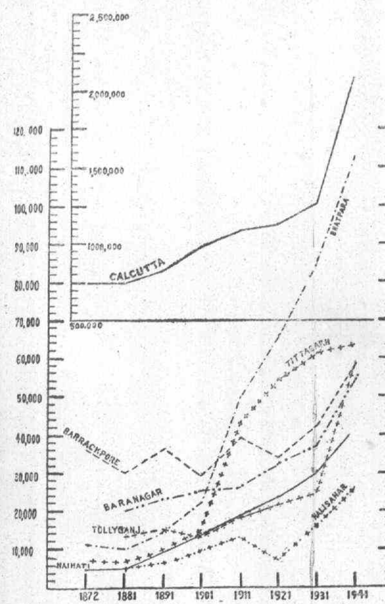


FIG. 24. Growth of Towns in the Upper Hooghly Plain.

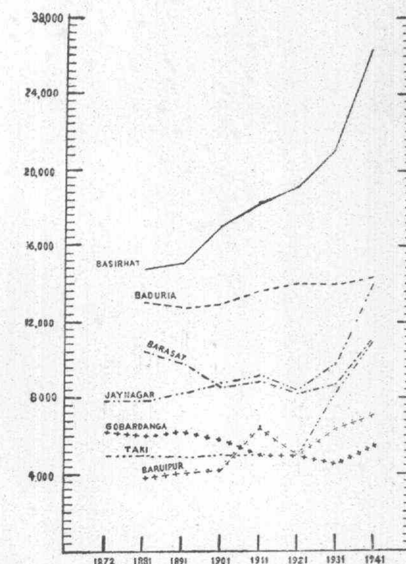


FIG. 25. Growth of Towns in the Agricultural Plains.

The arable area, which was not brought under the plough from 1939 to 1942, amounted to 631,840 acres, that is to say, about 65 per cent of the net cropped area. Part of it, about one-third, contains groves of various kinds. The remaining portion is simply kept fallow. An attempt should be made to utilize this land. Before 1939 the area shown as culturable but not cultivated in official statistics was much less. In one year (1932) it was less than one-half of the present area. This shows that it will not be so difficult to bring back the land under the plough which was once cultivated.

The unproductive area also takes up a large proportion of our land. From 1930 to 1942 the acreage ranged between 572,645 and 572,680, the percentage of the net cropped area in the total area being about 60 in 1942. Not much of it is taken by homesteads, about one-fifth. It is, therefore, possible to reclaim a substantial portion of the land classed as unculturable waste today.

The agricultural products of the district may be classed as food crops and industrial crops. The food crops are the most important. Rice is the

most important food crop. It is grown everywhere, in small plots in the north, in large fields in the reclaimed Sundarbans. The acreage under rice or paddy was little over 10 lakhs in 1942, 99 per cent of the total cultivated area. This unusually high percentage of one crop leads not only to depletion of soil fertility but also to the growth of insect pests, and is responsible for the low yields, 14 to 20 maunds per acre. In 1932 the percentage of area under rice was 84 or lower than that of 1942. The tendency, therefore, in recent years has been to bring more and more land under rice cultivation. Pulses and other minor food grains were grown on 21,100 acres in 1942, occupying only one-fiftieth of the area given to paddy. Jute is the most important industrial crop, the acreage under this being 24,895 in 1942. In 1930 it was almost three times of its present figure. Next to jute, are fruits and vegetables which find a ready market in Calcutta. The area under fruits and vegetables was 18,500 acres in 1942. Oil-seeds, spices and sugar-cane are grown primarily for home consumption, and on a small scale. The total acreage under these three types of crops was 6,400 in 1942. In 1930 the total acreage was slightly higher.

In this district as elsewhere in Bengal exists a landed aristocracy. They own some 2,000 permanently settled estates, comprising more than one-half of the total area of the district. They are not directly in touch with the estates they own, but lease out their lands more or less on a permanent basis to different persons, who, in their turn, also do the same thing. In this way the subinfeudation of land goes on, though rarely extending beyond the third grade tenure holder, and ultimately the lands come to the cultivating tenants, who for all practical purposes can be taken as owner-cultivators. These cultivators now own 1,551,309 acres, more than one-half of the total area of the district, divided up into 811,350 holdings. Thus the average area per holding in this district amounts to 1·9 acres, very low indeed. The owner-cultivators also have to employ a large number of agricultural labourers to cultivate their fields, especially during the times of sowing and harvest. In 1931 there were 199,157 agricultural workers in regular employment, that is to say, 40·2 per cent of the total cultivators. It is this class that was hard hit during the last famine, and due to the shortage of their number the acreage under crops could not increase substantially last year (1943).

The Sundarban area is owned by Government, who in the past had divided up the area into blocks, and farmed them out by public auction, but that practice has now almost stopped, the forests being declared as a protected area.

The Live-stock of 24-Parganas

The cattle rearing and feeding do not seem to occupy much of the time of the cultivators of 24-Parganas, though the cattle are their best friends. The bullock is the chief work animal, dragging the plough in the country (see Plate IXA), and hauling heavy carts both in rural and urban areas. In the towns the water-buffalo also works as a draft animal. In 1940 there

were some 1,079,491 cattle in the district.[1] Of these the vast majority, just over ten lakhs, were in rural areas. The number of oxen and male buffaloes was 385,961, or 36 per cent of the total. In spite of their impressive number the cattle of the district is poor in quality. This is mainly due to the lack of proper care and dearth of feed crops. The grazing grounds for the cattle are almost non-existent. In poorer areas they feed on poor grass and stubbles of paddy straw after harvest (see Plate XIVB). The well-to-do peasants can, however, feed them on paddy straw cut into pieces and mixed with oil-cakes and boiled kolāi, a kind of pulse. The dairy industry of the district is founded on the milk cows, who numbered 440,517 excluding their calves in 1940. In recent years, however, it is developing as an organized industry. Milk, ghee and curd are the commercial products, reaching the market of Calcutta in large quantities.

Goats and sheep are much less important than cattle. They numbered 284,482, the number of sheep being less than 10,000. These animals provide mainly meat, and only small quantity of milk.

Ploughs, Carts and Boats

The peasant of this district ploughs with a wooden or iron tipped plough (see Plate VIIIA). This kind of plough does not really turn the soil upside down, but rather throws it out on both sides, which seldom does the proper function of ploughing. Moreover, it does not go deeper than 4 inches, and hence the yields per acre are low. Since this kind of plough is not very effective, the same plot of land has to be ploughed a number of times (see Fig. 4) before seeds are sown or seedlings are transplanted. The number of ploughs is also not sufficient. In 1940 they numbered 165,480, at the rate of one plough for ten acres of land.

It has already been pointed out that the greater part of the country is not served by good roads, with the result that the only means of conveyance available to the farmers are carts and boats. In 1940 there were 33,576 carts and 8,868 boats, hopelessly inadequate to serve their purpose.

A Comparative Study

Let us now study the nature of land utilization in different parts of the district (see Table IX). Figure 10 shows the distribution of the cultivated area as a percentage in the total area. Generally speaking, the northern part of the district and Southern Plains have the higher percentage of land under the plough, varying between 75 (Barasat-Basirhat Plain) and 77 (Southern Plains). The urban industrialized zone has the lowest, though even there about one-half of the total area is cultivated. The northern part of the Sundarbans has a higher percentage (66) than the southern portion (61). The acreage under the plough could be substantially increased in the Sundarbans.

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[1] Report of the Live-stock Census of Bengal, 1940.

TABLE IX

Land Utilization in different regions of 24-Parganas

	Per cent of culti-vated area	Density of population per sq. mile of cultivated area	Acreage per holding		Cultur-able but not culti-vated	Un-cultur-able
			Highest	Lowest		
1. Upper Hooghly Plain ..	50	8,355	1·33	0·52	21	29
2. Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains	76	903	2·01	1·68	13	12
3. Barasat-Basirhat Plains ..	75	1,374	1·77	1·18	10	14
4. Southern Plains ..	77	1,865	1·73	0·98	10	13
5. Northern Plains of the Sundarbans	66	1,238	4·49	1·39	12	22
6. Reclaimed Sundarbans ..	61	883	5·97	2·44	16	21

Figure 11 shows the density of population per square mile of cultivated area. This density is the highest in the Upper Hooghly Plain, over 8,000 per square mile. The agricultural regions have much lower density, ranging between 883 in the reclaimed Sundarbans and 1,875 in the Southern Plains. The Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains in the north have a slightly higher density than that of the southern part of the Sundarbans, despite the fact that it was one of the earliest regions in the district providing sites for human settlement. One of the main causes of the sparse population can be traced to the deterioration of rivers. The plains lying further south have about the same density, which decreases slightly from north to south.

Figure 12 shows the acreage per holding in different regions of the district. The greater part of the Sundarbans has the highest acreage per holding, the average size of each farm ranging between 2 and 6 acres. This area provides opportunities for using tractors and other agricultural machineries. Further north the average size slightly diminishes. In the rest of the country it ranges between 1 and 2 acres, except in the Upper Hooghly Plain, where it hardly rises above one acre.

Figure 13 shows the distribution of arable areas not yet brought under the plough. It is very high throughout the upper part of the Upper Hooghly Plain, which shows that there is a considerable scope for developing truck farming in that area. The rich Southern Plains of the district and the lands lying on both sides of the Ichamati are fairly intensively cultivated, hence the percentages of unutilized agricultural lands are the lowest there. The second-highest percentage occurs in the eastern part of the reclaimed Sundarbans, where more land could be easily brought under cereal crops.

Figure 14 shows the distribution of the so-called unculturable land in the district. It is very high in parts of the urban region, and very low in the Amdanga-Sarupnagar Northern Plains. The lower percentage in the latter region reflects an intensive utilization in the past. The Southern and Barasat-Basirhat Plains have also low figures, because of their intensive use in recent years.

TABLE X

Distribution and Production of Aus and Aman in different regions of 24-Parganas

Regions	Percentage of acreage in the total area of each region		Percentage of acreage in the net cropped area of each region		Production in maunds		Production in each region as percentage of the district total		*Per capita* production	
	Aus	Aman	Aus	Aman	Aus	Aman	Aus	Aman	Aus Md. sr. ch.	Aman Md. sr. ch.
1. Upper Hooghly Plain ..	3·2	13	6	25	51,842	298,680	4·9	1·3	..	0 22 0
2. Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains	19	40	25	53	404,460	1,244,860	37·9	5	2 27 0	8 10 0
3. Barasat-Basirhat Plains	13·4	48	18	63	436,156	2,224,520	40·9	9	1 14 0	6 35 0
4. Southern Plains ..	0·5	70	0·6	90·5	26,810	5,743,700	3·0	25	0 1 1	7 4 0
5. Northern Plains of the Sundarbans	3·5	58·4	5	84	134,736	3,196,940	12·6	13·6	0 18 0	10 35 0
6. Reclaimed Sundarbans ..	0·1	65	0·1	98	7,714	10,743,140	0·7	46	0 0 2	18 11 0

Table X shows statistics relating to *aus* and *aman*, the two important varieties of paddy mostly grown in this district. Figures 8, 15, 16, 17 also show distribution of these two crops as percentages of net cropped area and their production on a *per capita* basis. *Aman* or winter paddy predominates over *aus* in every region. In the Southern Plains the percentage of acreage in the total area under *aman* is the highest and that of cropped area is the second-highest in the district. The reclaimed Sundarbans grow almost nothing but *aman*. The Northern Plains of the Sundarbans have over 80 per cent of the cultivated land under *aman*, the third-highest figure in the district. The plains in the north do not grow as much *aman*, having hardly more than 60 per cent of cultivated land under *aman*. The industrialized zone of the district has only one-quarter of its cultivated land under *aman*. The northern part of the district grows more *aus* than any other part of the district. As to the production of rice *per capita*, it is the highest in the reclaimed Sundarbans, producing almost as much as the rest of the district. The Northern Plains of the Sundarbans also produce more than what is needed in the region. The other regions, except the Hooghly Plain, are either just sufficient or have a small shortage in regard to rice. The Upper Hooghly Plain is very much deficient, and draws its supply from the agricultural regions.

Table XI shows the percentage of acreage under cash crops in the net cropped area in different regions. The distribution of jute, which is the most important of these crops, is shown in Fig. 18. Jute is grown mainly in the northern part of the district. Pulses and minor food grains are also grown in that part of the district, and in the Southern Plains as well. The highest acreage under fruits and vegetables is found in the Upper Hooghly Plain. Next come the Barasat-Basirhat Plains in the north. Fruits and vegetables are also grown in considerable quantities on a commercial scale in the neighbourhood of Baruipur and Bhangar.

TABLE XI

Minor Crops in 24-Parganas

Regions	Per cent of area under jute	Per cent of area under pulses and other food grains	Per cent of area under fruits and vegetables
1. Upper Hooghly Plain	4	5	35
2. Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains	14	10	8
3. Barasat-Basirhat Plains	19	17	10
4. Southern Plains	1·5	12	7
5. Northern Plains of Sundarbans	5	5	6
6. Reclaimed Sundarbans	Nil	Negligible	1

Table XII shows the distribution of ploughs, carts and boats, which gives some indication of the agricultural conditions prevailing in different parts of the district. As to ploughs their density is the highest in the Southern Plains (see Fig. 19). The next highest number is found in the Northern Plains of the Sundarbans. The Barasat-Basirhat Plains have also a fairly large number of ploughs. The average numbers of ploughs in the reclaimed Sundarbans vary between 67 and 107, and in the Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains between 24 and 98. The Upper Hooghly Plain does not need many ploughs; hence the number there is the lowest.

TABLE XII

Distribution of Ploughs, Carts and Boats in 24-Parganas

	Expressed per 1,000 acres of land		Total numbers			
	Ploughs		Carts		Boats	
	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest
1. Upper Hooghly Plain	69	Nil	276	3	229	Nil
2. Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains ..	98	24	3,229	727	93	51
3. Barasat-Basirhat Plains ..	116	72	2,936	2,241	361	80
4. Southern Plains ..	138	72	831	114	1,145	20
5. Northern Plains of the Sundarbans ..	131	97	1,775	520	817	26
6. Reclaimed Sundarbans	107	66	1,657	8	1,123	141

Figures 20 and 21 show the distribution of carts and boats. The density of carts is the highest in the Northern Plains of the district, where the road mileage including the village roads is also the highest. There are not many boats in this region. The greater part of the Southern Plains is intersected by navigable canals and hence depend more on boats than on carts. In some parts of the Sundarbans agricultural operations are considerably hampered because of the lack of carts and boats.

Figures 22 and 23 show the distribution of the live-stock in the district. The density of cattle is the highest in the Southern Plains, and the lowest in the reclaimed Sundarbans. There are very few sheep and goats in the southern part of the district. They are found mostly along the banks of the Ichamati.

VII. LAND UTILIZATION IN DIFFERENT REGIONS

1. *The Upper Hooghly Plain*

This region extends from the extreme north of the district to Budge-Budge in the south, clinging to the river bank throughout. Its total length following the meandering course of the Hooghly is about 45 miles. The main railway line may be taken as its present eastern boundary, thus the width of this region nowhere exceeds 2 miles, and in the greater part of its length it is less than a mile wide. The right bank of the Hooghly river lies in the districts of Hooghly and Howrah. This river may appear to a stranger as a small

edition of the Rhine in the Ruhr district of Germany. But the advantages that the Rhine valley enjoy are lacking here. Coal from the nearby fields of Raniganj cannot be brought by river, because of the fact that the Damodar, its only tributary coming from the coal-producing areas, is not navigable throughout the year. Moreover, unlike in Germany the industries in the Hooghly region have no deep roots. Neither the capital invested nor the labour employed is indigenous to Bengal. Most of the mills are owned and controlled by Europeans and most of the labour population are drawn from outside Bengal. It is then natural that such industries, however developed they may be, would fail to leave a permanent mark on the country where they thrive, and cannot be taken as a real index of the industrial prosperity of Bengal.

All the jute mills of 24-Parganas are located in this region, extending from Halisahar in the north to Budge-Budge in the south. The first jute mill in this district was started at Gauripur near Naihati in 1852, and by the end of the nineteenth century as many as twelve mills were operating. Since then those mills more than quadrupled in number. They are not distributed evenly over the whole of the region, but are concentrated mostly in four places, two lying north of Calcutta, one around Calcutta and the fourth in the south, near Budge-Budge. One such concentration in the north of Calcutta occurs along a pronounced concave bend of the Hooghly between Bhatpara and Shamnagar, opposite French Chandernagore (Plate IB). The second concentration is to be seen further south in the neighbourhood of Khardah and Titagarh. These mills make enormous profits every year, paying in some cases over 100 per cent dividend to their share-holders, a large proportion of which is spent outside the country. In one year four mills of the first group made a profit of over one crore of rupees and two mills of the second group made another half a crore. It is not too much to ask these companies to spend a part of their profit in reclaiming marsh lands which almost border their factories. Even within the factory towns much improvements are needed. The workers live in wretched dwellings and do not enjoy amenities of life with which the workers in England, Germany or the United States are accustomed (Plate IIA). It is because of this that the Bengali workers are not attracted to factory life. Had it been otherwise, the pressure of population on arable lands would have considerably decreased, and the problem of feeding thousands of workers, who have come from outside the province, would have been less acute than what is today (1944).

All the cotton mills excepting one are located north of Calcutta around Panihati and Garulia. The six mills occur near Panihati and Khardah. The two paper mills are to be found at Titagarh and Kankinara near Bhatpara. There are eleven large chemical works in this region, including the largest one, Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works. These works are mainly located in the eastern Canal Area of Calcutta. The majority of the glass factories also occur in that area. The match industry has developed considerably in recent years. Two of the ten match factories of this region employ more than 1,000 workers per day. These are located in the northern part of Calcutta. Most of the other smaller industries such as pottery works, soap factories, bone mills fertilizer works, paint works and lac factories occur in the Canal Area of Calcutta.

Of the engineering works the railway workshops at Kanchrapara are the biggest. The general engineering works, numbering about 65, are mostly small concerns, none of them employing more than 1,000 workers and one-half of them employing less than 100 workers per day. Then there are steam boat building works, motor-car repairing workshops, and kerosene tinning and packing works, all consuming large quantities of iron. Of the engineering works utilizing metals other than iron, the lead rolling mill at Kamarhati, and the aluminium metal stamping works in the neighbourhood of Calcutta are the only works of the kind in this district.

Most of the rice mills have also sprung up around Calcutta. The Calcutta and Eastern Canals are primarily responsible for their development. These have facilitated the transport of bulky materials like paddy from Eastern Bengal to the mill areas (see Plate IIB). Hence there is an extreme concentration of these mills in the Tollygunge area near Calcutta, about 50 per cent of the mills of the district occurring there. There is another concentration of rice mills on the banks of the canals in the northern suburbs of Calcutta—Shambazar and Ultadanga. The third concentration occurs on the east of the railway line extending from Talpukur to Chanok and Chandanpukur, that is to say, in the Titagarh-Barrackpore area. The rice mills are small in size, the average number of workers per mill being 60.

There are only six flour mills in or around Calcutta, the majority employing less than 100 workers per day. For industrial purposes, there is one linseed oil mill near Naihati. The rest of the oil mills extract oil from mustard seeds, which is used for home consumption. There are also five large bakeries and biscuit-making concerns, and one brewary, all in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. One of the tobacco factories is located in a southern suburb of Calcutta and the other in Kamarhati.

Of the leather factories and tanneries the one at Nangi, now known as Batanagar, about 14 miles south of Calcutta, was started in recent years by the Bata Company, and is fast becoming the centre of the leather industry in Bengal.

The four power stations of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation are located at Cossipore, Bhatpara, Mulajore and Garden Reach. The prime movers in these power stations are steam turbines, where coal is used as fuel.

For the proper understanding of this region from the point of view of administration and utilization, it ought to have been separated from the rest of the district, and then sub-divided according to convenience. Actually, however, this region forms parts of three separate administrative units—the two sub-divisions of Barrackpore and Sadar and the district of Calcutta. The smallest administrative units, i.e. police stations or thanas, within each of the two sub-divisions also do not conform to areas having the same human

response. Hence the fourteen thanas containing this industrial region also include large rural areas (see Fig. 2).

When we come to study the distribution of population in this region we find that the river bank contains a dense population, which thins out in the east. Most of the larger towns of this district including the cities of Calcutta and Bhatpara are located here (see Fig. 1). These may be regarded now as satellite towns of Calcutta, though the majority of them were in existence before Calcutta took its present shape. Halisahar in the north of the district was a city of palaces and an important commercial centre at the time when the Mughals were ruling in India. In earlier times it was an important cultural centre of Bengal, known then by the name of Kumarhatta. The city has lost all its former importance with a consequent decrease in population. In recent years when most of the other towns showed a rapid increase of population, the population of this town was increasing slowly, and in one decade (1911–21) had experienced a decrease in population (see Fig. 24). The presence of stagnant waters in the neighbourhood of this town breeding anopheles mosquitoes (*A. culicifacies*) and spreading virulent type of malarial fever is the main reason why this town has had a stunted growth. Naihati was the capital of the Moghul Emperor for some time. Its population is increasing rather slowly but steadily. Bhatpara is another historical place, and still is a cultural centre of Bengal. The starting of a number of mills in this town led to the rapid increase of population of this town since 1901, the number exceeding one lakh at the time of the last census. Titagarh is the only other town that showed rapid development since the beginning of this century. Khardah and Panihati are religious centres of Bengal. Barrackpore owes its name to the presence of soldiers in barracks since the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was second only to Calcutta in population at the time of the first census, but its population did not increase materially in the next fifty years.

The trend of population of Baranagar followed closely that of Calcutta, as greater Calcutta really extends as far north as Baranagar. The population of Calcutta increased by almost three times (see Fig. 24). Since the first census was taken, the city extended mainly southward as its development in the other three directions was not possible for one reason or other. The salt marshes in the east, the wide river barrier in the west, and the already crowded areas in the north are the main reasons for its growth southward. It is perhaps the only city of the world that stands amidst an undeveloped rural setting, and is in strong contrast even with the other urban centres of the province. The expansion of Calcutta in the south is responsible for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Corporation of Calcutta beyond the city proper in that direction. The ocean-going liners come as far as the Garden Reach of the Hooghly, where docks line the river bank, extending up to Kidderpore. Alipore is the administrative headquarters of the district of 24-Parganas. Majerhat is an important railway junction, which is growing in importance because of its proximity to the Kidderpore docks and Alipore aerodrome. Ballygunge is the residential suburb of Calcutta, and its artificial lakes are bigger and more beautiful than those of the Hyde Park of London and of the Boi de Boulogne of Paris. Tollygunge is slowly developing, where a number of rice mills centre around the town especially in Italghata. The population of this town in the last decade increased more rapidly than in the previous decades. The southern suburbs of Calcutta extend up to Behala and Barisa. Both of them are historical towns. An ancient capital of Bengal was situated near Barisa. The northern suburbs are much less developed. They are not preferred as much as the southern ones as residential quarters. Dum-Dum has more open spaces, providing garden houses for the rich citizens of Calcutta. Moreover, this town is the Croydon of Bengal. The direction of winds may have something to do with this one-sided development of the city of Calcutta. Even within the city proper the south-facing houses have a special charm because of the fact that the cool sea breeze comes regularly from the south or south-west in the hot season. Thus the areas lying south of the city of palaces have had a better chance to grow. Budge-Budge occupies the southernmost edge of this region. It is well connected with Calcutta by rail, road and river. A number of jute and cotton mills have recently sprung up in its neighbourhood, and have made it an important industrial centre of Bengal. Moreover, it is the main petroleum distributing centre in this part of India. South of this town all along the left bank of the Hooghly right up to Diamond Harbour there are excellent sites for starting new industries, and it is expected that in the coming post-war period such sites should be explored thoroughly before starting new mills and factories in the already crowded northern areas.

The greater part of the thanas containing the built-up industrial areas is, however, rural, and remains yet to be developed. Agriculturally they have immense possibilities, and should come first in any agricultural planning which the Government may adopt after the war is over. The marsh lands of the northern part of this region comprising the three thanas—Bijpur, Naihati and Jagaddal—are to be drained, and the old beds of rivers and canals which once used to join the Hooghly are to be resuscitated. The Mathura *bil* and its western extension the Bagher Khal, which run along the northern boundary of the region, should be excavated first, which would not only considerably improve the sanitary conditions of the towns of Kanchrapara and Halisahar, but would bring under the plough about one-third of the arable lands of the thana of Bijpur, which remains unutilized at the moment. South of Bijpur in Naihati and Jagaddal another east-west running channel had dried up. Its probable course was through the small village of Bhabagachi, Dogachia and Madrail, entering into the Hooghly near Bhatpara. This channel has to be opened up, and the Ichapur *khal* which was constructed to drain the Bariti *bil* is to be widened. The northernmost part of the Bariti *bil* should be drained by another channel, which did flow once through Mirzapur and Shamnagar. These improvements will lead to the utilization of more than 10 square miles of arable lands either for market gardening or for

some intensive cultivation in the thanas of Naihati, Jagaddal, Noapara, Barrackpore and Titagarh. In Khardah, which occurs further south, a considerable portion of rich arable lands is lying waste, because of poor drainage. Part of it, especially the Kheba *bil* portion, is drained by a small narrow channel which enters the Hooghly at Khardah. This channel, and the Nawi Khal which flows southward draining the Bariti *bil*, should also be improved. The net gain will be the agricultural produce of some 10 square miles of area in this thana alone. The importance of the thana of Dum-Dum is mainly due to its proximity to Calcutta, and this is one of the two thanas of the industrial region that does not extend right up to the river bank and consequently large-scale industries have not so far been started. Since the greater part of this area is low-lying, a better drainage will transform about one-half of the thana into productive agricultural land.

South of Calcutta the marsh lands occur in two places. The eastern part of Tollygunge area is marshy, which is really the continuation of the Calcutta marshes. A comprehensive scheme for developing this area should be sponsored. The greater part of the Budge-Budge thana in the south of the Charial *khal* also gets water-logged during the rains. Here the Baita marshes are to be drained first. A number of dry water courses, independent of each other, occur in the southern part of the Budge-Budge thana, the remnants of a system of drainage channels. These need resuscitation.

Table XIII shows the nature of land utilization and the degree of self-sufficiency in regard to the agricultural products in different parts of the Upper Hooghly Plain (see also Figs. 8, 10, 11, 13 to 18).

The two northern thanas, Naihati and Jagaddal, and the three southern thanas, Behala, Maheshtala and Budge-Budge, have over 60 per cent of the land under the plough. In each of these areas the proportion of unproductive land is low indeed. In Titagarh and Khardah over 50 per cent of the lands is cultivated. The proportion of cultivated land is below the regional average in the remaining portions of the Upper Hooghly Plain. Noapara and Barrackpore in the north, and Tollygunge in the south, have the lowest acreage under the plough. Generally speaking, the smaller the area the smaller is the proportion of cultivated land, because of high concentration of industries along the river bank.

It is interesting to note that the areas with a high percentage of cultivable but uncultivated land such as Bijpur, Noapara and Jagaddal had a considerable increase of population during the decade 1931–41, whereas the areas with a much smaller percentage of such land, that is to say, Behala, Maheshtala and Budge-Budge, could not have a substantial increase of population. The proportion of unproductive land was the highest in Barrackpore, over one-half, and near about 40 per cent in Noapara, Baranagar, Tollygunge and Metiabruz. It will be remembered that these are either highly industrialized or very thickly populated. Tollygunge is perhaps the only exception, where marsh lands prevail.

TABLE XIII

Land Utilization in the Upper Hooghly Plain

Thanas		Area in sq. miles	Population (1941)	Density of population per sq. mile		Per cent of cultivated area	Density of population per sq. mile of cultivated area	Acreage per holding	Per cent of culturable but not cultivated area	Per cent of unculturable area	Per cent of twice-cropped area
				1931	1941						
Northern Zone	Bijpur	15	58,335	1,753	3,889	47	5,866	1·33	30	23	5
	Naihati	16	51,755	3,114	3,235	65	5,131	1·31	17	18	2
	Jagaddal	23	129,610	4,139	5,635	60	7,212	1·18	21	19	1
	Noapara	6	68,889	4,949	11,482	33	17,465	·88	30	37	2
	Barrackpore	4	23,315	4,151	7,772	11	87,395	·52	35	54	Nil
	Titagarh	11	63,211	5,565	5,746	59	94,037	·77	19	22	2
	Baranagar	9	96,996	7,487	12,125	43	22,461	·69	20	37	1
	Khardah	21	44,392	1,508	2,114	55	2,869	1·04	27	18	1
	Dum-Dum	16	43,492	1,981	2,718	47	4,312	·71	26	27	Nil
Southern Zone	Tollygunge	26	80,624	1,678	3,101	34	5,164	·99	25	41	2
	Behala	20	69,482	2,203	3,474	66	3,301	·93	10	24	5
	Maheshtala	18	54,564	2,322	3,210	67	3,626	·92	10	23	7
	Metiabruz	3	102,868	3,362	25,717	44	7,646	·80	17	39	1
	Budge-Budge	57	165,220	2,158	2,849	71	3,308	1·23	9	20	18

TABLE XIII—*continued*

Thanas	Zone	Per cent of area under *aman*	*Aman per capita*	Per cent of area under *aus*	*Aus per capita*	Per cent of area under jute	Jute *per capita*	Per cent of area under pulses and other food grains	*Per capita* pulses	Production of other food grains
			Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.			Md. sr. ch.
Bijpur		33	1 3 7	21	0 19 3	7	0 7 3	7		0 2 3
Naihati		58	1 17 13	14	0 9 15	10	0 7 6	4		0 0 11
Jagaddal		56	0 39 15	6	0 3 2	10	0 5 2	3		0 0 7
Noapara	Northern	40	0 11 11	1	0 0 4	2	0 0 8	7		0 0 4
Barrackpore	Zone.	2	Negligible	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil		Nil
Titagarh		65	1 21 12	4	0 1 11	10	0 4 2	4		0 0 6
Baranagar		37	0 8 6	3	0 0 6	2	0 0 6	3	Negligible	Nil
Khardah		47	2 4 5	9	0 11 14	7	0 8 13	4		0 0 14
Dum-Dum		60	1 31 10	8	0 6 7	6	0 5 12	1		0 0 1
Tollygunge		46	1 5 7	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	4		0 0 12
Behala	Southern	74	2 34 12	1	0 0 12	Nil	Nil	4		0 1 12
Maheshtala	Zone.	82	2 35 12	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	9		0 3 4
Metiabruz		63	1 2 5	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	2		0 0 5
Budge-Budge ..		85	3 12 5	Nil	Nil	2	0 0 6	19		0 8 5

TABLE XIII—*continued*

Thanas	Zone	Per cent of area under fruits and vegetables	Fruits and vegetables *per capita*	PRODUCTION *per capita* OF Condiments and spices	Sugar-cane	Potatoes	Oil-seeds	Tobacco	Fodder crops per cattle
			Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.
Bijpur		37	4 6 6	0 0 1	0 2 0	0 2 3	0 0 2	Nil	0 0 11
Naihati		16	1 16 11	Nil	0 1 14	0 0 7	Nil	Nil	Nil
Jagaddal		26	1 15 2	Nil	0 0 11	0 2 3	Nil	Nil	0 0 1
Noapara		51	1 6 14	Nil	0 0 6	0 1 5	Nil	Nil	Nil
Barrackpore	Northern	98	0 22 2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Titagarh	Zone.	18	0 33 12	Nil	0 1 10	0 0 9	Nil	Nil	Nil
Baranagar		49	0 38 2	0 0 1	0 0 12	0 2 6	Nil	Nil	Nil
Khardah		33	5 5 8	0 0 1	0 0 3	0 2 1	0 0 1	Nil	0 0 5
Dum-Dum		25	2 14 0	0 0 1	0 0 6	0 0 7	Nil	Nil	0 0 14
Tollygunge		52	2 17 3	0 0 1	0 0 15	Nil	0 0 1	Nil	0 0 7
Behala		26	3 11 15	Nil	0 0 6	0 0 6	Nil	Nil	Nil
Maheshtala	Southern	16	1 3 7	0 0 1	0 2 3	0 0 4	0 0 2	Nil	0 0 6
Metiabruz	Zone.	36	2 3 6	Nil	0 0 7	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Budge-Budge		12	1 11 0	0 0 2	0 1 1	0 0 14	0 0 1	Nil	0 0 8

In the greater part of the district the percentages of the net cropped area producing more than one crop are very low. Only in the Budge-Budge thana, which is essentially rural, about one-fifth of the cultivated land produces more than one crop.

Of the crops cultivated, *aman* is the most important. In the southern part of the district over 80 per cent of the cultivated fields was given to that crop. North of Calcutta the highest percentage under *aman* was in the Dum-Dum and Titagarh thanas. Truck farming takes the second place in the agricultural geography of the region. In certain parts as at Barrackpore nothing but fruits and vegetables are grown. The three other thanas, Noapara, Baranagar and Tollygunge, have one-half of agricultural land under fruits and vegetables. Potatoes, onions and various kinds of vegetables such as brinjal, cabbages, cauliflowers and tomatoes are raised in this region. *Aus* is grown only in the northernmost part. Jute and other crops are grown in small quantities. The production of rice *per capita* was the highest in the southern part of the region, though even there not enough is produced to meet the local demands. The northern thanas are hopelessly deficient in rice. It is only in fruits and vegetables that the region is self-sufficient, but not in potatoes. The *per capita* production of other crops is very low.

Fishing is a subsidiary occupation of the farmers of this region. Calcutta has valuable fishery of immense possibilities in the Salt Lake.

Table XIV shows the distribution of the live-stock, ploughs, carts and boats of the region. The density of cattle is nowhere more than 500 per square mile, except in Baranagar where it is just over 700. Barrackpore in the north

TABLE XIV

Distribution of Live-stock, Ploughs, Carts and Boats in the Upper Hooghly Plain

Thanas	Live-stock				Ploughs per 1,000 acres	Total number	
	Cattle		Sheep and goats				
	Total number	Density per sq. mile	Total number	Number per 1,000 persons		Carts	Boats
Bijpur	7,422	495	702	28	37	120	14
Naihati	7,321	488	934	20	—	276	35
Jagaddal	9,382	426	801	8	52	261	6
Noapara	2,460	492	375	12	131	46	25
Barrackpore	362	181	36	2	Nil	8	1
Titagarh	4,602	418	546	11	Nil	168	9
Baranagar	4,988	712	1,020	12	16	48	12
Khardah	8,183	409	1,201	36	38	255	11
Dun-Dum	5,248	350	996	30	63	164	11
Tollygunge	5,344	214	1,877	42	52	135	5
Behala	6,896	345	940	21	48	98	27
Maheshtala	2,883	169	470	12	18	22	9
Metiabruz	947	316	477	50	11	3	—
Budge-Budge ..	22,985	442	3,749	40	69	197	229

and Maheshtala and Tollygunge in the south had the lowest density (see Fig. 22). The number of goats and sheep per 1,000 persons was very low in most of the thanas, especially in the north. Tollygunge, Metiabruz and Budge-Budge had the highest number, but even there it never exceeded 50 per 1,000 persons. The density of sheep and goats was the lowest in the northern part of the region (see Fig. 23). The numbers of carts and boats per 1,000 acres of land were also very low (see Fig. 20). In the north the total number of carts over 200 was found only in Naihati, Jagaddal and Khardah. Naihati also had the highest number of boats.

2. *Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains*

It has already been mentioned that these plains were once drained efficiently by several north-south flowing rivers, which have in most cases dried up, with the result that the greater part of the region gets marshy in the rains. On the other hand, arable lands do not get enough water because of the silting up of the rivers. In the western part of the region the annual rainfall is also below 60 inches (see Fig. 8), which may account for the deterioration of the rivers, especially from the time the main Ganges moved eastward.

West of the Sunti Plain there are still traces of more than one channel. These are to be connected with each other, and deepened. For example, a channel used to flow southeast from the Mathura *bil* to the Sunti Nadi. A part of it is still noticeable especially near the Mathura *bil*, and the presence of a number of tanks, arranged in a line, certainly helps one to know definitely which way the channel used to flow in the past. The Sunti Nadi is to be straightened between Rajbaria and Metiagacha by some 5 miles. East of the Sunti Plain dry watercourse can be seen in the neighbourhood of Habra, through which the Padma used to flow once. North of the railway line and the Jessore road the deterioration of the Padma is complete. Something should be done to this river channel in order to restore the agricultural prosperity of this area. The Jamuna should also be restored to its former bed. It is now confined in the northern part of the region, and even there it flows so sluggishly that it becomes difficult to distinguish between stagnant and running water. Near Gobardanga the channel has been partitioned by erecting bamboo poles to establish fishing rights of individuals (see Plate IIIA). The Nangla group of *bils* almost enclosed by the Padma occupies an area of 26·36 square miles. East of the Ichamati the Balli *bil* area occupies another 21·46 square miles. The Padma roughly divides the region into two parts, having somewhat different agricultural problems to solve, more of irrigation in the west, and of drainage in the east. A number of important inter-district routes pass through this region, serving the important towns of the district. There exist also a number of unmetalled roads, which are not motorable in the rains. The water-ways assume some importance in the east, where there are very few roads.

The density of population in this region is rather low, ranging between 587 and 652 per square mile. The eastern part is more thickly populated

TABLE XV

Land Utilization in the Amdanga-Sarupnagar Plains

Thanas	Area in sq. miles	Population (1941)	Density of population per sq. mile 1931	Density of population per sq. mile 1941	Per cent of cultivated area	Density of population per sq. mile of cultivated area	Acreage per holding	Per cent of culturable but not cultivated area	Per cent of uncultur-able area
Amdanga	53	36,196	604	670	78	782	1·68	12	10
Habra	108	70,718	587	649	70	847	2·01	17	13
Sarupnagar	83	57,544	652	692	79	816	1·76	9	12

Thanas	Per cent of twice-cropped area	Per cent of area under *aman*	*Aman per capita*	Per cent of area under *aus*	*Aus per capita*	Per cent of area under jute	Jute *per capita*	Per cent of area under pulses and minor food grains	Production *per capita* of pulses
			Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.
Amdanga	4	59	9 29 2	16	1 33 15	17	2 4 6	5	0 0 9
Habra	5	46	6 37 8	30	3 9 2	13	1 2 8	6	0 0 2
Sarupnagar	19	57	8 37 8	23	2 21 11	12	1 16 11	21	0 2 10

Thanas	PRODUCTION *per capita* OF Minor food grain	Per cent of area under fruits and vegetables	Fruits and vegetables *per capita*	Condiments and spices	Sugar-cane	Potatoes	Oil-seeds	Tobacco	Fodder crops per cattle
	Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.
Amdanga	0 4 7	7	3 4 10	0 0 1	0 15 6	0 21 13	0 0 13	Nil	0 0 5
Habra	0 8 0	10	3 25 6	0 0 12	0 5 12	0 25 5	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 8
Sarupnagar	0 28 8	6	1 25 15	0 3 10	0 30 6	0 0 13	0 2 7	0 11 0	0 5 10

because of the Ichamati river, which is still active. Gobardanga on the Jamuna—the largest town of the region—is one of the historical towns of Bengal. Its population has been, however, continually decreasing from 1872 to 1932, and since then showed some slight increase (see Fig. 25). About 4 miles east of Gobardanga an annual fair is held in Diara at the confluence of the Jamuna and Ichamati rivers. Sarupnagar on the Ichamati, Maslandpur on the northern terminus of the Baduria-Maslandpur road, Jirat on the Sunti at the crossing of a north-south road and a east-west road, Habra on the Padma, are some of the prosperous villages of the region. The concentration of population occurs along river banks.

Table XV shows the nature of land utilization and the degree of self-sufficiency in regard to the agricultural products of the region (see Figs. 8, 10, 11, 13 to 18). The percentage of land under the plough is the highest in the eastern and western marginal plains, and the lowest in the central plains, but nowhere it comes even up to 80. Unlike in the industrialized Hooghly Plain the difference in densities per square mile calculated on the basis of total and cultivated area is not very much pronounced here. The percentages of culturable but uncultivated area range between 9 and 12, the highest in the central part, and the lowest in the east. The percentage of unculturable area is also the highest in the central zone. About one-fifth of the cultivated land produces more than one crop in the flood plains of the Ichamati; this percentage is very low elsewhere. As to the crops grown in the region, the acreage under *aman* paddy, though the highest, is not as much as in the other regions. The smaller rainfall, sandy soil and deterioration of some of the perennial watercourses are some of the causes of decrease in the acreage of *aman* and consequent increase of that of *aus*. In the central part about one-third of the cultivated land is put under *aus*. This is also one of the important jute-growing areas of 24-Parganas. In the eastern part (Sarupnagar) considerable quantities of pulses are also grown. The *per capita* production figures indicate that this region is self-sufficient in rice, and has

TABLE XVI

Distribution of Live-stock, Ploughs, Carts and Boats in the Amdanga-Sarupnagar Northern Plains

Thanas	LIVE-STOCK: Cattle: Total number	LIVE-STOCK: Cattle: Density per sq. mile	LIVE-STOCK: Sheep and goats: Total number	LIVE-STOCK: Sheep and goats: Number per 1,000 persons	Ploughs per 1,000 acres	Total number: Carts	Total number: Boats
Amdanga	21,010	389	4,099	120	98	1,598	93
Habra	48,228	447	9,162	144	95	3,229	51
Sarupnagar	6,945	84	1,610	40	24	727	84

even exportable surplus, which is stored up in granaries (Plate IIIB). The entire crop of jute finds easy market in Calcutta, though there is some scope for establishing a jute mill on the Ichamati. The region is not self-sufficient in other agricultural products.

Table XVI shows the distribution of the live-stock, ploughs, carts and boats. The density of cattle is the lowest in the eastern part of the district, and not much above 400 in other parts. The numbers of sheep and goats per 1,000 persons and also per square mile are the lowest in the east. The central part has the highest number of carts, but the lowest number of boats (see Figs. 20 to 23).

3. *The Barasat-Basirhat Plains*

These agricultural plains are the most productive in the northern part of the district. The southeastern part between the Bidyadhari (Batagachi Gang) and Ichamati rivers is fairly well drained, except a small area enclosed by the Singa Nadi. This area is included in the Basirhat thana. The north-eastern part has the south-flowing Ichamati in the east and the north-flowing Padma in the west, and contains large compact villages, which are within the jurisdiction of the Baduria thana. The central part of this region comprising the thana of Deganga is not so well drained. The Deganga *bil* looks like a part of a tributary which lost its connection with the main river. There are quite a number of such lakes running straight for some distance. The Bidyadhari river (Nona Gang) which forms its western boundary is brackish during flood-tide and hence in the upper part it is known as Nona Gang. The western part is included in the Barasat thana. The northern half of Barasat is drained mainly by the Sunti and contains rich fields, but the southern half contains a number of marshes, which are drained by the Sunti and the Harua Gang. These *bils* and adjacent lands have been converted into fisheries by dividing them into several blocks, and then each being enclosed by mud embankments (see Plate IVA). Such fisheries are known as *bheries.* During flood-tide brackish water enters into these, and along with it enter fish of various kinds, but they cannot come out again, and are caught with fishing net or by some other device (see Plate IVB). During the time the author visited this part of 24-Parganas he could see clearly the evil effect of the embankments in preventing rainwater to reach cultivated fields, whereas brackish water could easily enter at high-tide, rendering the fields more and more unfertile. Agriculture is the main occupation of the population of the surrounding villages, though very few of them are owner-cultivators. They take to fishing or some other subsidiary occupation like *gur* (treacle)-making, when they are not engaged in cultivation. The date-palm is cultivated in sandy fertile areas in this and most of the other regions of the district, not for its fruits, but for its juice which is obtained by tapping the stem, just below the crown of the leaves (Plate VA). The trees are tapped in autumn, soon after the harvest of *aman* paddy. It is by boiling this date juice in pans that *gur* is obtained, which is more delicious to taste than that made from cane juice.

This industry is unorganized at present, though attempts are being made to start a plantation of date-palm on scientific lines with a view to manufacturing white sugar from date juice.

The southern half of the plains in the east has the highest density of population per square mile. Here the concentration of population occurs mainly on the right bank of the Ichamati, giving rise to Basirhat with a population of over 26,000, the largest town in the region. It is an important rice exporting centre of the district (see Plate VB), and daily growing in importance. Fig. 25 shows this point clearly. The population of this town grew rapidly since 1881. A sugar mill has recently been started in this town. Baduria on the Ichamati is the second largest town of this region. It is also an important trade centre, though its population did not increase appreciably since 1881. The town of Taki though included within the thana of Hasnabad occupies rather the southwestern extremity of the Barasat-Basirhat Plains. It stands on a concave bend of the Ichamati, which is being worn away rapidly by the force of water (see Plate VIA). Since 1921 the town is developing rapidly. Water-hyacinth has also invaded the tanks of this town (see Plate VIB).

In the central plains the population is more dispersed. Deganga is the only town of some importance. Near it occur ruins of an old capital of Bengal. The western plains are more thickly populated than those just mentioned, the density of population being about 1,000 per square mile. Here the population is concentrated either along the Sunti Nadi or along some roads or water-ways. Barasat is a nodal town, a number of roads and two railways converging toward it. Despite the favourable location the population of this town could not show much increase since 1881. Madhyamgram is another nodal village, lying south of Barasat. Dattapukur is noted for its milk products, *chana* and *khir*, which come to Calcutta market daily.

Table XVII shows the nature of land utilization and the degree of self-sufficiency in regard to the agricultural products of this region (see also Figs. 8, 10, 11, 13 to 18).

The density of population per square mile of cultivated area is also the highest in the Basirhat thana, and the lowest in Deganga. Over 70 per cent of the land is cultivated in all the four thanas of this region, the proportion of such arable land being higher in the eastern than in the western part. The northern portion of the eastern plains produces more than one crop in about one-third of its cultivated lands. In the southern portion of these plains only 15 per cent of the cultivated land is twice-cropped. In the west the percentage decreases to 8. The percentages of unproductive lands in the total area of each thana, culturable but uncultivated and unculturable, are low in this region. The western part has the higher percentage of the first type, the eastern part having the higher percentage of the second type. The highest acreage of cultivated land is under *aman* as usual, but as in the plains of Amdanga and Sarupnagar, Baduria and Deganga have considerable acreage, about one-quarter of the cultivated land under *aus*.

TABLE XVII

Land Utilization in the Barasat-Basirhat Plains

Thanas	Area in sq. miles	Population (1941)	Density of population per sq. mile 1931	Density of population per sq. mile 1941	Per cent of cultivated area	Density of population per sq. mile of cultivated area	Acreage per holding
Basirhat ..	100	125,164	1,055	1,239	77	1,380	1·77
Baduria ..	80	83,684	944	1,033	78	1,078	1·61
Deganga ..	78	64,700	1,131	829	76	967	1,47
Barasat ..	104	99,064	796	953	71	1,117	1·18

Thanas	Per cent of culturable but not cultivated area	Per cent of unculturable area	Per cent of twice-cropped area	Per cent of area under *aman*	*Aman per capita* (Md. sr. ch.)	Per cent of area under *aus*	*Aus per capita* (Md. sr. ch.)
Basirhat ..	8	15	17	65	6 0 8	6	0 15 3
Baduria	8	14	31	44	4 2 1	22	1 23 2
Deganga ..	10	14	8	46	4 30 5	25	0 24 4
Barasat	16	13	7	51	5 34 3	17	1 14 1

Thanas	Per cent of area under jute	Jute *per capita* (Md. sr. ch.)	Per cent of area under pulses and minor food grains	Production *per capita* pulses (Md. sr. ch.)	Minor food grains (Md. sr. ch.)	Per cent of area under fruits and vegetables	Fruits and vegetables *per capita* (Md. sr. ch.)
Basirhat ..	19	1 13 11	19	0 0 2	0 14 1	8	0 22 12
Baduria ..	23	1 3 7	33	0 1 15	0 32 3	9	1 39 14
Deganga ..	19	0 9 9	8	..	0 1 0	10	1 36 2
Barasat ..	16	1 15 5	8	0 0 4	0 9 2	15	0 2 0

Thanas	PRODUCTION *per capita* OF					Fodder crops per cattle
	Condiments and spices	Sugar-cane	Potatoes	Oil-seeds	Tobacco	
	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.
Basirhat ..	0 0 15	0 15 4	0 17 1	0 3 14	0 0 5	0 3 0
Baduria ..	0 2 5	0 31 0	0 13 12	0 1 6	0 0 1	0 3 4
Deganga ..	Nil	Nil	0 4 1	Nil	Nil	0 1 15
Barasat ..	0 0 1	0 0 4	0 17 15	0 0 3	Nil	0 0 12

In Baduria in another one-third of the cultivated area is produced pulses and minor food grains; considerable quantities of jute are also grown. Thus multiple cropping on large scale is practised only in this part of the region. Baduria, has, however, the lowest acreage under *aman*, though producing enough to satisfy local needs. Basirhat has the highest production of *aman* rice over 6 maunds, *per capita*, and hence it can export large quantities. Barasat has also large exportable surplus of rice. Basirhat and Baduria in the east and Barasat in the west produce more than one maund of jute *per capita*.

Table XVIII shows the distribution of the live-stock, ploughs, carts and boats in this region (see all Figs. 19 to 23). The density of cattle is lower in the east than in the west. Basirhat, however, had the highest number of sheep and goats. The same area also had the highest numbers of ploughs, carts and boats.

TABLE XVIII

Distribution of Live-stock, Ploughs, Carts and Boats in the Barasat-Basirhat Plains

Thanas.	LIVE-STOCK				Ploughs per 1,000 acres	Total number	
	Cattle		Sheep and goats				
	Total number	Density per sq. mile	Total number	Number per 1,000 persons		Carts	Boats
Basirhat	32,699	327	17,799	180	116	2,904	361
Baduria	21,832	270	5,631	78	72	2,241	174
Deganga	29,640	380	9,326	162	109	2,936	92
Barasat	38,023	366	8,171	88	82	2,586	80

4. *The Southern Plains*

The Southern Plains form the richest and densely populated agricultural region of 24-Parganas. It is completely encircled by an embankment, so that brackish water from the tidal Sundarbans river may not have any access to this region (see Fig. 1). The relief and drainage conditions of these plains have already been described. The villages are compact and contain neat thatched cottages surrounded by pressed mud wall. The palm trees, bamboo groves, tamarind and other shady trees mark the sites of villages (see Plate VIIA). Of the palm trees, date-palm and palmyra predominate and provide good income to the owners. They can grow anywhere, though more properly around a marshy area (see Plate VIIB).

The Baruipur-Jaynagar Plain, formed by the Hooghly in the past, concentrates more on fruits, vegetable and betel than on cereals. The metalled Baruipur-Bishnupur road, which runs from Calcutta to Bishnupur through Baruipur and Jaynagar-Majilpur, enables these perishable goods to be trans-

ported rapidly to Calcutta market by trucks. Baruipur, as its name indicates, is one of the few places of the district where betel orchards can be seen (see Plate VIIIA). The betel plants are very delicate and grow only inside a thatched house. Baruipur is noted for its excellent juicy litchi fruit. The litchi trees grow well in a loamy well-drained soil (see Plate VIIIB). Here lower portions of the old bed of the Ganges are ploughed and put under rice cultivation (see Plate IXA). For cultivating crops other than *aman* it is necessary to raise the ground to about 4 feet above the general level of the river bed, to ensure safety from inundation during the rains (see Plate IXB). The old bed of the Ganges is clearly recognizable as one proceeds from Jaynagar to Bishnupur. One of the banks has provided site for the road, and over the other runs a railway (see Plate XA). The greater part of the bed has not been reclaimed. It gets flooded during the rains, and hence a large area containing rich soil remains uncultivated. The excellent soils in the flood plains of the extinct river have given rise to a number of brick fields (see Plate XB). A number of tanks have been excavated in deeper parts of the old bed, which still retain all the sanctity of the Ganges (see Plate XIA). West of the Baruipur-Jaynagar Plain the country is drained by a number of canals, making it possible to utilize all the available land. Even where it is not drained properly, especially in the low-lying portions of the country, a number of ponds are excavated at different levels, and used as fisheries. Koi (*Anabas scandes*), Magur and Singhi fish that love stagnant, dirty waters are cultured in these fisheries. The water is lifted up by long water buckets from the lower to the next higher pond and when it becomes dry such fish are caught by hand (see Plate XIB). The Kulpi canal serves the southern part, passing through rich rice fields. The date-palms invariably grow along the banks of this canal (see Plate XIIA). The scenery at the confluence of this canal with the Ganges is superb (see Plate XIIB).

All the plains in this region are thickly populated and have a density of over 1,000 persons per square mile. The Kulpi Plain, which occupies the southernmost part of the region, is rather thinly populated, especially in its southern section. In the central part the population pattern is of dispersal type. Elsewhere it is arranged in a linear fashion, especially along the old bed of the Hooghly, where double-line of settlements can be seen. The whole of this region is well served by roads, railways and water-ways, and this accounts for its agricultural prosperity. Jaynagar-Majilpur is the largest town in this region. Its population increased rather slowly from 1872 to 1921 and since then has a more rapid upward trend (see Fig. 25). There are a number of beautiful temples in this town (see Plate XIIIA). Baruipur is the second largest town in the district. This town had a stunted growth in the past (see Fig. 25). Magrahat is an important rice exporting centre. The railway station is connected with a canal, to facilitate transport of rice (see Plate XIIIB).

Table XIX shows the distribution of the live-stock, ploughs, carts and boats in this region. The percentages of area under cultivation in the total

TABLE XIX

Land Utilization in the Southern Plains

Thanas	Area in sq. miles	Population (1941)	Density of population per sq. mile		Per cent of cultivated area	Density of population per sq. mile of cultivated area	Acreage per holding	Per cent of culturable but not cultivated area	Per cent of unculturable area
			1931	1941					
Sonarpur	53	81,524	962	1,235	61	1,565	1·06	22	17
Protapnagar	24	22,172	887	..	76	1,176	1·73	13	11
	(1931)	(1931)							
Bishnupur	82	131,086	1,286	1,579	81	1,583	1·26	5	14
Baruipur	82	100,865	1,046	1,215	75	1,393	1·39	8	17
Magrahat	111	182,803	1,279	1,562	82	1,546	·98	5	13
Falta	50	81,819	1,269	1,573	74	1,617	1·20	13	13
Diamond Harbour	67	115,230	1,220	1,516	82	1,671	1·25	5	13
Kulpi	107	131,538	886	1,069	83	1,254	1·46	7	10

Thanas	Per cent of twice-cropped area	Per cent of area under *aman*	Production of *aman* *per capita*	Per cent of area under *aus*	*Aus* *per capita*	Per cent of area under jute	Jute *per capita*	Per cent of area under pulses and minor food grains	*Per capita* production of pulses
			Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.		
Sonarpur	6	72	5 37 2	2	0 4 8	Nil	Nil	9	Negligible.
Protapnagar	Nil	95	1 15 3	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	2	
Bishnupur	17	90	7 11 7	1	0 1 15	5	0 12 0	14	
Baruipur	5	81	7 16 1	1	0 3 11	4	1 3 7	7	
Magrahat	11	93	7 23 3	Nil	Nil	2	0 5 6	10	
Falta	14	93	6 29 10	Nil	Nil	1	0 3 2	16	
Diamond Harbour	23	96	7 16 14	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	23	
Kulpi	13	98	10 2 11	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	13	

TABLE XIX—*continued*

Thanas	Minor food grains	Per cent of area under fruit and vegetables	Fruit, vegetables *per capita*	Oil-seeds	PRODUCTION *per capita* OF: Condi-ments	Sugar-cane	Tobacco	Potato	Fodder crops per cattle
	Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.
Sonarpur ..	0 7 11	22	4 4 4	0 0 1	0 0 7	0 1 8	Nil	0 1 2	0 1 1
Protapnagar ..	0 1 3	3	0 24 1	0 0 2	0 0 1	0 4 1	0 0 2	0 1 15	0 0 9
Bishnupur ..	0 12 4	7	0 29 15	0 0 11	0 0 8	0 0 3	Nil	0 2 6	0 0 8
Baruipur ..	0 6 1	12	2 26 11	0 0 1	0 1 3	0 1 3	Nil	0 6 6	0 0 12
Magrahat ..	0 9 2	6	0 27 8	0 0 4	0 0 8	0 0 8	Nil	0 7 2	0 1 2
Falta ..	0 12 9	4	0 24 3	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 9	Nil	0 1 0	0 0 13
Diamond Harbour ..	0 20 4	3	0 15 0	0 0 1	0 0 13	0 1 9	Nil	0 0 14	0 0 6
Kulpi ..	0 15 14	1	0 6 0	0 0 1	0 0 5	0 0 4	Nil	0 11 4	0 0 2

area of each thana vary between 61 and 83. In the central part extending from Bishnupur to Kulpi and comprising the four thanas, Bishnupur, Magrahat, Diamond Harbour and Kulpi, the percentages of such land are over 80. In most of these plains none of the holdings exceeds 2 acres. The north-eastern part (Sonarpur) has the highest percentage of arable land, which is not yet cultivated. Bishnupur, Magrahat and Diamond Harbour have the lowest percentage of such unutilized land. The percentage of unculturable land is below 20 everywhere.

The acreage under *aman* is very high in all the plains, over 90 per cent in most of the thanas. Sonarpur and Baruipur grow more fruits and vegetables hence the percentages under *aman* do not rise much above 80. The other crops are grown mainly for home consumption. The *per capita* production figures indicate that the region as a whole has a considerable exportable surplus of *aman* rice. The distribution of ploughs, cattle, sheep and goats, carts and boats show some interesting features (see Table XX).

TABLE XX

Distribution of Live-stock, Ploughs, Carts and Boats in the Southern Plains

Thanas	Live-stock: Cattle: Total number	Cattle: Density per sq. mile	Sheep and goats: Total number	Sheep and goats: Number per 1,000 persons	Ploughs per 1,000 acres	Total number: Carts	Total number: Boats
Sonarpur ..	15,739	297	4,284	80	72	268	156
Protapnagar ..	9,201	368	1,682	96	129	119	133
Bishnupur ..	28,319	345	6,369	60	94	390	1,145
Baruipur ..	30,199	364	5,258	60	114	831	136
Magrahat ..	53,551	458	8,749	90	115	344	504
Falta ..	22,307	442	4,407	64	115	264	20
Diamond Harbour ..	33,078	494	6,277	66	138	188	218
Kulpi ..	43,774	405	10,053	90	114	114	229

The density of ploughs increases from north to south, that of cart decreases from north to south. The density of boats is the minimum in the central part. The distribution of the live-stock is more or less uniform throughout the region (see Figs. 19 to 23).

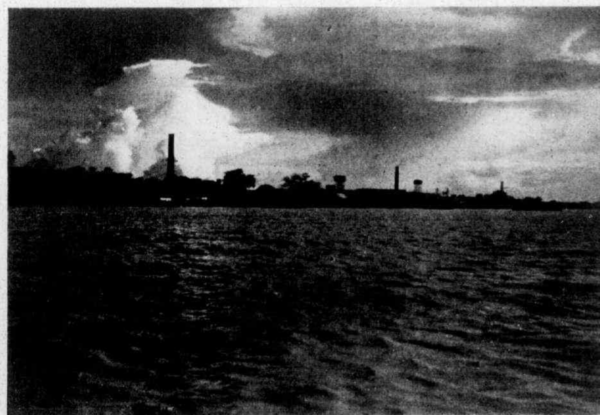
5. *Northern Plains of the Sundarbans*

The essential features of these plains have already been emphasized. South of Taki at Hasnabad or little further south we get the first glimpse of the Sundarbans, which was put under the plough not very long ago. No longer we see the familiar sight of compact villages under the cover of shady trees, but scattered hamlets in wide open country. A tidal creek here and a low mud embankment there may occasionally break the monotony of these plains (see Plate XIVA). The country has been deforested so ruthlessly

that all the typical trees have almost gone. The farm lands are more extensive, and known as *abads*. Each *abad* bears its own lot number. The scattered hamlets are slowly evolving into villages. The smaller villages have not yet been given any name. They are also known by their lot numbers. The Gobra *khal* issues out from the Jamuna near Hasnabad and flows parallel to it for several miles before joining the Bidyadhari south of Sandeskhali. The low-lying eastern portion of the Hasnabad Plains drains into this *khal*. It also serves as an important water-way, and provides sites for human settlements, which are slowly growing. In the Harua Plain a number of rivers locally known as *gangs* join each other, giving rise to a typical braided type of river system. They eventually form one channel and enter into the Payna *abad* (lot 62). This *abad*, as its name indicates, used to be cultivated in the past, but ever since the embankments gave way they were not reconstructed with the result that the land got inundated and could not be cultivated any longer. In this way vast areas once reclaimed have reverted back to their original condition, thereby lowering the acreage under the plough. As for this particular *abad* and a few other *abads* like the Goabaria *abad* (lot 70) they were transformed into profitable fisheries and utilized as such. But there are numerous examples of rich cultivated fields losing their fertility and gradually becoming unproductive because of the neglect on the part of the landlord to maintain the embankments in proper order. The embankments get breached often, allowing brackish water to enter into the cultivated fields. The author could see the devastating effect of this at Amjhara a small village, opposite Port Canning. Here the villagers grow a poor crop of paddy, and no vegetables of any kind. The cattle are underfed, and graze on the stubbles of paddy after harvest (see Plate XIVB). The present embankment should be repaired, and another embankment is to be constructed to strengthen it. Moreover, at certain intervals the embankment should have brick-built sluice gates to drain out the interior fields. There was only one such sluice gate at the time the area was visited (see Plate XVA). The Bhangar Plain is intersected by a number of navigable canals, and contains compact villages unlike the central and eastern parts of the regions. There was a proposal to build a Grand Trunk Canal through the Bhangar Plain connecting Calcutta with the Harua Gang but the scheme did not materialize. Of the north-south flowing canals the Bidyadhari *khal* is the most important. It connects the Harua Gang with the Bhangar *kata khal*. About a mile west of this *khal* occurs a group of *bils*, which runs from northeast to southwest, and was once continuous from the Calcutta marshes (salt-water lake) to the Bhubanpur marshes. Of this group the Kalinga and the Kada contain water throughout the year in their deeper parts. These represent an old river bed, which needs resuscitation. Enormous quantities of *goalpatta* and *hogla* grow in these marshes, which are extensively used for thatching purposes in various parts of the district (see Plate XVB). Further west occurs the low-lying Dhapa *bil*, from where enormous quantities of cabbages and cauliflowers come to Calcutta market in winter.



A. View of a principal street of Calcutta in front of the University under water after a heavy shower. (On such occasions motor-cars and tram-cars cannot run and the whole traffic comes to a standstill. Only double decker buses and rickshaws can wade through the flooded street.)



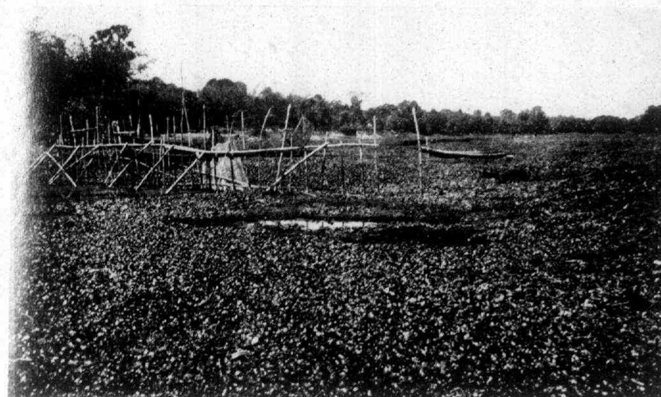
B. Factories dominate the banks of the Hooghly. (This photograph shows a part of the bank of the Hooghly between Kankinara and Bhatpara. The chimneys of the Kankinara Jute Mill and the Titagarh Paper Mill can be seen.)



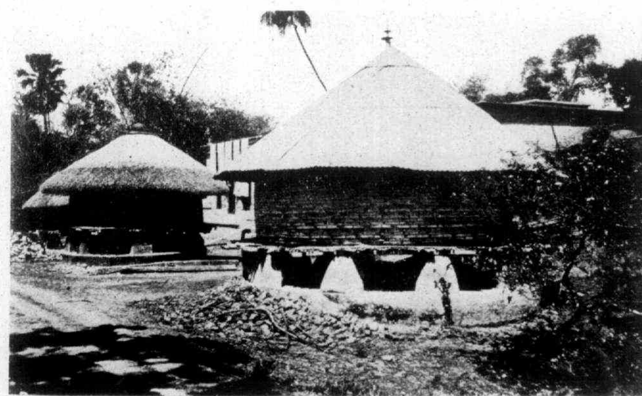
A. View of a barrack of factory workers near Kankinara. (Note the dull appearance of the building, and its surroundings; the open space in front of the building is covered with low bushes, and gets muddy in the rain.)



B. View of a canal near the Belgachia bridge, Calcutta. (Note that the canal contains a number of barges which bring jute and paddy to Calcutta from the east.)



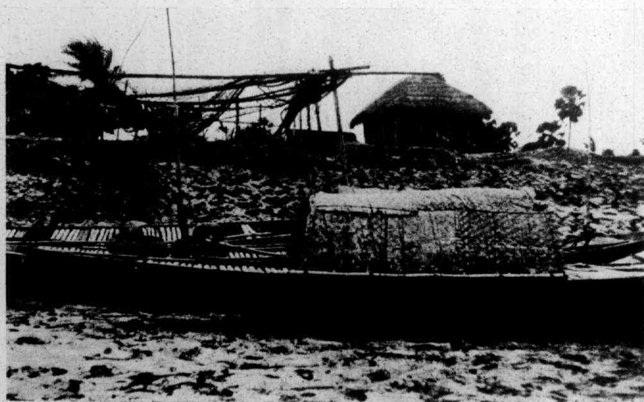
A. View of a dying river. (It is the Jamuna, which was once an active river. Note that the river has shrunk considerably and now contains some stagnant water only in the middle. The bed has been partitioned by bamboo poles, establishing fishing rights of individuals. A canoe and the last bamboo pole in the right mark the edge of water on one side. The surface of water is not visible except at one place because of the covering of water hyacinth.)



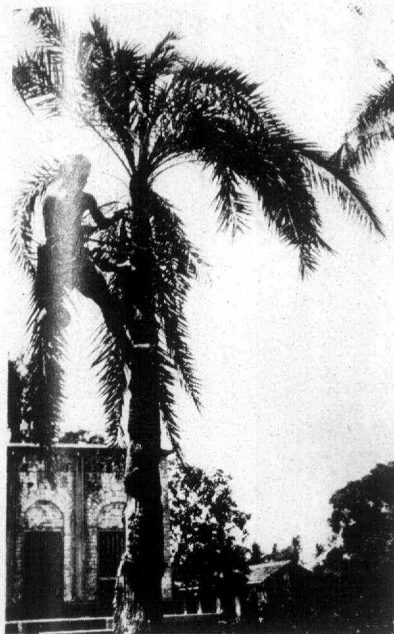
B. Typical granary in the countryside. (Note the two types. One is thatched with rice straw, the other with corrugated tin sheet. Both are raised above the ground level. Paddy is stored in them.)



A. View of a marshland in the east of Calcutta. (Note a mud embankment in the foreground, which divides up the marsh into two blocks. Each block is used as a fishery. The Bhubanpur marsh is on the extreme right. The village of Bada in the background.)



B. View of a bank of the Harua Gang near the village of Bakdoba. (Note that the river is in ebb-tide, hence the canoe got stuck in the mud. Note also the typical fisherman's boat, and his simple implements lying in the boat and his fishing net drying on the bank.)



A. Tapping a date-palm near Barasat. (Note how the tapper taps the stem of the tree just below the crown of the leaves. Do you see a belt with which he has tied himself round the tree? This belt also helps him to climb the tree.)



B. Basirhat, an important rice exporting centre of 24-Parganas. (Note the bags of rice on the platform of the railway station ready for despatch.)



A. View of a concave bend of the Ichamati being eroded away fast by the lateral erosion of the river. (This photograph was taken near Taki. An attempt has been made to stop this erosion, but with very little success.)



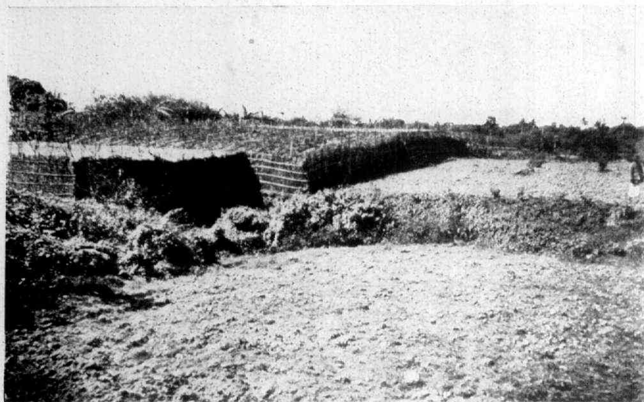
B. Water hyacinth invading a tank at Taki. (Note the beautiful flowers.)



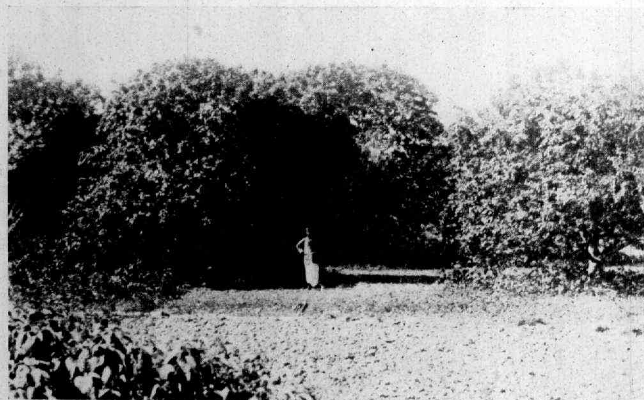
A. View of a charming typical farmhouse in the Southern Plains, north of Magrahat. (Note the characteristic vegetation; palm trees on the left and bamboo grove on the right. There are sprouts of coconut palm in the foreground.)



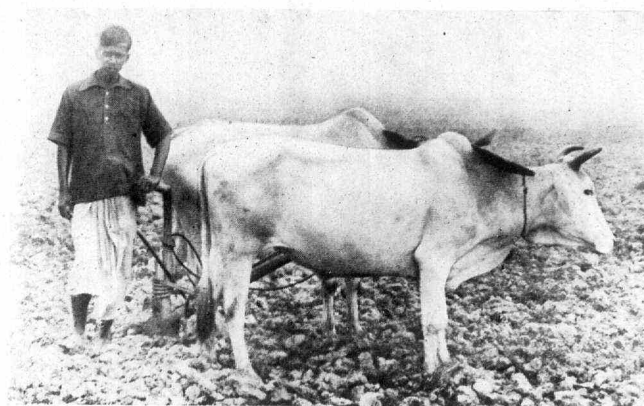
B. View of a plantation of palm trees around a marshy area. (The village of Dhamua is in the background.)



A. View of a typical orchard of betel near Baruipur. (It is necessary to erect these houses to keep the plants under shade. Note the sticks projecting out from the roof, with the help of which the creeper climbs up inside the house. Note a raised ground on the right, which has been heavily manured and kept ready for a new plantation.)



B. View of a Litchi Orchard near Baruipur. (Note that these trees do not grow very tall, but spread out horizontally.)



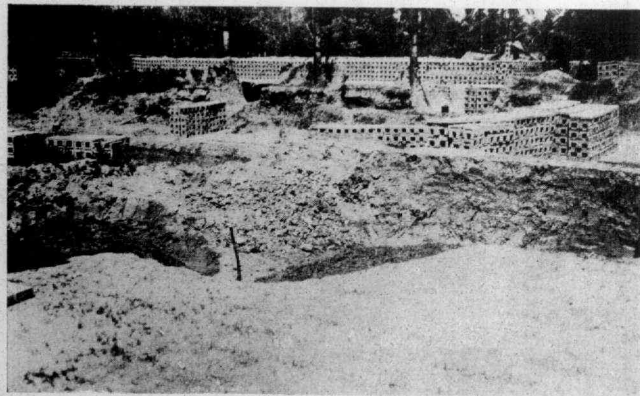
A. Ploughing an old bed of the Ganges at Gobindapur near Baruipur. (Note that the plough is of wood. The bullocks do not look very strong, nor the cultivator.)



B. View of an old bed of the Ganges near Baruipur. (Note that here the ground has been raised and manured to grow vegetables.)



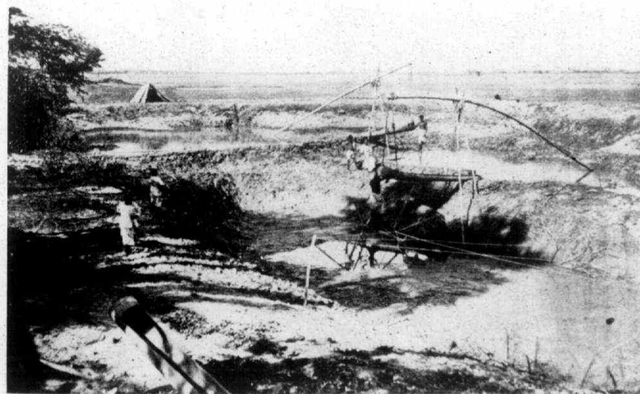
A. View of the same old bed of the Ganges further south. (Note that the dry bed is lying waste. A road runs on the left and a railway in the background on the extreme right. These two occupying the two banks of the river, now extinct.)



B. View of a brick-field on the way to Bishnupur from Jaynagar. (A number of such brick-fields have sprung up, which utilize good soils from the ancient flood plains.)



A. View of a tank excavated in the bed of the silted-up Ganges near Bishnupur. (Note the characteristic vegetation. This tank is owned by one Ghosh and hence is known as Ghosh's Ganges. It retains all the sanctity attached to the Ganges.)



B. A fishing device to catch fish that live in stagnant water. (Note the device to lift up water from the lower tank, which has become almost dry and ready for a catch.)



A. View of the Kulpi canal east of the main sluice gate. (Note that palm trees line the banks and fisherwomen are catching fish near the gate with the help of *polui*.)



B. View of the confluence of the Kulpi canal and the Hooghly. (The Hooghly is in the background. Note that the trees are found standing in water because of high-tide.)



A. View of a row of fine temples lining a tank at Jaynagar. (Note the typical architecture of these temples. These are not very old. The oldest one is on the extreme left.)



B. Magrahat—an importent rice exporting centre of Bengal. (Note the canal coming so near the railway station and affording cheap means of transport of paddy and rice.)



A. A typical landscape in the Northern Plains of the Sundarbans. (Note the meandering river, which is really a canal originally used for drainage. It has been almost silted up. The countryside is almost bare of tree vegetation.)



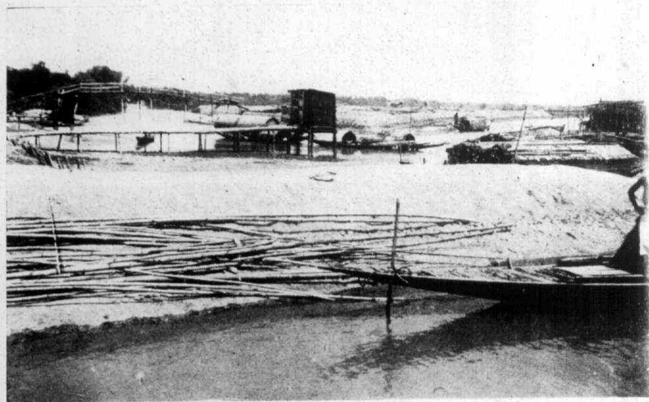
B. Cattle grazing on the stubbles of paddy plant after the harvest at Amjhara. (There is a dearth of good pasture land not only in this village, but practically everywhere in the district. Due to the alkalinity of the soil the stubbles get tarnished, becoming unfit for the consumption of cattle.)



A. View of a sluice gate on the embankments surrounding Amjhara and neighbouring villages. (For draining the fields efficiently a number of such gates should be constructed.)



B. Thatching with *goal patta* obtained from marshlands of the Sundarbans. (Note that the leaves have been split up into two halves before using them. This photograph was taken in the extreme north of the district at Khatura, which shows the wide use of this product of the Sundarbans.)



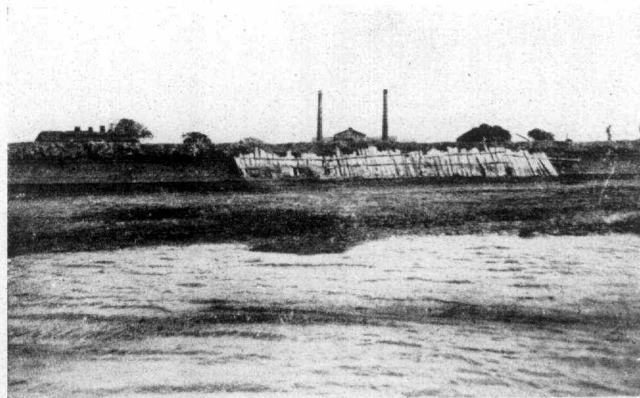
A. View of the Ichamati at Hasnabad. (Note that the river meanders and is joined by a creek. There are two bridges at different levels, over the creek, the higher one being used in the rainy season when the water level rises. Note also the barges and the canoes laden with agricultural products.)



B. View of the fish market at Hasnabad. (Note the packing boxes on the right and railway wagons under the central shed. From this market enormous quantities of fish are exported daily to Calcutta.)



A. View of a port that could not develop for poor immediate hinterland. (There are no traces of the docks and jetties that were built along the Matla at Port Canning. Barges and steam launches are to be seen today. Note that the river is in ebb-tide, and barges carrying fuel wood from the Sundarban forests.)



B. View up the Matla from Port Canning. (Note in the background the two chimneys of rice mills, only mills in this part of the district; a poor protective work along part of the embankment which got breached; in the centre of the picture there is a *bheri* or fishery which is separated by a low mud embankment from the edge of the river at low-tide.)

PLATE XVIII



A. View of a portion of unmetalled Kulpi road. (This is the only road leading to that part of the Sundarbans, and needs metalling. Note that the car got stuck in the fresh mud which was being used for raising the level of the road just before the rains set in.)



B. View of a bridge resting on bamboo poles in the reclaimed Sundarbans. (Note the bamboos in the foreground, with which the bridge was constructed. This bridge is already on the breaking point and even a moderate traffic cannot pass over it.)

PLATE XIX



A. View of a drainage channel in the reclaimed Sundarbans. (This is the typical view of a drainage channel and the countryside in the undeveloped part of the Sundarbans that has been deforested but not brought under the plough as yet. Note that the channel is too narrow to be of much use.)



B. View of a typical mud embankment at Kakdwip. (Such embankments are found around cultivated fields. Note the low height and narrow width of the embankment. These are built of dried mud. Note also the efflorescence of salt on the soil away from the embankment.)



A. View of a temple dominating the landscape for miles near Kulpi. (Note its architecture and compare with that of typical temples of Jaynagar. It is no longer used as temple and locally known as Kulpi pagoda or Manibibi tomb. Note the characteristic grass vegetation which should be used as pastures.)



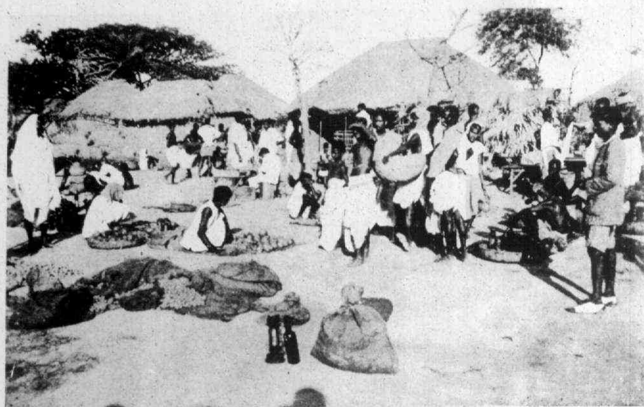
B. View of mangrove vegetation at Kakdwip locally known as *geon*. (Note that this type of vegetation has roots above ground level and it approaches so near the river that its roots get submerged at high-tide.)



A. View of a typical farmhouse in the reclaimed Sundarbans. (Note that this house is neat in appearance and has walls of mud bricks arranged in a beautiful pattern. It is thatched with grass, obtained locally. The absence of dense vegetation near the house characterizes it from the type of farmhouses occurring in the densely populated plains of the district. The farmer grows plantation trees in his garden attached to his house.)



B. Threshing of pulses by cattle at the farmhouse. (Note a stack of paddy straw in the background which is used for feeding cattle. The bullocks are treading on the grains.)



A. View of a typical market place in the reclaimed Sundarbans. (Note that the agricultural products, especially potatoes and other vegetables, are the chief commodities sold here.)



B. View of a temple at Kakdwip. (This is one of the oldest temples of Bengal and is dedicated to the Goddess Bishalakhi. The frontal part is of recent date. Note a stack of paddy straw in the foreground.)

TABLE XXI

Land Utilization in the Northern Plains of the Sundarbans

Thanas	Area in sq. miles	Population (1941)	Density of population per sq. mile		Per cent of cultivated area	Density of population per sq. mile of cultivated area	Acreage per holding	Per cent of culturable but not cultivated area	Per cent of unculturable area
			1931	1941					
Hasnabad	115	116,238	586	749	74	789	4·27	6	20
Harua	121	90,745	627	750	66	945	4·49	13	21
Bhangar	127	114,183	731	899	60	1,216	2·02	13	27
Rajarhat	39	46,583	867	1,194	65	1,332	1·39	15	20

Thanas	Per cent of twice-cropped area	Per cent of area under *aman*	*Aman* per capita	Per cent of area under *aus*	*Aus* per capita	Per cent of area under jute	Jute per capita	Per cent of area under pulses and minor food grains	Production per capita of pulses	Minor food grains
			Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.		Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.
Hasnabad	3	91	14 31 2	2	0 10 4	3	0 12 3	5	0 0 1	0 2 13
Harua	2	85	11 22 6	6	0 24 1	2	0 5 8	6	Negligible	0 3 14
Bhangar	6	72	7 24 6	9	0 26 5	11	0 36 3	6	Negligible	0 4 15
Rajarhat	2	82	7 35 1	1	0 4 7	6	0 15 14	3	Negligible	0 1 11

Thanas	Per cent of area under fruits and vegetables	Fruits and vegetables per capita	PRODUCTION per capita OF					
			Condiments and spices	Sugar-cane	Potatoes	Oil-seeds	Tobacco	Fodder crops per cattle
		Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.
Hasnabad	2	0 8 5	0 0 3	0 6 5	0 2 13	0 5 10	0 1 4	0 0 2
Harua	3	0 20 3	0 0 2	0 0 9	0 1 1	0 1 11	0 1 10	0 6 6
Bhangar	8	1 19 7	0 0 13	0 2 0	0 14 14	0 0 10	0 0 5	0 2 8
Rajarhat	10	3 6 1	Nil	0 0 5	0 6 11	Nil	Nil	0 1 14

Table XXII shows the distribution of the live-stock, ploughs, carts and boats in this region (see also the relevant figures).

The density of population gradually increases from east to west. The two eastern plains have 750 persons per square mile, whereas the Bhangar Plain has some 900 and the Rajarhat Plain 1,200, because of their proximity to Calcutta. The linear pattern of population becomes more and more pronounced as one proceeds westward from the eastern Bidyadhari (Batagachi Gang). Hasnabad is an important fish-exporting centre of Bengal. Boats laden with fish and forest products of the Sundarbans come to this important market town (see Plate XVIA). From the railway station a side line extends right up to the fish market on the Ichamati, so that there may not be any delay in despatching fish to Calcutta (see Plate XVIB). Bhangar is also an important trade centre dealing mainly with vegetables and poultry. Matla or Port Canning stands on the Matla. The attempt to develop Matla into a port failed because of the sparse population of this region. The forest products of Sundarbans, such as Goran, Dhondal and Gewa poles, fuel wood and wax come to Canning first, and then transported to different parts of the district (see Plate XVIIA), are sold in Canning market. On the Port Canning side runs an embankment along the river, which is paved with bricks in the town, but further north it is built of pressed mud. Such an embankment, when breached, is protected with bamboo thatching (see Plate XVIIB). A portion of the river bed, which becomes dry at the low-tide, is enclosed by mud embankments and converted into *bheries* or fisheries.

The percentages of the cultivated lands vary between 65 and 74. It increases from west to east. The difference between the densities of population calculated on the basis of total and cultivated areas is greater in the two western plains than in the two eastern. The proportion of cultivable but not cultivated area is the least in the Hasnabad Plain, only 6 per cent of the total area. It is about the same in the remaining portion of the region. The percentage of the unculturable area is the maximum in the Bhangar Plain. Of the crops grown in the region, *aman* is the most important. The percentage acreage under *aman* is well over 90 in the Hasnabad Plain, and ranges between 82 and 85 in the Rajarhat and Harua Plains. It is the minimum in the Bhangar Plain. The *per capita* production of *aman* is very high. It is over 14 maunds in Hasnabad, 11 maunds in Harua and little over 7 maunds in the two remaining areas. The Northern Plains of the Sundarbans, therefore, play large part in feeding the population of Calcutta. The Bhangar and Rajarhat Plains have also exportable surplus of fruits and vegetables. The other crops are not grown on large scale in this region.

The density of ploughs ranges between 97 and 131, the number being less in the west than in the east. The two western thanas have also smaller numbers of cattle, sheep and goats and carts. As to the density of boats, it is the highest in the Hasnabad Plain, and the lowest in the Rajarhat Plain (see Table XXII and Figs. 19 to 23).

TABLE XXII

Distribution of Live-stocks, Ploughs, Carts and Boats in the Northern Plains of the Sundarbans

Thanas	Live-stock: Cattle: Total number	Live-stock: Cattle: Density per sq. mile	Live-stock: Sheep and goats: Total number	Live-stock: Sheep and goats: Number per 1,000 persons	Ploughs per 1,000 acres	Total Number: Carts	Total Number: Boats
Hasnabad ..	61,800	399	15,782	176	131	1,579	817
Harua ..	41,818	346	11,201	144	100	1,775	419
Bhangar ..	35,843	282	10,888	110	97	1,525	799
Rajarhat ..	11,993	307	2,929	90	98	520	26

6. *The Reclaimed Sundarbans*

The Sundarbans is named after its characteristic tree, Sundri (*Heritiera minor*). The belt of the reclaimed Sundarbans runs from northeast to southwest. It is much wider in the west since in this part reclamation proceeded right up to the sea face. It is more easily accessible than the eastern part. One can go to Lakshmikantapur by train, and then proceed to Kakdwip by car. The road up to Kulpi is all right, but beyond that is in a terrible state (Plate XVIIIA). It is absolutely necessary to improve the Kakdwip-Kulpi portion of the Kulpi road, and until then no further development of this portion of region is possible. Just before reaching Kakdwip the road passes over a bridge, which during the time of the visit of the author's party was almost on the breaking point (Plate XVIIIB). The roads are almost non-existent in other portions of the reclaimed belt, excepting in the Basanti *abad* where it runs between Port Canning and Basanti. There exists a regular ferry service between Kakdwip and the Sagar island. A good metalled road runs the whole length of this island. The absence of road is somewhat compensated by a network of tidal water-ways which run in all directions, though such means of transport is very slow. The most important of these water-ways, which is used by steamers proceeding to Assam from Calcutta, runs unfortunately through the forested Sundarbans lying further south (Fig. 1).

There are four main problems which stand in the way of proper utilization of land in this region. The problem of providing easy and rapid means of transport is one. The drainage problem is another. Because of the low relief, the tendency of the land here is to get water-logged. It is true that a number of drainage channels have been excavated, but most of them are too narrow to be of much use (Plate XIXA). Such drainage channels are to be widened and provided with sluice gates for regulating water. The problem of embanking cultivated fields so as to prevent the salt-water to get into them is the third. Most of the embankments have been constructed without any plan, and do not serve the purpose now. They are too low to be of much use and

made of such flimsy materials that the salt-water can easily percolate through them (Plate XIXB). The scarcity of drinkable water constitutes the fourth problem. Here all the rivers carry salt-water unfit for drinking and the inhabitants have to depend on rainwater preserved with considerable difficulty. The problem becomes very acute in summer, when all the ponds containing fresh water dry up.

The vegetation in the northern part of the region now mainly consists of low grasses and shrubs, the tree vegetation almost disappearing. In the midst of such a grass-land rises a conspicuous structure near Kulpi, which is now deserted. It looks like a temple, but is known locally as Kulpi pagoda or Manibibi tomb (Plate XXA). Nearer the tidal rivers grows mangrove vegetation with their roots above the ground (Plate XXB).

A greater part of the Sundarban *abads* is cultivated by seasonal workers, who come mainly from the Midnapore district of Bengal, and return home after sowing and transplanting rice. Hence, during the growing season large areas of rice field are left without a trace of human habitation. But in the south-western part the cultivators have settled near their farm land. They have built nice hamlets, built of dried mud bricks arranged in a characteristic pattern, and thatched the roof with thatching grasses obtained locally. The thorny leaves of date-palm serve as a fence, and are stuck in mud walls which surround the hamlet. There are very few trees surrounding the hamlets as in the Southern Plains (Plate XXIA). They use their cattle for threshing pulses and other grains (Plate XXIB).

The population is very much scattered all over the region, thus necessitating the holding of small *hats* at convenient places. The agricultural products of the region and the daily necessities of life of the farmers are sold in these markets (Plate XXIIA). Centres of dense population are non-existent in this region. Kakdwip is an important village, doing brisk trade in agricultural products of the Sundarbans. One of the oldest temples of Bengal is found in this village, which speaks of its former glory (Plate XXIIB).

Table XXIII shows the nature of land utilization, and a very high degree of self-sufficiency in *aman* (see also the sketch-maps).

The density of population varies between 201 and 623. The apparent higher densities in Sandeshkhali, Canning, Jaynagar and Mathurapur are due to the fact that parts of the Southern Plains and the Northern Plains of the Sundarbans have been included within those areas. The percentage of area under cultivation is the highest in Kakdwip, 73, and ranges between 53 and 69 in other parts. The density of population per square mile of cultivated area is almost twice that of total area in all the thanas. The percentage of culturable but not cultivated area is the highest in Mathurapur, 24, and little over 10 in the remaining plains. About one-third of the area is unculturable in the eastern part. In the remaining portion it comes to about one-fifth of the total area. Nothing but *aman* is cultivated in this region, hence the exportable surplus is the highest in the whole of the district. The *per capita* production of *aman* rice is 20 maunds or over in the four of the six

TABLE XXIII

Land Utilization in the Reclaimed Sundarbans

Thanas	Area in sq. mile	Population (1941)	Density of population per sq. mile 1931	Density of population per sq. mile 1941	Per cent of cultivated area	Density of population per sq. mile of cultivated area	Acreage per holding	Per cent of culturable but not cultivated area	Per cent of unculturable area	Per cent of twice-cropped area
Sandeshkhali ..	275	120,704	320	437	53	600	5·97	14	33	Nil
Canning ..	290	150,612	371	438	66	643	4·04	12	22	Nil
Jaynagar ..	224	174,457	522	623	69	937	2·44	12	19	1
Mathurapur ..	332	175,167	327	414	56	717	2·96	24	20	6
Kakdwip ..	165	86,811	271	350	73	553	3·55	12	15	1
Sagar ..	103	44,941	154	201	53	578	4·28	26	21	Nil

Thanas	Per cent of area under *aman*	*Aman per capita* (Md. sr. ch.)	Per cent of area under *aus*	*Aus per capita* (Md. sr. ch.)	Per cent of area under jute	Jute *per capita* (Md. sr. ch.)	Per cent of area under pulses and minor food grains	Production *per capita*: Pulses	Production *per capita*: Other food grains (Md. sr. ch.)
Sandeshkhali ..	99	21 1 11	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1		Nil
Canning ..	99	19 27 12	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil		Nil
Jaynagar ..	95	13 3 11	Nil	Nil	Nil	0 3 3	2	Nil	0 2 14
Mathurapur ..	98	17 23 15	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1		0 1 7
Kakdwip ..	98	23 3 3	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1		0 2 14
Sagar ..	99	21 34 1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil		Nil

TABLE XXIII—*continued*

Thanas	Per cent of area under fruits and vegetables	Fruits and vegetables *per capita*	PRODUCTION *per capita* OF Condiments and spices	Sugar-cane	Potatoes	Oil-seeds	Tobacco	Fodder crops per cattle
		Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.	Md. sr. ch.
Sandeshkhali	Nil	0 1 0	0 0 1	0 1 3	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 1 6	Nil
Canning	1	0 3 9	0 0 2	Nil	0 0 14	0 0 2	0 0 5	Nil
Jaynagar	3	0 34 0	0 0 2	0 0 8	0 1 6	0 0 4	Nil	0 0 3
Mathurapur	1	0 10 12	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 13	0 0 6	0 0 14	0 0 4
Kakdwip	1	0 8 5	0 0 8	0 0 5	0 1 1	0 0 13	Nil	Nil
Sagar	1	0 0 8	0 0 7	Nil	0 1 5	0 0 11	Nil	Nil

thanas. Since the agricultural workers bring their own ploughs from their home districts the number of ploughs per 1,000 acres is below 100 in all but one thanas. The density of live-stock is pretty low, considering the abundance of pastures. The density of carts is pretty low throughout the region, being the lowest in the western part. In such a region the density of boats should have been much higher than what it is (see Table XXIV and Figs. 19 to 23).

TABLE XXIV

Distribution of Live-stock, Ploughs, Carts and Boats in the Reclaimed Sundarbans

Thanas	LIVE-STOCK: Cattle: Total number	Cattle: Density per sq. mile	Sheep and goats: Total number	Sheep and goats: Number per 1,000 persons	Ploughs per 1,000 acres	Total number: Carts	Total number: Boats
Sandeshkhali ..	66,039	239	13,955	140	66	1,292	502
Canning ..	79,178	272	14,735	135	77	1,657	458
Jaynagar ..	64,103	285	13,085	130	99	689	1,123
Mathurapur ..	85,198	257	12,107	120	86	369	464
Kakdwip ..	52,422	318	8,626	135	107	34	249
Sagar ..	22,940	223	3,311	99	79	8	141

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the Upper Hooghly Plain is deficient in food supplies, and hence local labour is to be employed in the mills and factories as far as possible. Truck farming on a large scale is also to be encouraged.

The Plains of Amdanga-Sarupnagar and the Barasat-Basirhat Plains produce enough rice to satisfy local needs. These constitute the jute and *aus*-producing regions of the district. Irrigation and drainage are the main problems. Resuscitation of the Padma, the Jamuna and various other streams now completely silted up, is necessary. The Northern Plains of the Sundarbans produce more paddy than what is needed in the region. An improvement of the means of transport and the maintenance of embankments in proper order are necessary. The reclaimed Sundarbans is the chief grain supplying region of the district. It has yet considerable possibilities for agricultural development provided the four problems of transport, embankment, potable water, and drainage, with which the inhabitants of the regions are confronted today, be solved.

The author now wishes to express his thanks to his colleagues, Dr. B. N. Mukerjee, Mr. D. R. Mitra, Mr. K. Bagchi and Mr. B. N. Ganguli for participating in the field work. His special thanks are due to his former students, Mr. Birendranath Ganguli, Mr. Purna Chandra Chakravorti, Mr. Subodh

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NEGATION IN HINDU PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

By

Dr. Betty Heimann

In India everything is religion, thus runs the general slogan. Perhaps one has to modify this statement, or rather to amplify it. Every religion is based on the presupposition of a world-view which has two aspects. Here on earth everything is transitory, relative and imperfect, while somewhere beyond there exists as a postulate something perfect with all the various predicates of the Absolute. Thus the religious man, everywhere in the world, lives on two levels simultaneously. In India this continuous double attitude pervades also all the spheres of knowledge, not only religion.

Why, then, can this statement be applied also to our subject in hand, the extraordinarily frequent use of negation ?

Negation presupposes in itself a double aspect: it denies something formerly known, and is as such in a higher sense also a positive statement, that of a counter-position.

There are sixteen recognized schools dealt with in the medieval Indian history of philosophical systems written by the Vedāntin Mādhava. The first, which means the worst, is the school of the Materialists, i.e. those who try to oppose the generally accepted doctrine of the existence of a transcendental world. As such they proclaim: '*na para*' there is nothing (what you all accept) beyond. Here the negation is used to assert a one-sided view. Only one counter-position is accepted, it is the negation of a positive statement (*para*) the existence of which is, in some way or other, acknowledged by all the other schools of Hindu thought.

The second system according to Mādhava is that of the Buddhists, still far away from the best and ultimate. Some of the Buddhist schools are the *Nāstikas*, the so-called Nihilists. They take once more a one-sided view, but this time from the reverse angle. For them this whole empirical world does not actually exist. The '*para-asti*', the Beyond is the only Real, or at any rate the only permanent reality. Other Buddhist schools do not go so far as to deny everything empirical altogether. It is true that, for instance, the

Vijñāna-Vādins do not accept the reality of the external world, nor that of internal experiences, but there still exists for them an empirical Positive, the reservoir out of which our senses take their starting-point and into which our experiences flow: the *ālaya* (abode) of *vijñāna* (consciousness) is for them the actual worldly reality. Our empirically working intellect is a positive factor in this world beside the transcendental positive—the world beyond. All other Buddhist schools keep to the assumption that the true reality, that is the *constant* reality, is in the Transcendental, while whatever happens in this world can only have a transitory momentary existence (*Kṣaṇa*). Thus all Buddhists are *Kṣaṇa-Vādins*. In the case of the Buddhist dogmatics, therefore, the negation is used to deny something which is without question accepted as positive by the average man's experience, the HERE.

The Advaita Vedāntins, the last and highest system of orthodox Hindu thought, also work with negations in consequence of the fundamental double view. Their highest transcendental principle is the Brahman. The whole empirical world is an outflow of this transcendental reservoir which provides the material and, at the same time, the spiritual basis of all phenomena. We thus see that for them the interconnection between the Here and the Beyond is never questioned nor separated. It is assumed that there is not only an independent co-existence between both levels, but, furthermore, an interconnected co-existence. If now these Vedāntins also have to make use of negations, then not one side is questioned or entirely negated in its reality; both are real, but of different grades of value and reality. The negation used has here but the significance of a limitation. The formula of these Vedāntins for the divine qualities of the highest Brahman is its predicates of *Sat-Cit-Ānanda* (absolute Being, absolute Consciousness, and absolute Bliss). Apart from these three absolute qualities, all further definitions or applications of distinct qualities are to be negated. Hence the famous statement that Brahman is *NA-ITI*, *Na-Iti* (It is not thus [only], it is not thus [only]). All our empirical definitions (i.e. limitations) take away the all-embracing vagueness, productivity and potentiality of the Absolute which is represented in Brahman alone. Here the negation is used for remoting from the Transcendental any limitation as presented in all, even the highest, empirical qualifications and individualizations.

Another use of negation belongs to the same sphere of transcendental-empirical interconnection. If, for instance, *Śaṅkara*, the advocate of complete identification between Ātman and Brahman, advances the theory of the *A-Dvaitam*, the non-duality between the individual and the universal Soul, he uses the negation as a strong affirmation that no duality whatever (wrongly supposed by some other thinkers) can in any way exist. Here the negation is a refutation of an otherwise assumed but—for him—wrongly assumed theory of separation between the Whole and its parts.

The *A-dṛṣṭa*, the invisible, is a generally accepted postulate of something positive which is beyond the range of our eyes. As such the physicists assume a substance immeasurably small and immeasurably great, both beyond the

limited capacity of our perception. Their *A-dṛṣṭa* is material, the atom on the one side and the immense ether on the other.

Other systems, in accordance with their aim of research, see their invisible, but concrete, postulate either in Fate or in effect not yet reached, etc. The negative expression designates something positive beyond the positive phenomenon. Negation and position, both are positive, but both of a different type.

Other kinds of negation are not full negations, but only limitations. Firstly, the negation of permanence throughout all stages of time. The main term of the Sāṅkhya system is the *A-Vyakta*, the Not-yet- or No-more-manifest (Vy-akta, lit. the curved-apart). A-Vyakta is the potential reservoir of all empirical things out of which they all arise and into which they are all re-absorbed, but which in itself can be only deduced from its middle stage, the manifestations.

Another aspect of limitation, expressed by negation, seems to underlie the cardinal term of *A-Vidyā*. The whole world of ours is only *A-Vidyā*, Non-knowledge, as it is generally translated.

But how, then, can come out of the *A-Vidyā* the *Vidyā* reached in liberation, and how then could the *A-Vidyā* arise out of the pre-empirical *Vidyā*? Two reasons speak against this assumption. Firstly, one of the main dogmas of Indian thought is that nothing gets lost (after primary *Vidyā*) and that out of nothing (empirical *A-Vidyā*) cannot arise something later on (final *Vidyā*). Secondly, the Vedāntins, who preferably apply the term *A-Vidyā*, maintain the uninterrupted interconnection and relation between this world and the Brahman of which the phenomena are a part only, not the Whole. Therefore, I venture to propose, in accordance with the similes constantly used, that the worldly, so-called Non-knowledge is only a veiled and dimmed *Vidyā*. Hence *A-Vidyā* may be translated as '*incomplete*' or '*imperfect*' knowledge, stained by our empirical experience. *A-Vidyā*, therefore, seems to imply not a full negation, but only a limited negation.

And now for the significance of double negations. Double negations are used in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā in a similar sense. The divine vagueness and width of the Highest is maintained in predicating the Brahman not only with a positive quality and not only with its negative counterpart, but through the negation of any empirical quality and its opposite. Positive and negative, both are one-sided and therefore a negation of both empirical counterparts, shall suggest the all-embracing unlimited divine capacity. Or, a negation of a negation is applied to indicate something that is more than a plain emphasized positive statement and is more than a corroborated qualification through double negation which as such would also still belong to the world of our limited definitions.

From the logical angle the polar negation means inclusion of both counterparts. It is characteristic of Indian logic that not only the *Bhāva* (Being), but also the *A-Bhāva* (Non-Being) is attempted to be proved by a positive logical process. The standard example is the non-pot on a place where we were accustomed to see a pot; we now find there the absence of the pot by exactly the same process of perceiving. As such *A-Bhāva* (Non-Being) is in a way as positive as the *Bhāva*. The *Naiyāyikas* are true Ontologists, seekers for the two correlated principles, the Being and Non-Being, not only concerned with 'Being' and empirical beings, but with the positive and negative sides as interrelated general principles.

One of the fundamental dogmas of Hindu thought is that of identification or, at any rate, similarity, between macro- and micro-cosmic parts of the Universe. I may venture to try and give an explanation from this angle of the ambiguous word '*Na*' in the Ṛgveda. It is still an unsolved problem how in the Ṛgveda the very same word '*Na*' can assume the meaning of a pure negation and, besides, that of a comparison (= *iva*). If one does not want to take the easy way out to accept the unlikely falling-together of two unrelated words of exactly the same formation in the Ṛgvedic '*Na*', one has to consider whether the very same word '*Na*' can perhaps also take the significance of a comparison.

It may well be that the unexpected meaning of '*Na*' as a comparison is based on the general presupposition of identification between the different parts of the Universe, and that the negation in this case would only refer to a *complete* identification, but still implies the possibility of a positive-negative statement of similarity. Here the negation would then be used in the sense of a limited identification.

Besides the examples of negations given above, expressed by static logical terms *a-* and *na*, the dynamic trend of the Hindu thought preferably indicates negation by other prefixes like *vi*, *nir* and *ati*, or *sama*.

Ni (corresponding to Latin *dis*) expresses negation in the sense of transformation, i.e. dispersion of the former shape, but not an actual polar counter-position. Sometimes instead of a mere prefix full verbal forms are used like: *vīta*, gone away, or *ṛte*, gone. This is in accordance with the basic Hindu thought that nothing empirical remains unchanged in its conditions, though in its being. Everything is in continuous transition from generation to destruction and *vice versa*. However, not always *vi*, *vīta* or *ṛte* indicate the full way of approach to the polar opposite, but stops short somewhere on the stages between.

As to the prefix *Nir*, it expresses the same idea of transformation, but yet in a stronger way of dispersion in a kind of explosive manner (cf. *Nirvāṇa*, the blown asunder). The prefix *Ati* has not a dispersive meaning, but plainly indicates transgression in the sense of 'beyond'. As such it is used, for instance, in the term '*ati-jana*', lit. beyond human beings, for an empty spot where there is nobody, but where there might have been somebody or may be somebody in the future.

The prefix *Sama*, on the other hand, has the peculiar meaning of combining the opposites and negating both of them. For instance, '*Sama-sukhaduḥkham*', lit. where fortune and misfortune are lying together, expresses some-

thing which is indifferent towards these opposites and in this way gives the negation of both, position and counter-position.

There are other means, too, to express a full negation, limited negation of indifferentiation. The greatest philosophical achievement of the otherwise less philosophically, and more practically, minded Jains is the so-called '*Syād-vāda*', the assertion of the 'may be'. In the five-fold, or seven-fold, members of the '*Syād-vāda*' the various conditions of things are either stated as limited negations (that what is now and has not been in the past and will not be in the future), or there are negations in the sense of correlative exclusion or inclusion.

Another form of negation is used in the sphere of theological thinking. It is implied in the dual, or multiple, combination of the names of several deities, for instance, in the Ṛgveda. Indra is addressed together with the second main God as *Indra-Varuṇau* or Varuṇa is venerated together with Mitra as *Mitra-Varuṇau*. Or else, Indra and Varuṇa or Agni are praised together with the '*Viśve-devās*', the All Gods. Here in the apparently positive statement an inner negation is expressed. It is the fundamental law of Hindu thought that no uniqueness of any individual form, even of a God, is sufficient to express the absolute Divine. The dual, or rather the plural form of deities serves to indicate that no single 'He' and no single 'She' can completely represent the Absolute. Only the 'It', undifferentiated as it is, the *Ne-uter*, can embrace all individual forms. It is noteworthy that even in the so-called later monotheistic forms of Hinduism, the one God who is adored is only an '*Iṣṭa-devatā*', a chosen, a favoured deity. Selection presupposes existence of a choice, of more than one given possibility.

Negation has not always to be expressed by a negative form of a former positive statement. The negation can lie in the very verb itself. For instance, the dissolution of all individual forms in the final re-absorption of Liberation is significantly called '*Pra-laya*', the melting-together into the super-personal reservoir. On the other hand, a negative term like '*Śūnya*' or '*Abhva*' can contain a transcendental positive statement. *Abhva* means the immense, the counter-position to the '*bhva*' (from root *bhū*, to become). It is beyond the range of the continuously changing empirical being. *Śūnya*, most probably from the very same root as *Śūna*, excessive, means similarly something beyond the limited empirical shape. As such *Abhva* and *Śūnya* indicate a positive something, not a nothing, but not a single thing.

In a way there lies in India's fundamental concepts of productive ambiguity also a kind of implicit negation, the negation of one-sided fixation. It is no accident that terms like '*Varṇa*', '*Khyā*', etc. embrace more than one sense perception. *Varṇa* means: colour and sound; *khyā* is: to see and to say.

Other possibilities of expressing such kind of ambiguity are provided, for instance, in terms like '*Dharma*'. It means 'fixed position'. But all fixed positions are, in true Hindu manner, if valid, not one-sidedly fixed. *Dharma* has a double aspect, a subjective and objective one, and as such, in a way, a positive and negative angle. *Dharma* implies duty and right, obligation of maintaining one's own right and that of others as well. Here the implicit negation is given through *mutual limitation*.

There are also other kinds of implicit negation, expressed, for instance, in Sāṅkhya thought. Theoretically position and counter-position are given, but actually only one of them is active. I think of the two principles, of Matter and Spirit, of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*. Both are assumed for the transcendental sphere, but in reality only the one, i.e. *Prakṛti*, is active, while the *Puruṣa* merely indirectly stimulates *Prakṛti* to display her productive powers through her manifestations. In the sphere of empirical functions it is not a full negation, but only a *partial obstruction* is assumed for the activities of the one principle, i.e. for the *Puruṣa*.

And now a last subdivision of negation, once more implied in a kind of ambiguity. It is not only an artistic, but a general necessity of Hindu thought that the Indians so frequently apply in their poetry and in their religious literature the means of *Śleṣas*, intertwinings of meaning, a kind of pun. Ambiguous expression represents the value of more than only one possibility of meaning.

To conclude: the use of negations is in India employed not only as a logical means, but as a necessary expression of a basic double view of transcendental and empirical duality. Therefore we can trace in Sanskrit more varied and subtle shades of negations than in any other language.

However, not a fundamental negative tendency in India's religious and philosophical thought can be deduced from it. On the contrary, negations serve to show India's fundamental outlook that more than one position is always possible and operative.

SARVĀSVĀRA

(Is it Sarvamēdha ?)

By

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It is generally known that in the preliminary part of the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika*, there occurs the śloka describing the life-work of the author Śudraka, which broadly states that, having received the education prescribed for princes and securing thereby, by God Śiva's favour, a clear vision and a noble outlook as a result of that education, he ruled long happily, had the good fortune to see his own son installed on the throne, performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice productive of much spiritual good. It is further said that he attained to the ripe age of 100 years increased by 10 days. King Śudraka then entered the fire, as a glorious culmination of a life of achievement.[1]

[1] लब्ध्वा चायुः शताब्दं दशदिनसहितं शूद्रकोऽग्निं प्रविष्टः। *Mṛcchakaṭika* I. 4.

I am not proposing to discuss whether Śudraka wrote this śloka or somebody else, whether the whole of the introduction is posthumous or whether we could regard it as having been written by Śudraka himself. These are questions that have been much discussed, though it may be that no generally accepted conclusions have perhaps been arrived at. What I am concerned with in this note is the statement in the last line of the śloka that, after the glorious achievement through a long life, Śudraka threw himself into the fire. There is a parallel instance of a Maukhari king entering the fire, and other kings putting an end to their lives by entering the water in holy rivers or holy bathing ghats. The statement here that a king full of achievement should enter the fire, rules out suicide of whatever kind. Has it any special significance? One of the commentators on the drama calls this performance Sarvāsvāra.

My enquiry as to the meaning of the term *Sarvāsvāra* failed to get a reply; as far as my search went, no dictionary or encyclopaedia accessible to me, seems to explain the term. There is an illuminating comment by one commentator on Śudraka's drama that this act of entering into the fire was similar to that of Rishi Śarabhanga, who, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, gave up the body, limb by limb, by offering it as an oblation into the fire, and that his soul thereafter passed to Heaven, soon after Rāma had visited him. The Rāmāyaṇa commentator does not seem to offer any explanation of this, or give a special name to the kind of sacrifice Śarabhanga made. From the context and the manner of description in the śloka it would seem inappropriate to describe it as suicide by fire, as in fact it would be in the case of Śarabhanga where the attendant circumstances make it clearly impossible to count it suicide. Śarabhanga's performance seems to partake of the well-known performance of good souls, offering the body into the fire as oblation and ascending to Heaven. Did Śudraka emulate that example?

Whatever that be, Śudraka's performance which, one commentator at any rate, describes by the term Sarvāsvāra, does not appear to explain itself. Is it what is called Sarvamēdha? The Mahābhārata in the preliminary chapter to Śānti Parva refers to the sacrifices generally performed as reducible to three principal ones as the most important among them, namely, Rājasūya, Aśvamēdha and Sarvamēdha. Is this Sarvamēdha equivalent of Sarvāsvāra, the sacrifice made by Śudraka and possibly that by Rishi Śarabhanga? [1]

[1] The *S'rauta Sutras*, however, mention these two sacrifices in different contexts and clearly distinguish between them.—E.g. मरणकामस्य सर्वस्वारः कृतान्नदक्षिणः (*Kátyáyana*, XXII, 184); सर्वमेधः सर्वकामस्य (*Kátyáyana*, XXI, 19). Also, *vide Baudháyana*, XXIV, 11 on सर्वमेधस्य—Ed.

THE BṚHANNANDIKEŚVARA AND THE NANDIKEŚVARA PURĀṆA

By

DR. R. C. HAZRA, M.A., PH.D.

I

The *Bṛhannandikeśvara Upapurāṇa* is mentioned, along with the *Nandikeśvara-p.* (also called *Nandīśvara-p.* and *Nandikeśa-p.*) [1] in the lists of Upapurāṇas given in the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* and the *Ekāmra-p.* In the former work it is called '*Bṛhannandīśvara*', and in the latter, '*Bṛhannandi*'.[2] The list of Upapurāṇas, ascribed to the *Kūrma-p.* in Raghunandana's *Malamāsa-tattva* and in the *Śabda-kalpadruma*, mentions the '*Nandikeśvara-yugma*' (i.e. two *Nandikeśvaras*), which Kāśīrāma Vācaspati, in his commentary on the *Malamāsa-tattva*, takes to mean the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.* and the *Nandikeśvara-p.*[3] In one of the two lists of Upapurāṇas given by Hemādri in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, the alternative reading 'nandikeśvara-yugmaṃ ca' for 'caturthaṃ śivadharmākhyaṃ' is found in some MSS.[4] So, it seems that it was only at a comparatively late date that an attempt began to be made to raise the *Nandikeśvara-p.* and the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* to a position of authority and antiquity by thrusting their names even into the established list of Upapurāṇas.

As the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* is drawn upon in Gadādhara's *Kālasāra*, Raghunandana's *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, and Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka*, and is mentioned, along with the *Nandikeśvara-p.*, only in the *Ekāmra-p.* and the *Bṛhaddharma-p.*, and as Jīmūtavāhana mentions neither the *Nandikeśvara-p.* nor the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* in the section on Durgā-pūjā in his *Kālaviveka*, it must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D. but most probably not before 850 A.D.

The facts that it is only the authors of Bengal and Orissa[5] who are found to have first recognized the *Nandikeśvara-p.* and the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* as Upapurāṇas and utilized the contents of these two works in their Nibandhas, and that the method of Durgā-pūjā, given in these two Upapurāṇas, is followed only in Bengal,[6] show that these two Upapurāṇas must have been written in this province.

[1] For information about the *Nandikeśvara-p.* see the next section.

[2] *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) I, 25, 24. *Ekāmra-p.* (Dacca University MS. No. 4492), fol. 2*b*.

[3] *Malamāsa-tattva* (ed. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa), p. 213—nandikeśvarayugmaṃ bṛhannandikeśvarapurāṇaṃ nandikeśvarapurāṇaṃ ca.

[4] *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, II, i, p. 21. See also *ABORI*, XXI, p. 42.

[5] Of the Smṛti-writers of Orissa, it is only Gadādhara who is found to quote two verses from the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.* in his *Kālasāra*, pp. 151-2.

[6] It is only the Smṛti-writers of Bengal who are found to utilize the contents of the *Nandikeśvara-p.* and the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* in connection with Durgā-pūjā. Gadādhara's quotation from the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* relates to the time of Nārāyaṇa's assumption of the form of the Boar, and not to Durgā-pūjā. Moreover, there is a priests' manual called *Bṛhannandi-*

As regards the contents of the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.* we know almost nothing. In his *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, p. 8, Raghunandana quotes 25 metrical lines, in which Devī (i.e. Durgā) herself speaks to someone (Nandikeśvara?), addressed as 'putraka' and 'nara-puṅgava', on the method and the results of her own worship in the month of Āśvina. According to these verses, of which some are found quoted in Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka*, an earthen image of Devī is to be worshipped for three days from the Saptamī to the Navamī Tithi during the bright half of Āśvina. On the Saptamī Tithi the Nava-putrikā is to be constituted with different plants named in a verse, and worshipped. On the Aṣṭamī Tithi, Devī's great bath (mahāsnāna) is to be performed with different articles (viz. the five products of cows, holy waters of the Ganges and the different holy places, waters into which certain herbs, gems, flowers, etc. have been thrown, and so on), this rite being attended with vocal and instrumental music as well as dancing (gīta-vāditra-nṛtyena); and the deity is to be worshipped with the offer of different articles as well as of jet-black he-goats, buffaloes, etc. and with the performance of 'homa'. On the Navamī Tithi also, Devī is to be worshipped specially with the offer of animals and the performance of vocal and instrumental music as well as other kinds of merry-making.

In his *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, p. 3, Raghunandana quotes the following four verses with the mention of the '*Nandikeśvara-p.*' as their source:—

> nau-yānair nara-yānair vā nītvā bhagavatīṃ śivām /
> sroto-jale prakṣipeyuḥ krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ //
> parair nākṣipyate yas tu paraṃ nākṣipate tu yaḥ /
> tasya ruṣṭā bhagavatī śāpaṃ dadyāt sudāruṇam //

and

> ṛkṣa-yogānurodhena rātrau patrī-praveśanam /
> visarjanaṃ vācayed yaḥ sarāṣṭraḥ sa vinaśyati //
> bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-visargāntāś ca yāḥ kriyāḥ /
> tithāv udayagāminyāṃ sarvās tāḥ kārayed budhaḥ //

All these verses are again quoted by him on p. 44 but are ascribed to the '*Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.*' Śūlapāṇi also quotes the first two verses in his *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 24, and ascribes them to the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.* But this ascription to the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.* must be wrong, because (1) in these verses Devī is not the speaker, and (2) the third verse is quoted as from '*Nandi-p.*'[1] in *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 8, and the fourth verse is ascribed to the *Nandikeśvara-p.* in Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 9 and *Vāsantī-viveka*, p. 28. The line 'bilva-patrair ghṛtāktaiś ca tila-dhānyādi-saṃyutaiḥ' is ascribed to the *Nandikeśvara-p.* in *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, p. 38, but to the *Bṛhannandikeśvafa* in *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 22.

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keśvarapurāṇokta-durgāpūjāpaddhati, of which all the MSS. hitherto discovered belong to Bengal and are written in Bengali characters. See footnote 2 for information about these MSS.

[1] In the Dacca University MSS. Nos. 938D, 1642, 2115A (dated 1746 Śaka) and 4332 (dated 1753 Śaka) of the *Durgotsava-viveka* this verse is ascribed to the '*Nandi-p.*'

Though no tract on Vrata, *Māhātmya*, etc. is found to claim to be a part of the *Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.*, there are MSS. of an anonymous Smṛti-work called *Bṛhannandikeśvarapurāṇokta-durgāpūjāpaddhati.*[1]

II

It has already been said that the *Nandikeśvara-p.* (also called *Nandīśvara-p.* and *Nandikeśa-p.*)[2] is mentioned, along with the *Bṛhannadikeśvara*, in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Ekāmra-p.* and the *Bṛhaddharma-p.*, that in the *Śabda-kalpadruma* and in Raghunandana's *Malamāsa-tattva* a list of Upapurāṇas has been given from the '*Kūrma-p.*' with the mention of the '*Nandikeśvara-yugma*', and that in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II, i, p. 21, there is a list of Upapurāṇas in which the '*Nandikeśvara-yugma*' is found mentioned in place of the *Śivadharma* in some of its MSS. So, the *Nandikeśvara-p.* cannot possibly claim an early origin. As this Upapurāṇa is mentioned in the *Ekāmra-p.* and the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* and is drawn upon in the *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa* and in Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's *Nirṇayasindhu*, Govindānanda's *Varṣa-kaumudī*, Raghunandana's *Tithi-tattva*, *Āhnika-tattva*, *Jyotiṣ-tattva*, *Ekādaśī-tattva* and *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, and Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka* and *Vāsantī-viveka*, as Mitra Miśra, who lived far away from Bengal, not only draws upon it but also describes it as a work of wide acceptance (mahājana-parigṛhīta),[3] and as it must have preceded the *Bṛhannandikeśvara* (of which the very title is indicative of a comparatively late date and which must have been written earlier than 1000 A.D.[4]), it cannot be dated later than 950 A.D. It is highly probable that this Upapurāṇa was composed between 850 and 950 A.D. Such a late date for this Upapurāṇa is supported not only by its non-mention in the section on Durgā-pūjā in Jīmūtavāhana's *Kālaviveka* but also by the fact that the method of Durgā-worship given in it had Tantric elements.[5]

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[1] Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., ASB*, III, p. 836, No. 2828. Hrishikesh Shastri and Sivachandra Gui, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College*, II, p. 309, No. 334 ('a very old' MS.). Dacca University MSS. Nos. 2261 (modern and incomplete) and 4055 (worm-eaten, and missing some of its folios; dated 1678 Śaka). In the Dacca University MSS., the work is called '*Bṛhannandikeśvarapurāṇānugṛhīta-bhaviṣya-purāṇokta-durgāpūjāpaddhati*'.

It should be mentioned here that all these MSS. are written in Bengali characters.

[2] The Vaṅgavāsī ed. of the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (I, 25, 24) names the *Nandikeśvara-p.* as '*Nandīśvara-p.*'; the ASB. ed. and the Dacca University MS. No. 4199 (fol. 71*b*) mention it as '*Nandikeśa-p.*'; and the Dacca University MSS. Nos. 319 (fol. 44*a*) and 4649 (fol. 96*a*) name it as '*Nandikeśvara-p.*' In *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa*, fol. 47*b*, a verse is quoted from the '*Nandīśvara-p.*'

[3] *Vīra-mitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, pp. 14-15—

> mātsye—'. . . . . aṣṭādaśabhyas tu pṛthak purāṇaṃ yat tu dṛśyate/ vijānīdhvaṃ dvija-śreṣṭhās tad etebhyo vinirgatam//'. . . . . . vinirgataṃ samudbhūtam/ yathā mahājana-parigṛhīta-nandikeśvarapurāṇādipurāṇa-devīpurāṇāditi saṃkṣepaḥ/

[4] See under *Bṛhannandikeśvara-p.* above.

[5] *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 420—'nandikeśvarapurāṇe tu—dakṣa-yajña-vināśinyai mahāghorāyai yoginī-koṭi-parivṛtāyai bhadra-kālyai hrīṃ durgāyai namaḥ/iti mantraḥ/'

We have shown elsewhere that the *Nandikeśvara-p.* was a work quite different from the *Nandi-p.*[1] It must not also be taken to be the same as the *Śivadharma* and the *Śivadharmottara*,[2] with which we shall deal later on.

As to the contents of the *Nandikeśvara-p.*, our knowledge is very meagre. Of the 41 lines quoted from this Upapurāṇa in the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*[3] and in the works of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa,[4] Mitra Miśra,[5] Govindānanda,[6] Raghunandana[7] and Śūlapāṇi,[8] two are concerned with Devī-worship in the spring,[9] and twenty-four deal with the proper time and method of Devī-worship in autumn. The method of worship, as given in these 24 metrical lines, consists mainly of the following operations: Devī's 'bodhana' and her 'adhivāsa' on a Bilva tree on the Suklaṣaṣṭhī Tithi; Patrikā-praveśa on the following day; Devī-worship with animal-sacrifice, etc. on the Aṣṭamī and the Navamī Tithi; immersion of the image of Devī in a current of water after causing it to be carried there on boats or by men, and the subsequent merry-makings by using abusive words against one another on the Daśamī Tithi.[10] The Mantras to be used in this worship had often Tantric symbolism.[11] The remaining 15 lines (which are contained in the *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa* and in Mitra Miśra's *Vīra-mitrodaya* and Raghunandana's *Tithi-tattva* and *Āhnika-tattva*[1]) deal with the following topics: benefits of worshipping a Śiva-liṅga; Śiva-worship with the offer of food materials especially on the Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī Tithi; benefit of repeating hundred times a hymn called Indrākṣī-stava, which was given in the *Nandikeśvara-p.*; benefit of even telling others about the results of avoiding meat; and the characteristics of marriageable and non-marriageable girls.[2] It is to be noted that in none of these verses Devī appears as the speaker. The title of this Upapurāṇa, however, shows that it was most probably Nandikeśvara who narrated the contents of this work.

[1] This point has been dealt with in our article on the '*Nandi-p.*' which we have contributed to the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.

[2] R. L. Mitra, in his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, VI, pp. 272–4 (No. 2208), describes a MS. of a work which he styles as '*Nandikeśvara-saṃhitā* alias *Nandikeśvarapurāṇa* alias *S'ivadharmottara*'. But actually this is a MS. of the *S'ivadharma* and *S'ivadharmottara* combined. It is for this reason that the final colophon of this MS. runs as follows: iti nandikeśvara-saṃhitāyāṃ śivadharmottare ekaviṃśatitamo' dhyāyaḥ/ This MS. is the same as Haraprasad Shastri's MSS. of the *S'ivadharma* and *S'ivadharmottara* described in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., ASB*, V, pp. 718 and 723–733, Nos. 4084 (I and II) and 4085 (I and II); and it has nothing to do with the *Nandikeśvara-p.*

In *Viśvakoṣa* (a Bengali encyclopaedia edited by Nagendra Nath Basu), IX, pp. 546-7 and 549 also, the *Nandikeśvara-p.* has been wrongly identified with the *S'ivadharma* and the *Nandipurāṇa.*

[3] *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa*, fol. 47*b* (nadīśvara-purāṇe—kṛtvā liṅgaṃ maheśasya sarva-pāpaiḥ pramucyate/ sapta-janmārjitair dehī mano-vākkāya-karmabhiḥ//).

[4] *Nirṇaya-sindhu*, p. 128 (bhagavatyāḥ praveśādi-visargāntāś ca yāh kriyāḥ/..........
....// iti tithi-tattve nandikeśvarapurāṇāc ca/).

[5] *Vīra-mitrodaya*, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 219.

[6] *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 367, 375, 420.

[7] *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 69, 76, 86-87, 91, 131-2, 457, 612; II, p. 85. *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, pp. 2-3, 7 and 38.

[8] *Durgotsava-viveka*, pp. 7, 8, 9. *Vāsantī-viveka*, pp. 28, 29.

[9] *Vāsantī-viveka*, p. 29.

[10] *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, pp. 2-3—

....
śravaṇena daśamyāṃ tu praṇipatya visarjayet //
nau-yānair nara-yānair vā nītvā bhagavatīṃ śivām /
sroto-jale prakṣipeyuḥ krīḍā-kautuka-maṅgalaiḥ //
parair nākṣipyate yas tu paraṃ nākṣipate tu yaḥ /
tasya ruṣṭā bhagavatī śāpaṃ dadyāt sudāruṇam //
....

[11] See footnote 6 above.

MSS. are found of a work called '*Kālāgnirudropaniṣad*' which claims to be a part of the *Nandikeśvara-p.*[3] This work, which is practically a Tantric text, deals with the worship of Kālāgnirudra and 'the propriety of putting across the forehead three carved horizontal marks called Tripuṇḍra in Sanskrit, this being indispensable to the worship of Kālāgnirudra'. In his *Jammu Catalogue*, p. 201, Stein notes an early MS. of the '*Śiva-stotra*' belonging to the *Nandikeśvara-p.*

The *Nandikeśvara-p.* seems to have derived a large number of verses from other earlier works. For instance, the verse 'ārdrāyāṃ bodhayed devīṃ', which is quoted as from '*Nandikeśvara-p.*' in *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 367 and 375, is ascribed to the *Devī-p.* in *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 4 and to Vyāsa and Satya in *Kālaviveka*, pp. 511 and 514 respectively; the line 'saptamyāṃ mūla-yuktāyāṃ', of which the source is mentioned as '*Nandikeśvara-p.*' in *Durgāpūjā-tattva*, p. 2, is ascribed to the *Devī-p.* in *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 8; the line 'mūlābhāve pī saptamyāṃ', which is ascribed to the *Nandikeśvara-p.* in *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 367, is quoted as from '*Laiṅga*' in *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 8, and so on. It should be mentioned here that the sections on Durgā-pūjā in the *Devī-p.*, *Liṅga-p.*, etc. were written much earlier than 1000 A.D.

For further information about the *Nandikeśvara-p.* see above (Section I).

[1] See *Smṛti-tattva* I, pp. 69, 91, 131-2, 457 and 612.

[2] *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 612—

nandikeśvara-purāṇe—
śyāmā sukeśī tanu-lomarājī
subhrūḥ suśīlā sugatiḥ sudantā /
vedīvimadhyā yadi paṅkajākṣī
kulena hīnāpi vivāhanīyā //
dhṛṣṭā kudantā yadi piṅgaḷākṣī
lomnā samākīrṇa-samāṅga-yaṣṭiḥ /
madhye ca puṣṭā yadi rāja-kanyā
kule'pī yogyā na vivāhanīyā //

[3] Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., ASB*, V, p. 800, No. 4145; Keith, *Cat. of Sans. and Pkt. MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, II, i, pp. 913-4; P. P. S. Shastri, *Tanjore Cat.*, XV, pp. 7175-76, Nos. 10582-83; and so on.

FURTHER LIGHT ON COLA-SAILENDRA RELATIONS FROM TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

(11TH–13TH CENTURIES)

By

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The impulse that actuated Bālaputra, a king of Śrī Vijaya, to build a Buddhist *vihāra* at Nālandā was responsible for a later king of Śrī Vijaya, Śrī Cūḷāmaṇivarmadēva of the Śailēndra dynasty starting the construction of a *vihāra* at Negapatam in the 21st year (1006 A.D.) of the reign of Rāja Rāja Cōḷa I. This *vihāra*, named *Cūḷāmaṇi-varma-vihāra*, was completed by his son Māṛavijayōttuṅgavarman. Rāja Rāja granted the village of Ānaimaṅgaḷam for the maintenance of the monastery and the *paḷḷi* or temple attached to it, which was named *Rājarājapperumbaḷḷi* after him. His successor Rājēndra I confirmed his father's grant in an edict[1] that he issued shortly after his accession.

The friendly relation that subsisted between the Cōḷas and the Śailēndras did not continue for long, and about the year 1025 A.D., Rājēndra carried out a naval expedition against the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya. In the words of Krom,[2] the campaign began with an attack on the capital Śrī Vijaya (Palembong) in which the king was taken prisoner, and was followed by the occupation of two important points on the east coast of Sumatra, the conquest of Malay Peninsula, and finally Atjeh (Lamri) and the Nicobars on the way back home; and all this was summed in the fall of Kaṭāha (Tamil—*Kaḍāram* or *Kiḍāram*). Kaḍāram, being the first port of call for ships from India to Farther India and China, was the place best known to the people of the Tamil country, and hence Tamil inscriptions refer to the campaign as the conquest of Kaḍāram, and the king of Śrī Vijaya as *Kiḍārattaraiyan*. King Saṅgrāma Vijayōttuṅga Varman, who was taken prisoner, acknowledged Cōḷa suzerainty.

About 1068 A.D. Vīrarājēndra[3] again conquered Kaḍāram and settled the succession to the throne which was in dispute. The smaller Leyden copper plates,[4] dated 1090 A.D., record an embassy from Kaḍāram to the Cōḷa court at Āyirattaḷi. Rāja Vidyādhara and Abhimānōttuṅga, the ambassadors from the Kiḍārattaraiyan, solicited Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa I to issue an edict confirming all the previous grants and specifying the privileges conceded to the *Cūḷāmaṇi-varmavihāra* and *Rājārājapperumbaḷḷi* at Negapatam and to the newly built *Rājendraśoḷappurambaḷḷi*, which was named after Kulōttuṅga, who bore the name Rājēndra before his accession.

The names that the Cōḷas gave to towns and villages often proclaimed their conquests. After the conquest of Kaḍāram, Puñjai (Tanjore district) came

[1] The larger Leyden grant.
[2] *H.J.G.*, pp. 250-1, quoted in K. A. N. Sastri's *Śrī Vijaya* (B.E.F.E.O.).
[3] *S.I.I.*, III, No. 84; *M.E.R.* 175 of 1894 (*S.I.I.*, V, No. 468); Sastri, *Cōḷas*, I, p. 332.
[4] *E.I.*, XXII, pp. 267–71.

to be known in the inscriptions as *Kiḍāramgoṇḍān*,[1] and Narasiṅgapuram (Chingleput) as *Kiḍāramgoṇḍaśoḷapuram*.[2] An inscription at Toṇḍamānāḍ, near Kāḷahasti (Chittoor), mentions a grant of the village of *Kiḍāraṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-puram*,[3] obviously in the neighbourhood of Kāḷahasti. A village on the gulf of Mannar coast in the Ramnad district is still called Kiḍāram.[4]

One of the sons of Rājēndra Cōḷa II was called Kaḍāramgoṇḍa-Cōḷa.[5] The god in the temple of Karaivaḷivaḷḷiyūr in *Kalavaippaṛṛu*, an old Cōḷa territorial division of which Kalavai (North Arcot) was the headquarters, bore the name of *Kiḍāraṅgoṇḍa Śōḷīśvaramuḍaiyār*[6] (the Lord of Kiḍāraṅ-goṇḍa-Cōḷīśvaram).

Inscriptions[7] of the reign of Rāja Rāja I up to his 15th year refer to Maṇimaṅgalam (Chingleput) as *Lōkamahādēvī Caturvēdimaṅgalam*,[8] called after his queen Lōkamahādēvī, but inscriptions[9] recorded after his 15th year, and in the reigns of his successors down to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, call the village *Rājacūḷāmaṇi Caturvēdimaṅgalam*. One will not fail to be struck by the fact that the change in the name of the village was made about the time when Cūḷāmaṇivarman, king of Śrī Vijaya-Kadaram, built the *vihāra* at Negapatam. Four inscriptions at Kullapuram[10] (Madura) register grants to the temple of Rāja Rāja-Īśvaramuḍaiyār at Kūḍalūr, which was then known as *Rāja-Cūḍāmaṇicaturvēdimaṅgalam*.[11] Here the *maṅgalam* was called after Cūḷāmanivarman, while the god in the temple after his ally Rāja Rāja.

These are instances of place-names and names of temples commemorating the triumph of the Cōḷas in their wars with Kaḍāram, and the earlier alliance that subsisted between the two powers in the reign of Rāja Rāja I.

It is generally accepted that the construction of *vihāras* in India by Śailēndra kings is a clear proof of the presence in this country of people from Śrī-Vijaya either as itinerant pilgrims or as permanent settlers.[12] Likewise there were South Indian colonists[13] in Śrī Vijaya as the presence of inscriptions in South Indian characters in different parts of the kingdom testifies. One such inscription in Sumatra refers to the activities of the famous guild of South Indian merchants, the Aiññūṛṛuvar or the 'Five Hundred'. There are half a dozen inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai State which relate to a family of chiefs, whose tradition was bound up with Kaḍāram.

In an inscription[14] dated (1010 A.D.) in the reign of Rāja Rāja I, the god of the Śiva temple in Tiruvēṅgaivāśal is called Tirumēṛṛaḷi Mahādēva or

[1] *M.E.R.*, 188, 191 and 196 of 1925.
[2] *M.E.R.*, 244 and 245 of 1910.
[3] *M.E.R.*, 232 of 1903.
[4] *M.E.R.*, 91–95 of 1905.
[5] *S.I.I.*, III, p. 62.
[6] Gudimallūr—*M.E.R.*, 416, 418 and 419 of 1905.
[7] Cf. *M.E.R.*, 289 and 292 of 1897 and 7 of 1892.
[8] Caturvēdimaṅgalam is a village granted to Brahmins well-versed in the four Vedas.
[9] Cf. *S.I.I.*, III, Nos. 28–30.
[10] *M.E.R.*, 146–149 of 1908.
[11] *Cūḍāmaṇi* is another form of *Cūlāmaṇi*.
[12] Sastri—*Śri Vijaya*, pp. 277 and 284.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 289 and 305–10; Sastri, *Coḷas* I, p. 208; II, pp. 29-30; R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 188–90.
[14] *P.S.I.*, 88.

the 'Mahādēva of the Western shrine', while in another, dated in the reign of Rājēndra,[1] Rāja Rāja's successor, he is called *Cūḷāmaṇiviḍaṅgan*,[2] which again suggests the close alliance between Rāja Rāja and Cūḷāmaṇivarman. What is perhaps of greater interest is that a chief, who called himself a Kiḍārattaraiyan, installed another *liṅgam* in the temple in the time of Rājādhirāja II. This *liṅgam* was named *Śadiraviḍangan*[3] after Śadiran Rājan (Irāśan) Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa Kiḍārattaraiyan, who is referred to as an *araiyar* of Peruvāyil and Kunṟiyūr nāḍus, two old territorial divisions, now included within the Pudukkōṭṭai State. Two of his descendants, Uḍaiyān Udaiya Perumāḷ Kiḍārattaraiyan and Uḍaiyān Vīramaḻagiya Tribhuvana Kiḍārattaraiyan, made endowments for the worship of the *liṅgam* and for festivals.[4]

The titles *Rājan* and *Uḍaiyār*, borne by these chiefs, indicate their high rank. They were in charge of the administration of two strategically important districts of the Cōḷa empire. Two inscriptions at Pinnaṅguḍi[5] record grants by Śadiran Rājan to the Śiva temple in the village; and one of them records that during one of his official visits to the village Śadiran Rājan inquired into the affairs of the temple, and on the unanimous representation of the residents, ordered additional grants to be made to meet the growing expenses of the temple.

Copper-plate inscriptions refer to the ruler of Śrī Vijaya-Kaḍāram as *Śrī Viṣayādhipati* and *Kaṭāhādhipati* in Sanskrit and as *Kiḍārattaraiyan*[6] in Tamil. The Kiḍārattaraiyans of the Pudukkōṭṭai inscriptions, however, were only Cōḷa vassals administering districts in the Cōḷa country; and the question naturally arises how they came by this title.

The Kaḷḷars emigrated from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries; and their migration, which started in the early centuries of the Christian era, received greater momentum under Pallava rule. They came south in the wake of the conquering Pallava armies, and those who settled in the south became military commanders or administrators of *nāḍus* or *kūṟṟams*. They later served the Cōḷas and Pāṇḍyas, and distinguished themselves in their campaigns. The principal Kaḷḷar settlements are now distributed in the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura and in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, where they now form about fifty endogamous sections called *nāḍus*,[7] and each *nāḍu* is subdivided into exogamous clans or septs. Among them there is a clan called *Kiḍāttiriyan*—now belonging to the Vārāppūr nāḍu. *Kiḍāttiriyan* is obviously a corruption of *Kiḍārattaraiyan*. The names of some of these clans bear testimony to the offices that their ancestors held. *Maḻava-araiyan* (now corrupted into *Maḻavarān*) means a chief of the

[1] *P.S.I.*, 100.
[2] *Vidangan* is a natural liṅgam not hewn by a sculptor.
[3] *P.S.I.*, 139; *M.E.R.*, 246 of 1914; *P.S.I.*, 195.
[4] *P.S.I.*, 195.
[5] *P.S.I.*, 141 and 159.
[6] *Araiyan* or *Araśan* is the Tamil form of *Rājan*.
[7] *Nāḍu* here means a tribal division and not a territorial division.

Maḻava country in South India; *Pāṇḍiyaaraiyan* (corrupted into *Pāṇḍrayan*, or *Pāṇḍurān*) and *Pañcava-araiyan*[1] (Pañcavarān), chiefs of districts in the Pāṇḍya country; and *Śoḻattaraiyan* (Śoḻattirayan), a chief in the Cōḷa country. Chiefs, who participated in foregin campaigns and were in administrative charge of military camps or foreign territories under military occupation, were designated *araiyans* of those territories; and such designations include *Īḻattaraiyan* or 'araiyan of Īḻam or Ceylon', *Kaliṅgattaraiyan* or *Kaliṅgarāyan*[2] or 'araiyan of Kaliṅga' and *Kiḍārattaraiyan* or 'araiyan of Kiḍāram'.

Vīrarājēndra, as we have seen, conquered Kaḍāram and placed a *protégé* of his on the throne. There must have been at that time an army of occupation operating in some parts of the empire of Śrī Vijaya. We have the testimony of the smaller Leyden grant that ambassadors from Kaḍāram visited the court of Kulōttuṅga I, and his longer *praśasti* mentions that 'at his palace-gate stood rows of elephants showering jewels sent as tribute from the island kingdoms of the wide ocean'. There is a reference in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* to Kulōttuṅga's destruction of Kaḍāram, and there is also the fascinating suggestion[3] that Kulōttuṅga spent some years between 1063 and 1070 in Śrī Vijaya restoring order there. Whether there were any further Cōḷa campaigns subsequent to these reigns we have at present no data to decide; nor are we in a position to decide whether Śadiran Rājan participated in any foreign campaign. We hear of him only in inscriptions of the reigns of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III. He bore the surname *Kulōttuṅga* and a descendant of his, probably a son, took the surname *Tribhuvanavīra*, one of the titles of Kulōttuṅga III; and the family perpetuated the title *Kiḍāratta-raiyan*. Śadiran Rājan must have therefore been a descendant of a chief, who participated in the Kaḍāram campaigns, and was honoured with the title *Kiḍārattaraiyan*.

An inscription at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[4] (Chingleput), dated in the 3rd year of Vijayagaṇḍagōpāla, a contemporary of Rāja Rāja III, records a gift of land to a Śaiva monastery by a certain Kiḍārattaraiyan (Kiḍārattūraraiyan). It is not clear whether this Kiḍārattaraiyan of the Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscription was identical with either of the two chiefs mentioned in the Pinnaṅguḍi inscription[5] of the reign of Rāja Rāja III.

[1] *Pañcavan* means *Pāṇḍya*.
[2] It may be mentioned that not only generals were honoured with this title, but a throne was given this name.
[3] *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. I, pp. 87-8. See Sastri, *Cōḷas*, II, pp. 26-9 and Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 186-88.
[4] *M.E.R.*, 239 of 1912.
[5] *P.S.I.*, 195. (See above.)

Abbreviations.

B.E.F.E.O.	=	Bulletin de L'Ecôle Francaise D'Extreme-Orient.
E.I.	=	Epigraphia Indica.
H.J.G.	=	Krom : Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis.
M.E.R.	=	Madras Epigraphical Reports.
P.S.I.	=	Pudukkottai State Inscriptions.
S.I.I.	=	South Indian Inscriptions.

BUDDHA

By

MADAME A. C. ALBERS

KAPILAVASTU

A sylvan summer night, the pine trees swayed
Their emerald arms gently in sighing cadence
Mellow, diaphanous, the moonlit air
Now waved its element in gentle breezes.
Laden with mingled perfumes, wafted sweet
By jasmin, lilac, rose and violet,
And on the garden and the palace walls
A silver moonlit peace guarded the slumber
And rested the fair queen in royal hall
On silken cushions, white, lavender scented
(White silver moonlight played upon her bed)
Virgin and holy, and into her dreaming
A mystic ray of rosy vision stole:
A starlit elephant, shining in glory
Thrice trumpeted and vanished in her heart.
Then came an untold peace upon her being
And an all hallowed bliss filled all the air.
Sweetly soft, whispering voices holy anthems
Foretold the coming of a great event.
And knew the Queen she was a chosen mother
A glorious being would descend to earth.

LUMBINĪ

A garden, where in silver melody
Soft spirit voices whispered amid branches,
Laden with bloom of lavender and pearl,
Where lithe gazelles brouzed upon emerald grasses
And violet bordered brooklets joined their lay
With carols of soft-throated plumed musicians/
While humming birds with topaz wing outspread
Whirled love-charmed round a honey laden lotus.
All, all was peace and spirit harmony.
Here neath a tree, which bore a lightsome burden
Of chrysophrase and lilac-rose-hued love./
There stood a lady, graceful, tall and slender.
The lovelight of her soulful midnight eyes
Outshone in splendour all that garden-beauty,
Held all the mystery of suns and stars.
And the fond branches, deep in worship bending

Formed over her a shading canopy.
And on her form, in mellifluous showers
Rained fragrant bloom of lilac and of rose,
While neath her feet gold waves of flowers burgeoned.
And stood the Queen erect in majesty;
Nor felt a pang or pain that holy moment.
Thus came He forth, Buddha, the holy child.
But could the world not hold her; her life's mission./
Being fulfilled, upon the seventh day//
That marked the advent of the Heaven hero/
Queen Māyā closed her eyes to earthly scenes.
The infant Prince received the name, Siddhārtha,
His mother's sister took Him in her care.
Upon the child's form were the signs of Lordship
Which marked Him Master over men and gods.
And wondrous things foretold divining sages:
He would leave home and wander lonely forth
To find the path that leads unto salvation
For men and gods and for all living kind.
Which hearing, King Śuddhodana, the father
Felt sore at heart, sought to outgo stern fate.
Gave orders that before the Prince be uttered,
As he grew up, no single word of woe.
He should not know that in the world is sorrow.
For him was but the happiness of life,
Built gorgeous palaces and pleasure gardens
Where the young Prince should spend His childhood's days.

CHILDHOOD

Then grew the child from babe to sunny boyhood,
Full ripe in mind, and mastered He the lore
Of books and scroll, and all that wise instructors
Could place before Him, and it soon was found
The teachers were the pupils of their pupil.
Yet was He ever meek and courteous
But was it seen that with advancing years
He courted loneliness and silent places
And once while sitting thus in fond dream stale
In still repose in sylvan garden bower,
He did behold on high a fleecy cloud
Swift moving and of scintillating whiteness:
A flock of noble swans on northward flight
Steered towards Himalayan height; their snowy plumage
The lovenotes that they sent through the still air
The slender grace of their soft swaying movement,—

All these touched deeply the young boy's full soul
And looked he long upon that scene of beauty.
When lo, from that white cloud of winged love
A still form dropped, its pure snow stained with crimson.
Then stirred deep anguish young Siddhārtha's heart.
He took the bird, loosened the deadly arrow
And stemmed the crimson flood with skilful hand.
But now appeared his kinsman, Devadatta,
With haughty mien and speaking angry words,
'Give me the bird: the prey goes to the hunter,
My arrow brought the swan unto the ground.'
But spake Siddhārtha gently, 'Nay, my cousin.
You killed, but I restored his gasping breath.
Greater than death is life, and he who giveth
Life to a dying form does better deed
Than does the black hand of the wanton slayer.'
Then nursed the bird back unto health and strength/
Till it could join its tribe in the free ether.

The Bride

Śuddhodana, remembering prophecies
Liked not the brooding mind of young Siddhārtha,
And on advice of the State Ministers
Arranged for the young Prince His early nuptials.
Then went the royal mandate through the land:
The youthful maidens of the Princely houses
Were told to come to Śuddhodana's Court
And they appeared, a glorious procession:
The golden dew of budding maidenhood
The rosy buds of young life's glowing spring time.
Each was to get a present from the Prince.
And robed in garments bright and iridescent,
That vied with rose beauty of each face
They passed the Throne shyly their lashes lifting
And then moved on, blushing with timid smile
Till came the last flower of that golden garland,
The fairest of the Princely maidens all,
Yaśodharā, a spring of laughing water
Not timid she, but frankly stepped she forth.
The deep look of her eye, her very presence
Awakened memories in Siddhārtha's mind
Of a great love in long forgotten ages,
And each saw in the other's soul revealed
Its own pure higher self, its greater being.
And was Yaśodharā the chosen bride.

But in those days, when princes wooed a maiden
They had to win the prize by feat of arms.
Then were the heralds sent through all the kingdom
And came the young Knights for the tournament.
But none surpassed the Prince in manly vigour,
In courage and in military skill
And now the bridal of unequalled splendour,
And then fond home days in the palace walls
In time a child was born, a son, Rāhula.
The good king's father-heart at last felt peace.
'My son has found His own, His heart is happy.'
He knew not the great soul of his own son.

The Four Signs

Siddhārtha felt anew His life's great mission,
Expressed a wish to see the world outside
Then were the roads made bright by royal mandate
Garlands and waving flags welcomed the Prince.
But in celestial hall the gods held counsel.
And well disguised appeared upon the road
An aged man feeble and palsy stricken
He cried in agony, held trembling hand
Pleading for alms to still his gnawing hunger
Scarce could he speak, his voice was choked by cough
Then driving on beneath the swaying garlands,
They saw beside the road a writhing form
In pain and agony weeping and groaning.
'Help', cried he feebly, 'help me, Oh good Prince,
Or I shall die ere dawns another morning.'
Shuddered the Prince at the woe-stricken sights,
And ever more felt all the world's deep sorrow
And asked He sadly of His charioteer,
'When ills and weakness can hold out no longer,
What follows then?' 'Then follows death, my Lord.
The final which awaits all living beings.'
'And what is death? I never heard that word'
But soon He saw, a group of weeping mourners,
Lamenting and bemoaning bitter fate,
Came down the country road in slow procession.
And at their head walked four, with solemn step,
Bearing a cot decked with a snow-white cover.
'And who lies there so still that sheet beneath?'
'That is a corpse, my Lord, stiff, cold and lifeless
An empty shell from which the soul has fled.'

A ghastly flame, that gleamed by the near river
Soon told the tale: the end,—the end of all.
The Lord looked at the gruesome scene and questioned
'Is there no way then out of all this woe ?'
'Ah, no my Lord, from this there is no rescue.'
Then driving home, they met upon the road,
One, calm and stately, peace upon his features.
'And Channa, who is this' thus asked the Prince
'Upon whose face rests such a deep contentment ?'
'That is a monk, who did forsake the world,
And found his peace within the realm of silence.'
Then knew the Prince of men His time was ripe.
The great world called Him and He could not linger.

The Farewell

And as He went to leave parental halls,
His strong heart felt its manly pulses throbbing.
Then hushed and solemnly with noiseless step
He walked the long porphyry pillard passage
That led into a hallowed sanctuary,
Well sentinelled by gold-edged samite curtains.
And pushing with light hand the folds aside
He gazed upon that star-blessed scene before Him.
Here lay the Pearl, that His heart's inmost core
Had cherished through unnumbered passing ages,
A love that bore the test of centuries.
And He beheld again, with inward vision
Fond golden days of long forgotten lives.
So calm she lay, her waving hair half hiding
The mystic, occult beauty of her face.
And resting on her heaving, ivory bosom,
Clasped in the lily softness of her arms,
His only child, eye-lids in slumber drooping.
And heaved the pulses of His manly heart.
But heard His soul beneath this fond love-vision
A low voiced whining, weeping, burning sobs,
Saw wringing hands and ghastly, gore-stained faces
Curses and tears upon the soughing wind:
The bleeding soulcry of all vast creation.
Then burned His heart in anguish and He went,
Kingdom and power and wealth and love forsaking.
And tarried He no more, but with firm step
Took the bleak roadway of the homeless wanderer.

Buddha Gayā

Now onward wandering from place to place
Met many sādhus, each holding a doctrine.
Among these were five pious mendicants,
In a sequestered grove near Uruvelā.
Their lives were pure, but their austerities
Extreme and stringent beyond human reason.
Here stayed the Lord sometime, but soon He found
Not here could He accomplish His life's mission,
And grew His frame so weak that in the end
He fainted, lay exhausted by the wayside.
A herdsman came that way, driving his flock.
He saw that noble form all prostrate lying.
Then from the teeming udder of a ewe,
He pressed into His mouth its milky substance.
And lo, the Lord revived and opened His eyes.
Still felt He weak and neath the sylvan verdure
The cooling foliage of a shading tree
He found a seat. Here deep in meditation
Sujātā saw Him, pious herdsman's wife,
Unto whose mother-heart the gods had granted
The longed for precious gift of a sonchild.
She sought a holy man, to whom to offer
A gift prepared by her own pious hand:
A bowl of milk-rice, served in golden basin.
She saw the Lord in glory neath that tree,
Thought Him a god and prostrating in worship,
She placed the bowl of milk-rice at His feet.
The Lord partook and felt His body stronger.
And now comes the great moment of His life !
Behold ye suns and moons the Śākyamuni:
The time has come, He sits beneath the tree.
Behold the tree, laden with glowing clusters
Of vivid bloom, brilliant in soft-tinged rose
Veiled in a lustrous chrysophrase, and blending
Its hue and fragrance with young spring's full life.
Bend the green branches down in fond obeisance.
A hallowed murmur runs from star to star,
And stand the gods hushed in mute expectation,
While through the land of downfall and black sin
Strange whispers pass of hope and coming freedom,
And undulating waves of occult force
Flow through all throbbing hearts from brute to human.
Now Māra, seeing, comes with his mad hosts

On the winged wind of an unbridled fury,
And opens all the flood-gates of his hate.
But fire and curses, all hell's gruesome torrents
Cannot subdue the Prince of gods and men.
The victory shines on His imperious features
And from the wellspring His valiant heart
An unquenched fire of love and peace is flaming.
All Māra's hosts of lurid screaming ghouls
Cannot do harm e'en to his spotless garment.
Now turns in tenfold wrath the evil one
'You have not made the five great gifts Siddhārtha.
My teeming hosts bear witness unto me.
Speak now you, Śākya-prince, who is your witness.'
Then rose ten million voices from the soil,
And spake the mighty earth in roaring thunder,
'We bear Thee witness, dauntless Śākya-prince.'
Now fled all hell's wild hosts in dread confusion.
The morning dawns, the victory is won.
And oh, the glory of that love-charmed morning
O'er all creation hung the silver veil
Of a great dream, where rosy beacons glimmered
Inviting to a world of mellow rest,
Where pain is put to sleep pearl oases,
The wind filled sails of all unquenched desire
Are furled. The craft playing on waveless ocean
Will find its harbour on a starlit shore,
That tranquil land of dew-kissed lustrous silence,
The morning isle of a perennial dawn.

The Deer Park

Now in the fulness of His Buddhahood
He walked the road that led unto Benares
Where the five comrades of His former days
Were keeping rest. Seeing His form approaching,
They whispering spake, 'Behold He has come back!
But we will not now greet Him as Preceptor.'
But when they saw His soul's full majesty,
Upon His noble brow wisdom's bright splendour,
Those deep eyes with unfathomed glory filled,
They bowed their heads in reverent obeisance,
And fell in adoration at His feet.
And here, near Kāshī, in the sylvan deer park
He set in motion the great 'Wheel of Law'
That Wheel that sent its beacon through the ages
And left its golden stamp on many lands.

The pebbly desert bears eternal witness,
The sages of the South and northern Lakes,
Live by the Law, tell morbid world-tired seekers
Of an effulgent Life that cannot die.
Calmly He sat, His hand elate in blessing.
Drawn by the magic of those towering words,
The flaming devas from supernal regions,
The groaning dwellers of the lampless pit,
And all the speechless dwellers of the forest
Assembled at that grove in harmony,
Joining the five, all listening in mute rapture
The sylvan harpstring of this rhythmic speech
The mellifluent notes of silver cadence
That from the wellspring of His diamond soul
Gave hope to man and beast and sobbing spirits
And sent its echo over worlds in space.
That was the night of a world stirring rapture,
That filled the heaving air with cosmic force,
A spring from which flowed forth an eightfold river,
Which waters still a thirsty world today.

Kuśinārā

Near Kuśinārā in sequestered grove
Four Sāl trees stand, their crowns in rhythm swaying.
A mystic murmur passes through the air.
The young twigs weep and sigh their rosy blossoms
The melancholy crowns wave doleful dirge
Mingled with the soft sobbing of the leaves,
The falling tears of foliage laden branches,
The sighing lutestrings of the soughing wind
Adding a sad refrain in soulful cadence.
Nature is stirred unto its inmost core.
The heaving earth, the waves of distant oceans
Call forth mysterious voices from the deep,
And unknown mysteries rise from dark caverns;
Strange occult forces, unknown all to man,
Join in one mighty world encircling anthem,
And blend their voices in a requiem,
While o'er the earth the pall of death is hanging.
But is the ground a carpet of gold bloom
That fall from vivid height in gorgeous showers,
Laden with scent of lavender and myrrh;
And fragrance wafted from celestial gardens
Send waves of light in a transcendent stream.
The air is kindled with love-blazing beauty.

The gods are sending from their unseen realms
A glorious welcome to a world-tired pilgrim,
Who soon will travel through their sunny land,
Into Vastness of unconquered Silence.
And under these four sal trees stands a couch,
Around which stand in pale and stricken anguish
A multitude, who turn their tear-stained eyes
Upon that couch in poignant adoration.
There in serene, unstricken majesty
Solemn and calm the conqueror is resting.
Halos of glory from His body shine,
Still speaks His voice, the love-notes gently flowing
In mellifluent cadence, golden stream,
Bidding farewell in those fond, tender accents
That, ah, so oft have made their hearts rejoice.
But now, on every word hang silver teardrops.
'Weep not for me, my friends, the Law, the Doctrine
That I have given you, shall be your guide,
Be steadfast on the path that I have shown you,
And be ye each a lamp unto himself.
I now go to my final home, Nirvāṇa
The weary pathway in Saṃsāra's round,
My searching aching feet no more shall wander.
And you awaits the same great Destiny.'
Then came the moment of majestic stillness,
Hushed was the hour,—His great heart beat no more.
The conqueror had gone to His Dominions,
That land of bliss beyond all time and space,
Where only love and unchecked thought can follow
Where change and weeping sorrow are no more,
Where in perennial cosmic silence shrouded
Eternal life rests in transcendent bliss.
Now quaked the earth, the rivers swelled in torrents
And mystic forces filled the atmosphere.
Down from supernal heights reigned flaming garlands
In golden showers on that holy bier.
Now they who mourned turned to their last-love-duty
With weeping hearts and bitter burning tears.
But spake the voice within, that roused to action !
'Forward, go carry on the flaming torch,
O'er land and seas shall flow the fiery banner,
The world shall know the Lovelight of the Law.'
And thus the Wheel of the great Law is rolling
And will roll on as long as time does last.

THE ART OF THE MARATHAS AND ITS PROBLEMS

By

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The art of the Marathas is still a neglected field of Indian archaeology. As a result of certain traditional prejudices most scholars have dismissed, *a priori*, the idea that it might be worth investigation or appreciation.

The first prejudice is that the Maratha raiders had been too rude soldiers to be capable of bringing forth an art of their own. Yet the same argument might have been brought forward against Tamerlan, the Ghaznavids, Saljuqs, Ottoman Turks, many conqueror hordes of China, the early Mediaeval kingdoms of Europe, etc. The barbarism of conqueror hordes can go hand in hand with an appreciation of cultural values amongst their leaders, encouraging a distinct class of scholars, artisans, religious men. Such an appreciation, however, had existed amongst the Marathas from the very beginning. There was the religious renaissance of the Marathi saints, of a Tukārām, Rāmdās, etc., there was a traditional cultivation of Sanskrit learning amongst the Deccani brahmins, there was a rural art going back to the Hemadpanthi style, and echoes from the court arts of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. There was, since the conquest of Hindostan, a desire to vie with the splendours of the Mughal and Rajput courts.

The second prejudice consists in the idea that the Maratha hegemony represents the sunset of Indian greatness, the last flare-up within a general decadence. This is true in a sense. But on the other hand it is likewise true that political decadence is not identical with cultural decadence, though it colours cultural life in a special manner. Impoverishment and disintegration of the open country can go parallel with the splendour of courts and aristocracies. Then art becomes an escapism, but this escapism can create wonderful dream worlds, sensuous as well as mystic-religious. The Italian and Spanish Baroque or the French Rococo were such like dream worlds, and Indian art of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is another one.

A third prejudice is directed against the aesthetic qualities of such like arts, and through the Victorian art critics it has up to the present day influenced the current judgments on late Indian art. But modern criticism has since long reversed that verdict, and it is high time to do so also in this country. Art criticism of the nineteenth century demanded solely simplicity, harmony and naturalness, the characteristics of young and hopeful times. But the man of decadent periods is torn and emotional, his art seeks the stronger contrasts of his own life, a rich symphonic orchestration of devalued traditional forms, the show of strength besides the masquerade of conventions, an extreme emotionalism at the side of a mathematical purity of forms, fervent mysticism besides gross sensuality, exuberant ornaments besides utter simplicity, brilliant lights contrasted with deep shadows, glamourous colours and patterns, balanced

by a sense of unreality, of the illusory character of all those dearly loved earthly things.

If these aesthetic problems Maratha art has in common with that of the later Mughals, Rajputs and Sikhs, another criticism specially levelled against it is that of eclecticism. But this, too, is a prejudice. Art is not a flower which somewhere, sometime mysteriously springs from a mystic national soil as certain romantic art critics would like to make us believe. National arts are nowhere born as pure virgins, they are the products of chaotic agglomerations of cultural elements, national as well as foreign, contemporary as well as old ones. Only with growing maturity they develop a personality of their own, become pure and apparently unstained by any foreign influences. The refined Minoan civilization of ancient Crete and the barbarian art of the Danube basin, imports of Assyro-Babylonian art by Phoenicians, Lydians and Cyprians, the late Egyptian art of Sais have all contributed to the tradition leading to the masterpieces of the Parthenon and of Pergamon. Siberian nomads and Iranian cavaliers, Indian Buddhists, Greeks and Thai barbarians have enriched the stagnant Chinese civilization inherited from the Chou, so that the grand classic art of China of the Teang and Sung emperors could be born. At the roots of the pedigree of the Taj Mahal there stand Pathan traditions from Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat, influences from Bengal, Rajputana and the Deccan, and new imports from Persia and Turkistan. What has made all of them great, was not the virgin purity of their origin, but the strong national or social consciousness which could assimilate these many influences into one new, self-contained style of outspoken personality. The 'eclecticism' of Maratha art is only that of all young arts, also of classic Gupta art during its formative stage in the Mathura of the late Indo-Scythians. Maratha art has in the course of time likewise evolved its own personality and characteristic style. But this is too often overlooked because the lifetime of its mature style had been brief, whereas the formative elements have been overemphasized, as they still are better known than the style finally born from them.

But just this makes Maratha art so interesting. For as it is near to us, we are in an exceptionally good position to study the mechanism of its growth and the forces behind the latter. Let us, therefore, study the questions: First, which social forces have formed Maratha art? Then, which elements have contributed to its formation? Thirdly, what has been the selective process and what the hierarchy of types in this agglomeration? Finally, what are the characteristics of the style into which they were fused?

As already observed there existed a certain cultural tradition in the Maratha country already before Śivājī raised the banner of rebellion against the Muslim rulers of Bijapur and Delhi. Nay, this local culture had been the prerequisite condition to render his ambitious dreams practicable at all. For no national consciousness and still less any national enthusiasm are possible without a distinct cultural tradition differentiating its carriers from the neighbouring nations and States. On the negative side, this distinctive

consciousness was created by the common protection offered by the foot-hills of the Western Ghats to the heirs of the Śilāhāras and Hoysalas, and the refugees from Deogiri and Vijayanagar against the slow, but persistent advance of the Islamic powers, Khiljīs and Tughlaqs, Bahmanīs, Nizāmshāhīs and Ādilshāhīs. On the positive side it was created by the Maratha saints, Tukārām, Rāmdās, etc.

This civilization was rural and simple, its architecture a faint echo of the Hemadpanthi temple style combined with the Western Deccani peasant house, its sculpture and painting of that very crude type which we can trace everywhere as the oldest one after the crisis of the Muslim invasions. Then, with the rise of Maratha jagirdars in the service of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Delhi and finally with the kingdom of Śivājī (1646–80) higher demands for luxury and pomp came up which, however, were still simple enough. It seems that they were satisfied by second-class artisans from the surrounding Muslim centres. This attitude changed with the rise of the Peshwās. The great pillaging campaigns all over India brought home many art treasures; king Śāhūjī (+1749) had the leisure of a peaceful life which always encourages the protection of the arts; the Peshwās Bājīrāo I (1720–40) and Bālājī Bājī Rāo (1740–61), proud and ambitious, had the desire to exhibit their growing power in buildings and pompous ceremonies; artisans and dancing girls were imported from the North, though there still prevailed a haughty disdain against the toy things of the weak and corrupt Hindusthanis, comparable to that of the Romans against the 'Graeculi'.

But under Mādhav Rāo I (1761–72) and II (1774–95) and the long regency of Nānā Farnavīs (+1800) Maratha life had become refined. There still continued a certain immigration of artists from Rajputana and even from China, but on the whole Maratha art had already found its own style, with a certain variation in the North where the connections of Mahādjī Sindhiā (1761–94) with the Mughal court and Jaipur had created a much stronger Mughal influence, and at Tanjore (since 1679) in the South where South Indian civilization predominated. Since the reign of Bājī Rāo II (1795–1818) the disintegration set in. With the break-up of the Maratha federation also its art was dispersed over many local centres which fell under the influence of their surroundings. And finally European influence became strong when British suzerainty had made Western art fashionable. But also the latter has undergone curious vicissitudes, penetrating in mixed and archaic forms before its genuine contemporary aspects could find acknowledgment.

At the beginning of Maratha art there stands a style which may somehow have been derived from Hemadpanthi architecture. But the connection is not strict, for after the Muslim invasions it can be traced almost everywhere and may better be regarded as a primitive rural style which alone survived when the great temples had been overthrown and their beautiful sculptures mutilated. It is true that this richer temple architecture was revived in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, but as far as our evidence at present goes, this seems to have been the result of a conscious renaissance whereas the

development of the primitive type finally led to Rajput architecture and its Mughal offshoots under Akbar and Jahāngīr. But in the Maratha country this primitive style survived so long that its fundamental characteristics were preserved into a later and richer age. Its characteristics are cellas and closed maṇḍapas of almost plain walls, and rather low step roofs. These roofs may be interpreted as a simplification of the miniature storeys of the classical Mediaeval maṇḍapa roofs back to a clumsy corbelled dome of crude stone beams. Open maṇḍapas or Nandi maṇḍapas generally have simple quadrangular pillars, with hardly a suggestion of a capital. In more elegant examples the rectangular ground plan has received a certain enrichment by receding corners, niches in the interior, a simple door moulding and pillars changing from a lower quadrangular to an upper octangular cross-section. In the first half of the eighteenth century (Sātārā, Purandhar, Panhāla, etc.) the type has been further refined under Mughal-Rajput influence, the roof assumes the shape of a tent, early Muslim battlement ornaments decorate the cornice, the door looks an archaic mihrab, the ceiling has assumed the sixteenth century Rajput type (Amber, Orchhā, Dātiā) of superimposed rows of sloping slabs, with a lotus ornament in the centre, the niches belong to the same style, and in the South (Kolhapur, Panhāla) lathe-turned Deccani-Hindu columns are introduced. Still later examples (e.g. temple of Sawāi Mādho Rāo at Purandhar) show in the interior rich Mughal arches, niches and ceilings, and on the exterior a lotus knob instead of the āmalaka. But then the type seems to have quickly degenerated.

Parallel to this temple architecture goes a house style consisting of stone terraces surrounding one, two (ladies') or more courts over which halls, galleries and rooms are constructed by heavy wooden columns and beams, with interstices filled in with brickwork and plaster. In the whole Deccan peasant houses of this type are to be found, and the later Maratha palaces are distinguished from them only by a greater number of courts and storeys (generally two storeys with a third in front) up to six (Shanvarwāda, Poona) and seven (Indore), and rich wood carvings, wall paintings and plaster ornaments in a style evolved from Mughal-Rajput art.

The architecture of the Bahmanīs, Adilshāhīs and Nizāmshāhīs had been known to the Marathas from the many hill-forts erected since the reign of Mahmūd I Bahmanī (1378–97) and further improved under the successive dynasties of the Bahmanīs. Generally speaking, this Deccani-Muslim architecture of the hill-forts is of a stern and rather plain type, though the mosques, tombs and gates often have elegant arch and pilaster mouldings and some floral motifs and knobs on top of the arches. Śivājī continued this tradition, but after his death it seems to have died out. The utter distress of Mughal pressure and of civil war had not been favourable to new building activities.

Only when the victorious advance of the Maratha armies after the death of Aurungzēb (1707) gave peace to the Maratha country and pride to its leaders, the arts began to flourish again. It seems that the first impulse had been given by the Peshwā Bājī Rāo I (1720–40) when in 1730 he started to

erect his own fortified Wāda in Poona. But not before 1740 building activities seem to have assumed a greater extent, until the crisis of 1761 and the death of Bālājī Bājī Rāo (1761) made a temporary end to this first heyday of Maratha art. We may call it the Eclectic Period. For no genuine Maratha style had yet developed. Artisans were summoned from all sides so that the art of this period is a real sample collection of Indian styles. In the South, at Kolhapur or Māhulī near Sātārā, the temple architecture of Mediaeval Warangal or Kanara is taken up again, the royal samadhs at Māhulī reflect the styles of the Fārūqī dynasty of Khāndēsh and of the Nizāmshāhīs of Daulatābād, intermixed with ornament motifs from Gulbarga, Bīdar and Vijayanagar. The fortifications of the Shanvarwāda in Poona and of the old Bhonsle Wāda in Nāgpur, Bājī Rāo I's Gate at Purandhar, or the Omkareśvara Temple in Poona, the galleries of the Bhavānī Temple in Aundh, of the Viśveśvar Māhādev and Krishnéśvar Mahādev Temples in Māhulī, the Khandoba Temple at Jejuri, etc. follow a simple vault style of which it is difficult to say whether it should be defined as early Rajput, degenerated Deccani or provincial Mughal. At the Samgameśvar Temple at Sāsvad Mughal ornaments again are introduced into an else pure Hindu renascence architecture. Bālājī Bājī Rāo's great temple at Trimbak finally resumes the Mediaeval Gujarati-North-western Deccani tradition in all its splendour, and also in the temples of Nāsik, especially in the Sundar Nārāyan, Gujarati features are strongly in evidence, whereas the Mahākāla Temple of Ujjain represents a rather clumsy renascence of the North Indian temple type.

Of the secular architecture of this period we know so far only little; but the palace of Rānojī Sindhiā (1726–45) at Ujjain is a rather plain Maratha building, with a bangaldar roof over the closed pavilion on top of the façade.

It is still too early to define the sculpture of this time. It seems to be a more or less slavish imitation of classical Mediaeval models, careful in detail, but generally the figures are too short, especially the legs, and stiff and expressionless. More we know about pictorial art. The museum of Aundh has very old illustrated manuscripts of two style types. The first might be described as a very primitive variety of the Southern Rajput school of Jahāngīr's time, the other as a degeneration of the seventeenth century Bijapur school. But under the first Peshwās both types were superseded by the works of provincial Mughal artists of which especially the collection of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal at Poona possesses a representative collection.

The second half of the eighteenth century forms the zenith of Maratha art. The disaster of Pānīpat (1761) had chastened the minds. Though there remained sufficient egoism, cunning and unscrupulous brutality amongst many army leaders, a certain idealism had nevertheless caught the minds. The three Peshwās, Mādhav Rāo I (1761–72), Nārāyan Rāo (1772-73) and Sawāi Mādhav Rāo (1774–95), tried their best to be exemplary rulers, Nānā Farnavīs, the crafty statesman behind the scenes, likewise realized the importance of Hindu dharma as authority of the regime, and Ahalya Bāi of Indore (1754–95) was a genuine saint. An intellectual atmosphere had

developed fostering a characteristic art in which all the elements still discernible in the preceding period were fused into one style.

In the temples of this later period brick and plaster dominate as they are more adaptable to rich forms. The starting point of these late temples is the post-Mughal architecture of Rajputana. Already the Rajputs had transformed the Mughal style into a Hindu art, i.e. they had dissolved the essentially functional-structural Muslim interpretation of forms into a symbolic-sculptural one, reduced the subordinate parts to mere moulded ornaments, amalgamated them into new composite forms, and multiplied them into complicated symphonies of reduplications.

This tendency was taken up and continued by the Marathas. The Mediaeval śikhara formed a composite of a plain central spire along which innumerable small śikharas, slim and broad ones, rose upwards, until that vertical movement was finally capped by the heavy horizontal āmalaka. The Maratha śikhara forms a similar system, not of spires but of miniature Deccani and Mughal bangaldar chhattris and minarets. But whereas in late Rajput temples these chhattris still are genuine pavilions, in the Maratha temples they are grouped together in row after row, in bundles and column bundles until the top is capped, not by an āmalaka, but by a miniature fluted bulb dome rising from a lotus, like the cupolas of the later Bijapuri mausolea. In the Maratha temples of the Deccan this lotus-dome āmalaka is on the four sides often supported by big Nāgas, apparently a heritage from Śilāhāra architecture. Only very few of these miniature chhattris are genuine pavilions, most of them are massive structures whose niches are filled with the modelled or painted figures of gods, saints and angels. The niches of the cellas are generally enclosed by the traditional Mediaeval Gujarati framework, but their columns not seldom are of a Muslim type, a cusped arch is set into the frame, and the jali filling is as often as not of Muslim origin. Smaller niches not seldom show a simple pendentif work evolved from a prototype common in the Tughlaq period. The border of the platform supporting the maṇḍapa is often decorated with stone reliefs of those heavy rings, at which the Mughals used to fasten the ropes of their shamiyānās. For the maṇḍapa and ardhamaṇḍapa proper the Gujarati cupola has become the rule, often supported by late Mughal arches, and with a low or lotus-bud exterior dome. Along the cornice a miniature Mughal pent roof is added, often crowned by a Muslim battlement frieze. Another very characteristic type of maṇḍapa simply is the hall of the Maratha palace erected in front of the cella, as on the other hand many real durbar halls end in the shrine of the Ishṭa Devatā of the Sardar or royal family. Thus Maratha temples in most cases also are enclosed in a court of the usual Maratha type, the halls of which serve as naqqar-khāna, dharmśālā, schools, priest quarters, etc.

Civil buildings have retained the traditional Maratha type. But their decoration has become very rich. The gigantic heavy woodwork of the public palace courts often is plain as it had originally been covered with brocades. But in the more intimate interior courts, especially in the ladies' quarters with the tulsi flower-stands and 'Mughal' fountains in the centre, it is delicate and generally beautifully carved. The wooden columns are a last development of the late Mughal type as it had evolved since Aurangzēb and Muhammad Shāh. The arches, though cusped like late Mughal arches, are low, broken in the centre and end in heavy knobs so that they seem to be not so much an evolution from the latter, but rather a cross-breed between the Mughal-Rajput arch and the Southern Hindu bracket. The origin of most of the other wood carvings can be traced to the Muslim (also pre-Mughal) tradition, Gujarat and Rajputana (peacock motif in several variants). The walls between and behind these heavy, almost black wooden arcades are decorated with small late Mughal niches or large wall paintings. Also on top of the arcades, friezes of small paintings were sometimes added (Shanvar and Konkerwādas, Poona), whereas the wooden ceilings were decked with a wonderful ornament work of thin, carved wood ledges. The fountains in the courts and halls have not the shallow basins of classic Mughal architecture, but are narrow and deep, like those of Akbar's and Jahāngīr's time, with complicated bundles of Mughal columns crowned by lotus buds for the water jets. The arrangement of the basins, often with a thin, curved brim, is very beautiful, and reveals a thorough acquaintance with the Mughal Chārbāgh. Palaces of this type are common in Poona, but can also be found in the whole area of Maratha expansion, Sātārā, Aundh, Kolhapur, Nāsik, Chandor, Bārodā, Indore, Maheshwar and Nāgpur.

In Indore, however, Mughal-Rajput influence had already been very strong whereas in Gwalior and Ujjain it actually predominated. Ahalyā Bāi's buildings, it is true, strictly follow the simple Maratha tradition, but the temples of her successor Yeshwant Rāo Holkar (1795–1811) represent an intermediate form between the Maratha (genuine śikhara) type and the late Rajput temple with its broad pent roofs and open chhattris. The enclosure of these temples belongs to the pure North Indian tradition, and likewise many samadhs at the Chhattri Bagh of Indore. The Gorkhi palace of Daulat Rāo Sindhiā (1794–1827) at Gwalior is pure Mughal architecture. His and Jānkojī II's (1827–43) shrines at Gwalior, that of Rānojī (1726–45) at Ujjain and the 'Chhattri' Temple of Baijā Bāi at the same place might as well have been erected at some Rajput court, except for small details revealing their Maratha connections.

Sculpture and painting of this time are not of special quality, but they have a fresh original note. The imitation of Mediaeval sculptures is, wherever possible, overcome and, perhaps under Rajput or Gujarati inspiration, superseded by an attempt towards a realism describing contemporary life, especially in the figures of dwārapālas, gandharvas and apsaras. Thus the chief entrance of later Maratha temples is generally decorated with rather stiff and gaudy, realistic statues of contemporary Maratha warriors, standing or sitting on elephants. The figures of dancing girls and musicians, generally in the late Hindu or Delhi-Lucknow dress, not seldom have a considerable charm. Also purely mythological sculpture has become infected by these tendencies where

especially the Rādhā-Krishna cycle, fully developed first in Rajput art, gave full scope to the inventiveness of the mason.

In this time also a genuine Maratha school of painting finally developed. Mughal and Rajput painters have continued to be fashionable at the rich courts deep into the nineteenth century. These paintings stand nearest to certain types of the Jaipur and Jodhpur schools, and it is well possible that from there artists went over to the Maratha service when as a result of civil wars and the Maratha devastations those splendid art centres passed through a period of misery and desolation. At our present stage of knowledge these paintings are difficult to identify, but often betray themselves by architectural and dress features characteristic for the Maratha tradition. Besides this refined court art, however, a popular school grew up, apparently trained by the just mentioned masters. For the whitewashed brick walls of the Maratha palaces invited to a decoration by wall paintings. Yet these walls also demanded a large and rather summary treatment which left no scope for the technical subtilities of the miniatures, but encouraged the same naive natural freshness which characterizes contemporary sculpture. And in imitation of these wall paintings also a new type of miniatures developed, of rather crude technique, summary treatment, but good observation of life. The figures are heavy, if not fat, eyes rather over-enlarged, legs generally too short, the standing posture often out of balance, but else expression and movements are vivid. Landscape remains undeveloped. Favourite colours are blue, green and yellow. It is at present difficult to say how much the Maratha school of Tanjore has contributed to this style, or has been shaped by it. But so much we can say that early in the eighteenth century the court style of the Tanjore paintings still had been late Mughal. On the other hand are certain characteristics of the popular Maratha pictures to be found not only in Tanjore, but in the whole South of that time, especially the summary treatment, the predilection for round lines and fat figures. And at least we have one case of an iconographic type migrating from the South up to the Panjab Himalaya *via* Tanjore, the Maratha country, the Vallabhacharya temples of Rajputana and Mathura: the image of the baby Krishna lying on a lotus leaf and sucking its toe.

The industrial arts have not yet been explored systematically, but they seem to have received strong influences both from Rajputana and Tanjore, and to have undergone the same transformation towards a rich, but heavy type.

From the death of the second Mādho Rāo (1795) to the middle of the nineteenth century we may reckon the last phase of Maratha art, that of decadence and disintegration. One source of this decadence was the demoralization of Maratha society, extreme individualism, corruption and licentiousness. Its counterpart in art was a wild and exuberant degeneration of forms in which the organic function of forms was sacrificed to the whim of fancy, and a not less unbridled absorption of foreign imports, North Indian, Chinese and several types of European art. Against purists it must, however, be stressed

that not this absorption of foreign inspirations was the morbid aspect of this decadence; it was actually the last healthy self-defence. For not purity of form, but creative capacity is the sign of a living art. And the petrifaction of forms following on the heyday of a pure style is the real decadence, the inner death against which those 'exotistic' experiments represent the first progress on a way through a long crisis towards a new creative art. We should, therefore, not despise them.

The temple architecture of the last period is represented by two degenerate types and one last, poor renascence type. In the first the system of superposed sham chhattris has been reduced to a single storey, whereas the āmalaka-lotus dome has grown to excessive dimensions. In the second the śikhara has been simplified to a fluted cone crowned by a small lotus dome or by a genuine āmalaka, the latter a loan from the next type. For the renascence śikhara is again an imitation of the Mediaeval type, but without its elegant forms; it has lost that perfect parabolic contour, symbol of a perfect balance of masses; its outline now passes from a rigid vertical into two simple circle segments. Better, however, are some temple enclosures such as that of the Gopāl Mandir at Ujjain (1833). The dynamic intensification of its late Mughal-Rajput forms from the latter wings towards the façade of the central entrance would have aroused the enthusiasm of every European Baroque architect.

This overwhelming invasion of late Mughal-Rajput forms, especially of the innumerable slim bays and balconies so characteristic for the Hawa Mahal at Jaipur or the Moti Mahal in Jodhpur Fort, is the main feature of the first phase of late Maratha palace architecture. But they are cramped between the traditional Maratha half-timbered work with its completely opposite style tendencies of linearism and simplicity (Chief Gate of Indore Palace, Western Naqqar-Khāna of the old Bhonslewāda at Nāgpur, Nānā Farnavīs's house in Poona, etc.). And the effect is anything but satisfactory, in spite of the gigantic dimensions of some of these buildings. In the woodwork, especially at the Vishram Bagh at Poona, an outspoken Chinese influence becomes evident, originally imported probably *via* Goa where we have a Maratha temple with Chinese roof at Pondá, then *via* Bombay. This Chinese influence seems to be responsible also for the later type of Maratha brackets at Baroda, though they have quickly become completely Indianized. And finally also for certain heavy furniture from Vijāpur in Baroda State.

The next stage brings an invasion of eighteenth century French architecture and even furniture in an already half-Indianized form, mainly *via* Lucknow. As both eighteenth century French and Indian art represented late styles, the adaptation was easy, and the amalgamation and mixture of the individual elements remarkable. The French decorative forms were simply imposed on the traditional Indian architecture system, in many cases replacing similar Indian forms, in exactly the same manner in which in the North European Renaissance of the sixteenth century an Italian decoration had been grafted on a French, German, Spanish or English late Gothic tradition, or in which the French Rococo had been grafted on eighteenth and early

nineteenth century Ottoman-Turkish art. A curious feature of this architecture lies in certain pseudo-Chinese buildings, inspired not directly from China, but by the 'Chinoiserie' of Rococo Europe, the Western counterpart of the exotistic tendencies which in India the Lucknow Rococo and Louis XVI (Georgian) style represented. An example in Lucknow is the Sikandar Bāgh, a Maratha one, the pavilions of the Tulsi Bāgh in Nāgpur. The chief heritage of this period in Indian furniture consists of the big lustres everywhere to be found in Maratha palaces and temples. They represent a simplified imitation of the famous Venetian glass lustres, and were later on often replaced by genuine Venetian imports. The Victorian English style, however, came into fashion only about 1830–50. It was never genuinely absorbed and spelt the final death of late Indian, including Maratha, art.

In the sculpture of this time two tendencies can be traced. One was the decay of traditional sculpture down to a completely degenerated type reminding of negro fetishes. The other was the introduction of a misunderstood Western naturalism grafted on the traditional Maratha ideals of beauty. This unpleasant product lacks the strength of life expression which is the prerequisite of beauty in a naturalistic style, but also the perfect pattern which alone raises a mere artisan tradition to the level of genuine beauty. This clay sculpture has been used for the funerary dolls of the Maratha samadhs and many household and procession idols, and its tradition is still alive.

In the paintings the balance between debased Mughal-Rajput and popular Maratha style remained the same. Of this time we have luxurious rooms in the Moti Bāgh at Indore, the Tambekarwāda and the Vitthal Mandir at Baroda, etc. decorated with wall paintings as well as varnished wooden panels. The details leave much to be desired, but the general effect is charming. An interesting feature lies in the copies from European art, English prints of the Regency and French ones of the periods of Napoleon, the Restauration and Louis Philippe. In the 'Adālatwāda at Sātārā, for instance, we can see, amongst other pictures, the entry of Napoleon's armies into Berlin in 1806. Occasionally also copies from Chinese paintings are to be found. But whereas all these copies have had no influence on Maratha art, Chinese underglass painting in that time created a new Maratha school of Indian painting. In China this technique was known at least since the later Ming dynasty. It was introduced in Europe towards the end of the sixteenth century, but was popular only in folk art. It turned up in Poona first during the last years of Nānā Farnavīs as a purely Chinese import, even with Chinese subjects. But soon we find also portraits of Maratha rulers and sardars, princesses and fashionable dancing girls. Then also the style became more and more Indian and spread over the whole sphere of Maratha influence, from Nāgpur, Gwalior and Baroda to Kolhapur, Seringapatam, Mysore and Tanjore. The origin of the Mica pictures of Bengal has not yet been explored, but it seems probable that they were inspired by this school of Sino-Maratha underglass painting. With the growing influence of English civilization in the wake of the railways also underglass painting withered away, like all the late schools of Indian pictorial art.

This survey has made it sufficiently clear that Maratha art represents a special and distinct style of Indian art, indeed the last one brought forth before the collapse of the nineteenth century. There remains to us only the task to define its characteristics, the relation of its component elements and the spirit welding them together into a distinct style. The basic fact for our analysis must be the realization that the Maratha empire represented not only a national movement, but also a Hindu revolution against Muslim supremacy. Its cultural ideal, therefore, had to be a Hindu renaissance. It was, however, not an archaistic attempt to revive the past, but a living renaissance in the spirit of its own time. Therefore the Maratha attitude was discerning and selective. In military architecture the Muslim tradition was, on the whole, continued, for before the coming of the French and British it was the best and most up-to-date fortification system. Neither was civil architecture a revival of the past. The Hindu rural house of the Maratha country was developed, on the model of the many-storeyed palaces of Bijapur, into a new palace type, retaining the national half-timbered system of halls on stone terraces, closed by whitewashed brick fillings. But the national rustic temple architecture had been too poor as to revive the splendours of past Hindu glory. Thus here alone a conscious revival was attempted with the help of such traditions as had survived in the Karnatik, Gujarat and Rajputana. But neither here a slavish imitation of the past was envisaged, and after the first eclectic reconstructions soon an original style developed.

The chief factor in the making of this new style was the introduction of contemporary Indian court art in the decoration of those basic architectural types of the national Hindu renaissance. Only at the start we can distinguish between Hindu and Muslim elements. For to whatever roots we may trace the individual motifs, in eighteenth century Indian art they were fused into one style employed likewise by Hindus and Muslims. We may even say that by that time even the classical Mughal style had become more Hindu than Muslim. For it had been taken over by the Rajputs and was developed by them in a new, national Hindu spirit, with its symbolic sculptural interpretation of architectural forms, its system of decorative organization by a multiplication of devalued original motifs, and its musicality of simplified lines in painting. Thus the Mughal-Rajput style—which had absorbed also the Deccani tradition—had become acceptable to Hindus, and formed, as the luxury style of the period, the chief stock of all decoration amongst the Marathas, especially in masonry, plasterwork, painting and small luxury articles. This explains also its decisive influence on the transformation of the śikhara of the Maratha temple. For as the śikhara had been a composite of small decorative motifs, it could so easily change its character from a spire tower to a chhattri tower. Only in wood carving the stronger Gujarati tradition predominated, until it, too, was swallowed up by the new tendencies. But besides these leading currents there always remained a flotsam of archaic motifs, heritage of the originally provincial character of Maratha art. This survival of archaic motifs in provincial art is a very important problem which

needs further study and will change many of our conventional identifications and chronological allocations in Indian art history.

But what was the spirit welding these forms together into a unity? The Marathas had been a nation of frugal herdsmen and tillers of the soil. They had become mighty not as an emigrant aristocracy, but as raiders, for a long period always returning to their home country, and even when settling down far away, still with their hearts in the poor, but healthy Maratha highlands. Peasants are conservative, and a renaissance movement again is conservative. Maratha art has been conservative. Peasants are simple and practical, not sophists nor ideologists. Maratha art has never had a doctrine, it was eclectic and assimilative in all minor questions. Peasants, especially hillmen, preserve a certain heavy coarseness. This coarse heaviness and solidity have likewise been characteristics of Maratha art. The Maratha empire builders, however, had also been children of their time, of a declining Indian civilization, torn between brutal power politics and dharma, poverty and luxury, traditionalism and search for new inspirations, sensuality and mysticism: An Indian Baroque Age! And Baroque is the character of Maratha art, not replete with quiet harmony, but full of tensions: tension between stasis and movement, simplicity and excessive decoration (as in the Spanish Churrigueresque style), grossness and religiosity, national and foreign elements. And as the European Baroque ended in the playful form dissolution of the Rococo and in the exotic Chinois erie, likewise the Maratha Baroque dissolved at the end of the eighteenth century into a fancy style and then into an exotism of partly Chinese, partly Rococo-Western origin. It was the last national art of pre-industrial India. It was not one of the highlights of Indian civilization, but in any case an art deserving careful study and appreciation.

RŪDAKĪ, THE FATHER OF NEO-PERSIAN POETRY

By

DR. M. ISHAQUE

In the roll of famous poets and writers to whom Īrān is indebted for the revival of her language and literature, Rūdakī's name deserves the first place. He refined the language, enriched its vocabulary and made it capable of expressing all kinds and shades of thought. He is not unduly revered as the father of neo-Persian poetry—the inaugurator of the new era of poetic composition in Persian.

Īrān came under the Arab sway after the decisive battle fought at Nahāvand in A.D. 642. The Arabic language and literature reigned supreme in the country for well over two centuries. It was only during the Ṭāhirid period (A.D. 820–72) that the Iranian Muse began to sing again after her age-long silence. The Ṣaffārids (A.D. 868–903), being of Iranian origin, by their patronage gave a strong impetus to the beginning of Persian poetry. No poet

of outstanding merit is known to have appeared during these two periods. The Sāmānid princes (A.D. 874–999) undoubtedly played a glorious rôle in that they furthered the revival of both Persian prose and poetry by liberally patronizing the literary luminaries of the period, and it was in their magnificent court that Rūdakī and Daqīqī, the precursor of Firdausī, flourished.

The name of the poet, as given by 'Awfī, is Abū 'Abdu'llāh Ja'far Muḥammad ar-Rūdakī as-Samarḳandī.[1] Different *Tazkira* (memoir) writers have given his name differently. Sam'ānī in his *Kitābu'l Ansāb* has given the name as Abū 'Abdu'llāh Ja'far bin Muḥammad bin Ḥakīm bin 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān bin Ādam ar-Rūdakī ash-Shā'ir as-Samarḳandī.[2] Aḥmad Manīnī has adopted this name in his commentary on the *Ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī*.[3] Daulatshāh in his *Tazkira* records his name as 'Abu'l-Ḥasan Rūdagī.[4]

The poet was a native of Banuj, a village in the district of Rūdak near Samarḳand. He adopted his pen-name as 'Rūdakī', because he hailed from Rūdak. Some writers have sought to explain the term 'Rūdakī' by saying that the poet was so called because he could play on rūd[5] (harp). This explanation is obviously wrong, because in that case, as pointed out by Sa'īd-i Nafīsī,[6] the poet would have been called Rūdī (and not Rūdakī) or rather Rūd-nawāz, Rūdzan or Rūdsāz which is the term for one who can play on rūd. Rūdak, a diminutive form of Rūd, has not been met with. The term 'Rūdagī', as spelt by Jackson, Browne and other orientalists, is obviously erroneous. As the poet passed most of his life in the court of the Sāmānid kings at Bukhārā, some of the memoir-writers think that he was a native of Bukhārā.

The exact date of birth of the poet is not known. But by a rough calculation made from the internal evidences at our disposal, it may be said that he was born about the middle of the third century of the Hegira. According to Sam'ānī he died in A.H. 329.[7] The following verses of the poet himself go to show that he lived to a ripe old age[8]:—

شدم پیر بدینسان و تو خود هم نه جوانی
مرا سینه پرُ انجوخ و تو چفته کمانی[8]

Grown so old am I and thou too art not young,
Full of wrinkles is my bosom and bent art thou like a bow.

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[1] 'Awfī, *Lubābu'l-Albāb*, ii, 6, ed. E. G. Browne, in the Persian Historical Texts Series, Leyden, 1903.

[2] 'Abdu'l-Karīm b. Muḥammad as-Sama'ānī, *Kitābu'l-Ansāb* (Arabic text, facsimile), published by the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial (Vol. XX, 1913), fol. 262.

[3] Aḥmad Manīnī, *Alfatḥu'l-Wahbī 'Alā Ta'rīkh-i Abī Naṣri'l-'Utbī*, i, 52.

[4] Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā*, p. 31, ed. Browne, in the Persian Historical Texts Series, Leyden, 1901.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[6] *Aḥwāl u Ash'ār-i Abū 'Abdu'llāh Ja'far Muḥammad Rūdakī Samarḳandī*, Vol. II, p. 465, Tehran, 1310 A.H. (solar).

[7] Sama'ānī, *Kitābu'l-Ansāb* (Arabic text, facsimile), published by E. J. W. Gibb Memorial (Vol. XX, 1913), fol. 262.

[8] Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs*, p. 24, ed. Paul Horn, Berlin, 1897 and p. 76, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl, Tehran, 1319 A.H. (solar).

Elsewhere he says:

مرا بسود و فرو ریخت هرچه دندان بود   نبود دندان لا بل چراغ تابان بود

. . . .

کنون زمانه دگر گشت و من دگر گشتم   عصا بیار که وقتِ عصا و انبان بود

Wore out and fell all the teeth I had,
They were teeth, nay they were bright lamps;

. . . .

Now the time hath changed and changed am I,
Get a beggar's stick, for 'tis the time to have a stick and a wallet.

And again he writes:

پیرِ فرتوت گشته بودم سخت

دولتِ او مرا بکرد جوان[1]

Exceeding old and decrepit I had grown
His favours made me young anew[1].

From these verses we understand that the poet's skin got wrinkled with age. He had lost all his teeth and had grown so decrepit that he needed a stick for support. The age of a man of this description should be between seventy and eighty, if not more. If we suppose that he lived for seventy years, then it may be said that he was born about the year 259 A.H.

'Awfī says that Rūdakī was born blind. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Jāmī in his *Bahāristān*, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī in his *Haft-i Iqlīm* and Rezā Qulī Khān Hidāyat in his *Majmau'l-Fuṣaḥā* have shared 'Awfī's view. But their view is not correct due to the following facts[2]:—

(i) His similes are so exact and true that they cannot be expected to be from the pen of a person who is born blind.

As for example:

خورشید را ز ابر دمد روی گاه گاه

چونان حصارئی که گذر دارد از رقیب

Off and on the Sun peeps out of the cloud
Like unto a lover hiding from his rival.

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[1] Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs*, p. 14, ed. Paul Horn, Berlin, 1897 and p. 35, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl, Tehran, 1319 A.H. (solar).

[2] The Egyptian writer Jamālu'ddīn Muḥammad b. Nubāta in his work *Sarḥu'l-'Uyūn fi Sharḥ-i Risālat-i ibn-i Zaidūn*, while dealing with the biography of Bashshār b. Burd (put to death in A.D. 783), says that the poet who was born blind used such similes as could hardly be expected from a blind poet and adds that the poet when asked how he could use such similes replied that when the physical eye was unable to see, the power of the eye of the mind was intensified:

و كان يشبه الاشياء بما لا يقدر عليه البصراء و سُئل عن ذلك فقال عدم النظر يقوى ذكاء القلب و يقطع عنه الشغل بما ينظر اليه من الاشياء فيتوفر حسه

[p. 165, Alexandria, A.H. 1290].

Elsewhere he says:

آن دهنِ تنگِ تو گوئی کسی

دانگکی نار بدو نیم کرد

That tiny mouth of thine is, as it were, a pomegranate cut open.

(ii) Colours play an important part in some of his verses, viz.

بحجاب اندرون شود خورشید   گر تو برداری از دو لاله حجیب

و آن زنخدان بسیب ماند راست   اگر از مشک خال دارد سیب

The Sun would hide itself, if thou unveilest thy face red as tulip
And that chin would at once resemble an apple if the apple had a black mole on it.

Also

وان عقیقین مئی که هر که بدید

از عقیقِ گداخته نشناخت

One who saw that red wine confused it for molten ruby.

In the following verse he praises the beautiful white set of teeth he had in his younger days:

سپید سیم رده بود و درّ و مرجان بود

ستارهٔ سحری بود و قطرهٔ باران بود

They were as white as pure silver and resembled a row of pearls,
They were as bright as the Morning Star and as clear as the drops of rain.

(iii) The word دیدم (i.e. I saw) used in some of his verses definitely proves that he was not born blind; e.g.

مهر دیدم بامدادان چون بتافت

از خراسان سوی خاور می شتافت

At daybreak I saw the Sun, as it shone, hastening westward from Khurāsān.

Again elsewhere he says:

پوپک دیدم بحوالی سرخس   بانگک بر بُرده بابر اندرا

چادرکی دیدم رنگین بر او   رنگ بسی گونه بر آن چادرا

Near Sarakhs I saw a hoopoo, its cries would pierce the clouds,
I saw it clad in a little mantle of variegated hues.

(iv) Both Daulatshāh and Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī are silent so far as the blindness of the poet is concerned.

From these arguments we come to the conclusion that the poet was not blind from his birth. But it may be said that he became blind in his advanced age. Manīnī in his commentary on the *Ta'rikh-i Yamīnī*, following Najātī, says that the poet was blinded towards the close of his life.[1] If that be so, he must have been blinded either on account of some eye-disease or by way of punishment then prevalent. He might have been punished for his close association with the minister Abu'l-Faẓl Muḥammad Bal'amī (d. Safar 10, 329/Nov. 14, 940) who was deprived of his office in A.H. 326/A.D. 937-38 for his leanings towards the Isma'ilī sect.[2]

Another important point that may be considered here is that later poets like Daqīqī,[3] Abū Zarrā'a Mu'ammarī[4] and Nāṣir-i Khusraw,[5] while speaking of Rūdakī's blindness, have said nothing about his blindness from birth.

From the different accounts at our disposal, it appears that the poetic effusions of Rūdakī was very great. 'Awfī says that according to a narrator the verses of Rūdakī filled one hundred volumes,[6] while Jāmī, on the authority of the *Sharḥ-i Yamīnī*, states that the poet composed a million and three hundred thousand verses.[7] The poet Rashīdī[8] of Samarkand says that he counted the verses of Rūdakī and found that they amounted to one million and three hundred thousand and adds that if counted with greater care the verses might be found to be greater in number. Of this fabulous output, only a scanty remnant has come down to us. The Teheran edition of the so-called '*Dīvān-i Rūdakī*'[9] contains only a few poems that may be accepted

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1 Asadi's *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. P. Horn, 65 and ed. Iqbāl, p. 270.

2 قد سمل فی آخر عمره

3 Daqīqī says:

استادِ شهید زنده بایستی   و آن شاعر تیره چشم روشن بین

4 Abū Zarrā'a Mu'ammarī of Gurgān, a poet of later Sāmānid period, when asked if he could write poems like Rūdakī, is said to have replied:

اگر بدولت با رودکی نمی مانم   عجب مکن سخن از رودکی نه کم دانم
اگر بکوریِ چشم او بیافت گیتی را   ز بهرِ گیتی من کور بود نتوانم
هزار یک ز آن کو یافت از عطای ملوک   بمن دهی سخن آید هزار چندانم

['Awfī, ii, p. 10].

5 Nāṣir-i Khusraw has a reference to Rūdakī's blindness in the verse:

اشعارِ زهد و پند بسی گفتست   آن تیره چشم شاعرِ روشن بین

[*Dīvān-i Nāṣir-i Khusraw*, p. 323, Tehran, A.H. 1304–7 (solar)].

6 *Lubāb*, ii, 7.

7 *Bahāristān*, p. 91, Tehran, A.H. 1311 (solar).

8 The verse referred to is:

شعرِ او را بر شمردم سیزده ره صد هزار   هم فزون آید اگر چونانکه باید بشمری

9 Edited by Ṣadru'l-Kuttāb Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Āmulī, dedicated to Farīdūn Mīrzā and published in A.H. 1315.

as Rūdakī's compositions.[1] Ethé has collected fifty-two fragments amounting to two hundred and forty-two couplets.[2] To these we should now add the lines quoted by Asadī (d. A.H. 465) in his *Lughat-i Furs*. In this oldest extant lexicographical work, Rūdakī has been cited one hundred and sixty-one times. Among these quotations which are mostly single rhymed distichs there are sixteen couplets[3] of the lost Maṣnavī '*Kalīla va Dimna*'. Twenty-nine distichs are also available in *al-Mu'jam fī Ma'āyir-i Ash'āri'l-'Ajam* by Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qais ar-Rāzī.[4]

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1 See the article '*Rūdakī and Pseudo-Rūdakī*' by E. Denison Ross published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, October, 1924, pp. 609–44.

2 Hermann Ethé, Rudagī, der Samaniden dichter, in Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschafter su Göttingen, 1873, pp. 678–742.

3 See Paul Horn's Introduction to *Asadi's neu persisches Wörterbuch* (*Lughat-i Furs*), Berlin, 1897.

4 A treatise on the Prosody and Poetic Art of the Persians written early in the seventh century of the Hegira, edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad Qazvīnī and E. G. Browne and published in the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. X, 1909.

The '*Kalīla va Dimna*' holds a prominent place in Arabic and Persian literature and is the source of many fables which abound in the two languages. So, a brief notice of the work will not be out of place here. A copy of the original Sanskrit work was taken from India to Irān by a learned physician named Burzūyeh (Burzoe) under the orders of the Sāsānian King Khusraw I, better known as Anūshīrwān the Just (A.D. 531–79). It was immediately translated into Pahlavi. From the Pahlavi version, the book was translated into Syriac under the title 'Kalīlag wa Damnag' by Būd about A.D. 570. It was translated into Arabic about A.D. 570 by Rūzbih better known as 'Abdu'llāh Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' (d. *circa* A.D. 760) under the patronage of the second 'Abbāsid Caliph Munṣūr (A.D. 754–75). From Arabic it was rendered into Persian under the orders of the Sāmānid Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (A.D. 913–42) and clothed in verse by Rūdakī. Again, it was translated from the Arabic version of 'Abdu'llāh by Abu'l-Ma'ālī Naṣru'llāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd Munshī under the title '*Kalīla va Dimna*' in A.D. 1141–44 under the order of the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh in (A.D. 1118–52) and this revised translation under the name of *Kalīla va Dimna* has since been current in Irān. Although the Pahlavi translation has been lost, the Arabic version is still extant and may be verified with the help of the translations into Latin, Greek, Syriac, Turkish, Hebrew, Italian, French and English. The next Persian version is that made by Ḥusain b. 'Alī Wā'iz-i-Kāshifī towards the end of the fifteenth century A.D. It was dedicated by him to Amīr Shaikh Aḥmad Suhaylī, the Minister of the Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, a descendant of Tamerlane. The version is therefore entitled '*Anwār-i-Suhaylī*' (the Lights of Canopus). Although the author aimed at simplifying the earlier version by Naṣru'llāh, his style is more florid and bombastic. The next Persian version is that made by Abu'l-Faẓl b. Mubārak 'Allāmī (d. A.D. 1602), the Minister of Emperor Akbar, in A.D. 1587-88. This version is based on Naṣru'llāh's translation and is characterized by its plain and elegant language and is known by the name of the '*'Iyār-i Dānish*' or 'The Touchstone of Wisdom', which as a popular version has retained its place as a standard work in Persian literature.

Very few books in the world has attained so much success or have been translated into so many languages as this work. It has undergone careful and critical examination at the hands of the Orientalists who have come to the definite conclusion that the original text of the work is the *Pañchatantra* of Sanskrit literature. The name '*Kalīla va Dimna*' has been taken from Karataka and Damanaka, a fable in the *Pañchatantra*. The original Sanskrit work is said to have been composed by a Brahmin of Ceylon named Bidpay under the orders of a king named Dabshalim.

For further details see Sir John Malcolm's *Sketches of Persia*, pp. 71–74, London, 1861, and *The Ocean of Story* (Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*) tr. by C. H. Tawney, pp. v–xxxi and the Genealogical Table of the *Pañchatantra* facing p. 242 of Volume V London, 1926.

Rūdakī's fame also rests on his versification of the *Kalīla va Dimna*[1] which he undertook under the munificent patronage of the Sāmānid King Naṣr II bin Aḥmad (A.H. 301–31/A.D. 913–42) and of his Minister Abu'l-Faẓl Bal'amī. He versified a Persian adaptation of an Arabic version from the Pahlavī translation of the Sanskrit original. In his *Shāhnāma*, Firdausī has referred to Rūdakī's versification of the *Kalīla* in the following words:—

کلیله بتازی شد از پهلوی   بدینسان که اکنون همی بشنوی
بتازی همی بود تا گاهِ نصر   بدان گه که شد بر جهان شاه عصر
گرانمایه بوالفضل دستورِ او   که اندر سخن بود گنجور او
بفرمود تا فارسی و دری   بگفتند و کوتاه شد داوری
ازان پس چو بشنید رای آمدش   برو بر خرد رهنمای آمدش
همی خواستی آشکار و نهان   کزو یادگاری بود در جهان
گذارنده را پیش بنشاندند   همه نامه بر رودکی خواندند[1]
بپیوست گویا پراگنده را   بسُفت این چنین درِ آگنده را

Kalīla was translated from Pahlavī into Arabic, as you may hear it read today,
It remained in Arabic till Naṣr became the lord of the age on earth,
His noble minister Abu'l-Faẓl, who was his treasurer in respect of lore, ordered it to be rendered into Persian and Darī, and it was readily executed,
Thereafter when he (Naṣr) heard (it) an idea presented itself to him,
He expressed his wish in public and in private that some memorial of himself should survive in the world,
Readers were appointed, they read out the whole book to Rūdakī[2]
He so linked together the scattered (words) as you'd say that he had threaded pregnant pearls.

Rūdakī was amply rewarded for this work. From the following verse, it is understood that he received a sum of 40,000 Dirhams:—

چهل هزار درم رودکی ز مهتر خویش
عطا گرفت بنظم کلیله در کشور[3]

Rūdakī received Forty thousand dirhams from his patron for the versification of the *Kalīla*.

[1] Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, viii, 2506-7 (ed. Sa'īd-i Nafīsī), published by Beroukhim, Tehran, 1935, also *The Shāhnāma of Firdausī* by Warner and Warner, vii, 430-31, Trübner's Oriental Series, London, 1915.

[2] Here is another reference to Rūdakī's blindness.

[3] The authorship of this verse is attributed to 'Unṣurī, the poet laureate of the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna.

Unfortunately this valuable work, excepting some fragments[1] that have chanced to be preserved in various Persian lexicons and other works, has been lost. It was a *Maṣnavī* poem written in the *Ramal-i Maqṣūr* hexameter.[2] Its opening verse is said to have run as follows:—

هرکه ناموخت از گذشت روزگار
نیز ناموزد ز هیچ آموزگار

Besides this the poet is said to have written other *Maṣnavīs*, namely, the '*Daurān-i Āftāb*',[3] the '*Arā'isu'n-Nafā'is*',[4] and the '*Sindabādnāma*'.[5]

According to Ḥājjī Khalīfa (d. A.D. 1658) the poet also wrote a Persian lexicon called '*Tāju'l-Maṣādir*',[6] now no longer extant.

That Rūdakī had a poetic genius of a high order is admitted at all hands. He rightly deserves the encomiums which were lavished upon him during his lifetime and were continued after his death. Shahīd of Balkh in a verse cited by 'Awfī says that 'Bravo! and Well Done! are a compliment in the case of other poets, but in the case of Rūdakī these words would be an impertinence'.[7] Kisā'ī[8] and Niẓāmī 'Arūẓī[9] of Samarqand have called him the 'Master of Poets' while Ma'rūfī[10] of Balkh has acknowledged him as the 'Sulṭān of Poets'. Daqīqī,[11] the precursor of Firdausī, says that for him to praise one who had received panegyrics from Rūdakī would be to bring dates to Hajar.[12] In the verses quoted below, even 'Unṣurī, the poet laureate of

[1] According to the calculation of Sa'īd-i Nafīsī only 88 verses of this work has come down to us. (See his *Aḥwāl-u-Ash'ār-i Abū 'Abdu'llāh Ja'far Rūdakī Samarqandī*, ii, 588.)

[2] فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلان

[3] *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*.

[4] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunūn*, ii, 111, Constantinople, A.H. 1311.

[5] See Paul Horn's Introduction to *Asadi's Neupersiches Wörterbuch* (*Lughat-i Furs*), p. 21, Berlin, 1897.

[6] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kashfu'ẓ-Ẓunūn*, i, 212, Constantinople, A.H. 1311.

[7] شاعران را خه و احسنت مدیح   رودکی را خه و احسنت هجاست

'Awfī, *Lubābu'l-Albāb* (ed. E. G. Browne), ii, 6, London-Leyden, 1903.

[8] رودکی استادِ شاعرانِ جهان بود   صد یک ازو توئی کسائی پرگست

Lughat-i Furs (ed. Paul Horn), p. 10.

[9] کان کس که شعر داند داند که در جهان   صاحبقران شاعری استاد رودکی است

'Awfī, *Lubāb.*, p. 7.

[10] از رودکی شنیدم سلطانِ شاعران   کاندر جهان بکس مگر و جز بفاطمی

'Awfī, *Lubāb.*, p. 6.

[11] که را رودکی گفته باشد مدیح   امامِ فنونِ سخن بود ور
دقیقی مدیح آورد نزدِ او   چو خرما بود برده سوی هجر

'Awfī, *Lubāb.*, p. 6.

[12] According to the author of the *Āthāru'l-Bilād*, Hajar was the capital of Baḥrein.

Sulṭan Maḥmūd, admits that the ghazals of Rūdakī were superior to his own and that with all his efforts he failed to produce a ghazal like that of Rūdakī:

غزل رودکی وار نیکو بود و
غزلهایِ من رودکی وار نیست

The Sāmānid prince Naṣr II was charmed by the poetic genius of Rūdakī and attached him to his court. Fortune smiled upon him and honour and riches were abundantly showered upon him. On one occasion, when he had completed the versification of the *Kalīla va Dimna*, the prince rewarded him with forty thousand dirhams.[1] He lived in a princely style in the Sāmānid court. It is said that he owned two hundred slaves clad in rich liveries and that he would require four hundred camels to carry his luggage.[2] A reference to his vast riches is met with in the poem written in his old age when he had fallen on evil days. All the memoir-writers are unanimous in their opinion regarding his wealth. Poets like 'Unṣurī[3] and Azraqī[4] have envied his lot.

His name has been indissolubly connected with that of his royal patron Naṣr II by a charming anecdote related by all Taẕkira-writers. Once Naṣr, accompanied by the nobles of his court, went to Bādghīs near Herāt and he was so charmed by the beauty of that place that he remained there for four years and showed no sign of returning to his capital Bukhārā, the stink and filthiness of which the poets never ceased to attack. The nobles were yearning for their home and prayed to Rūdakī to sing to the king some poem which would awaken in him a desire to go back to Bukhārā. One morning Rūdakī improvised the following verses and sang them apparently to the harp before the king:

بویِ جویِ مولیان آید همی   یادِ یارِ مهربان آید همی
ریگِ آمو با دُرشتیهای او   زیر پا چون پرنیان آید همی
آبِ جیحون با همه پهناوری   خنگِ ما را تا میان آید همی
ای بخارا شاد باش و شاد زی   شاه نزدت میهمان آید همی
میر ماه است و بخارا آسمان   ماه سوی آسمان آید همی

[1] See before.
[2] Cf. Jāmī:

رودکی آنکه دُر همی سفتی   مدحِ سامانیان همی گفتی
صلهٔ شعرهای همچو دُرش   بود دربار چار صد شترش

[3] 'Unṣurī says:

چهل هزار درم رودکی زِ مهترِ خویش   عطـــا گرفت بنظم کلیله در کشور

[4] Azraqī writes:

حدیثِ میرِ خراسان و قصّهٔ توزیع   بگفت رودکی از روی نغز در اشعار

میر سرو است و بخارا بوستان   سرو سوی بوستان آید همی
آفرین و مدح سود آید ترا   گر بگنج اندر زیان آید همی

The fragrance of the rivulet *Mūliyān*[1] is ever wafted (to us)
The memory of kind friends is ever present in mind;
The sandy desert of Āmū with all its hardships would glide like silk under the feet;
The water of the Oxus with all its expanse, would only be knee-deep for our steeds.
Rejoice and long live O Bukhārā! the King is coming to visit thee;
The prince is the moon and Bukhārā the sky, the moon would rise in the sky;
The prince is the cypress and Bukhārā the garden,
The cypress would proceed to the garden;
Eulogy and encomium would be an asset to thee
Though the treasury might incur a liability.

The king was so moved that he, as the story goes,[2] without putting on his socks, got upon the horse that stood saddled at the gate and did not halt till he had travelled for eight miles. The courtiers presented to the poet a purse of ten thousand dīnārs.

Dawlatshāh has found no beauty in the song and has expressed surprise that words so simple could produce such a wonderful effect.[3] We, however, must not forget that in Dawlatshāh's time artificial and stilted types of poems were in vogue and simplicity did not count for much. Apart from the simplicity of the verses cited above, their wonderful effect upon the king undoubtedly owed much to the melodious voice and musical skill of the poet.

Rūdakī's poems on wine display his masterly touch in the lyric vein. Of the poems of this genre we quote below[4] the following which is best known, with its English rendering by Professor Edward Byles Cowell, the teacher of Fitzgerald as well as of Professor E. G. Browne:

بیار آن می که پنداری روان یاقوت نابستی   و یا چون بر کشیده تیغ اندر آفتابستی
بپاکی گوئی اندر جام مانندِ گلابستی   بخوشی گوئی اندر دیدهٔ بیخواب خوابستی
سحابستی قدح گوئی و می قطرهٔ سحابستی   طرب گوئی که اندر دل دعای مستجابستی
اگر می نیستی یکسر همه دلها خرابستی   اگر در کالبد جانرا ندیدستی شرابستی
اگر این می بابر اندر بچنگالِ عقابستی   از آن تا ناکسان هرگز نخوردندی صوابستی[4]

[1] A river in Bukhārā.
[2] Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, *Chahār Maqāla* (ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī), pp. 37–39, Berlin, 1927.
[3] Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā* (ed. E. G. Browne), Persian Historical Text, p. 32, London-Leyden, 1901.
[4] Rīzā Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā*, i, 238, Tehran, A.H. 1295.

'Bring me yon wine which thou might'st call a melted ruby in its cup,
Or like a scimitar unsheathed, in the sun's noon-tide light held up.
'Tis the rose-water, thou might'st say, yea, thence distilled for purity;
Its sweetness falls as sleep's own balm steals o'er the vigil-wearied eye.
Thou mightest call the cup the cloud, the wine the raindrop from it cast,
Or say the joy that fills the heart whose prayer long looked-for comes at last.
Were there no wine all hearts would be a desert waste, forlorn and black;
But were our last life breath extinct, the sight of wine would bring it back.
O if an eagle would but swoop, and bear the wine up to sky,
Far out of reach of all the base, who would not shout
"Well done" as I?'[1]

Rūdakī had something of the Epicurean philosophy which inspired the poems of 'Omar Khayyām in a later age. The poet sings [2]:

شاد زی با سیه چشمان شاد   که جهان نیست جز فسانه و باد
ز آمده شادمان نباید بود   وز گذشته نکرد باید یاد
من و آن جعد موی غالیه بوی   من و آن ماه روی حور نژاد
نیک بخت آن کسی که داد و بخورد   شور بخت آنکه او نخورد و نداد [2]
باد و ابرست این جهان افسوس   باده پیش آر هرچه بادا باد [3]

Live merrily with gay black-eyed ones, for evanescent and unreal is the world;
One should not be glad for gains obtained, nor should he be sad for the loss sustained;
I have got for myself one who has tresses curly and fragrant and is born of *houri* with face like the moon;
Lucky is the man who gave and ate, wretched is he who neither ate nor gave,
Alas! this world is vain and ephemeral, bring me wine and let happen what may.

Indeed, Epicurean philosophy was the guiding principle of the life of the poet who wasted his health and fortune by treading the primrose-path of

[1] Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, i, 457-58, Cambridge, 1929.
[2] Cf. Sa'dī's line from the *Gulistān*:

نیک بخت آنکه خورد و کشت و بدبخت آنکه مرد و هشت

Fortunate was the man who ate and sowed and unfortunate was he who died and left behind.

dalliance. However, with the approach of old age, the light-heartedness of youth was gone especially after the death of his friend and admirer Shahīd of Balkh on whose death Rūdakī wrote an elegy.[1] He also lost his position in the Sāmānid court probably after his patron Naṣr II bin Aḥmad (A.H. 301–331/A.D. 913–942) had to abdicate the throne in favour of his son Nūḥ in consequence of a conspiracy against him for his conversion to the Isma'īlī faith[2] for which the poet also appears to have had sympathy.[3]

Rūdakī was not without a vein of humour. It is said that once Abū Ṭāhir Khusravānī, a contemporary poet, had indirectly taunted Rūdakī for his vanity in dyeing his hair. He wondered why men dyed their hair as by doing that they could not escape death and gave themselves trouble in vain.[4] Rūdakī took the compliment for himself and replied thus:

من موی خویش را نه از آن میکنم سیاه   تا باز نوجوان شوم و نو کنم گناه
چو جامه‌ها بوقت مصیبت سیه کنند   من موی از مصیبت پیری کنم سیاه [5]

I dye not my hair black to become young again and try sins anew,
As in time of grief people don their garments black I dye my hair black to mourn the misfortune of old age.

In the following verses, while mourning the death of a grandee, Rūdakī says that a man should not lose his heart in times of distress and adversity. According to him it is through passive courage, resolute endurance and firmness of mind that a man can show his real greatness [5]:

ای آنکه غم کنی و سزاواری   و اندر نهان سرشک همی باری
رفت آنکه رفت و آمد آنکه آمد   بود آنکه بود خیره چه غم داری
هموار خواهی کرد گیتی را   گیتی است کی پذیرد همواری

[1] The elegy referred to is:

کاروان شهید رفت از پیش   و آن ما رفته گیر و می اندیش
از شمار دو چشم یک تن کم   وز شمار خرد هزاران بیش

[2] Vide *Siyāsat-nāma* by Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, ed. Charles Schefer, 188–93, Paris, 1891.
[3] Cf. Ma'rūfī's verse of which the second hemistich by Rūdakī has been adopted by way of Taẓmīn:

از رودکی شنیدم سلطان شاعران   کاندر جهان بکس مگر و جز بفاطمی

[4] Italo Pizzi, *Chrestomathie persane*, p. 64, Turin, 1889; also Charles J. Pickering's article '*The Last Singers of Bukhara*', pp. 821-22 in the *National Review*, Vol. XV, London, 1890.
[5] Cf. the following lines of Kisā'ī on the same subject:

از خضاب من و از موی سیه کردن من   گر همی رنج خوری پش خور و رنج مبر
غرضم زو نه جوانی ست بترسم که ز من   خرد پیران جویند و نیابند دگر

If thou art pained to see my hair tincture and dyeing my hair black; take it not amiss;
To look young is not my motive rather I apprehend that someone may seek in me the wisdom of age and find it not.

رو تا قیامت آید زاری کن   کی رفته را بزاری باز آری

مُستی مکن که نشنود او مُستی   زاری مکن که نشنود او زاری

اندر بلای سخت پدید آید   فضل و بزرگمردی و سالاری[1]

O thou, who mournest and mournest rightly
And in secret sheddest tears,
What is gone is gone and hath happened what had to happen,
The past is past, why mournest thou in vain;
Wishest thou to make the world eternal ?
How could the world everlasting be ?
Thou may'st wail on till the Day of Resurrection,
How couldst thou by wailings bring back the departed one;
Lament not, for the world pays no heed to lamentation,
Bewail not as for wailings it careth not;
'Tis in times of tribulation that ones
Excellence, manliness and leadership become manifest.

The following quatrain shows that the poet had nothing but a scathing condemnation for cant and hypocrisy[1]:

روی بمحراب نهادن چه سود   دل به بخارا و بتانِ طراز

ایزد ما وسوسهٔ عاشقی   از تو پزیرد نه پزیرد نماز[2]

Turning the face towards the altar would be of no avail
If the mind is fixed on Bukhārā and the damsels of Ṭarāz;
Our Lord might grant thee carnal desire
But would hear thy prayers not.

Rūdakī echoed through the following lines the eternal religious sentiment of the East and advocated the noble principle of Ahiṃsā, arguing that all that God has given to man is not to be used either for his moral degradation or as a weapon for killing his fellow-men. One may wish that the wisdom of his lines stayed the cruel hand of the assassin and stopped for ever the terrible action of the nations or States employing the brutal engines of war for the destruction of human lives, abusing Science for perfidy and atrocious crimes. Here the poet speaks of the inevitable course of operation of the law of retribution which man fails to see due to the haughtiness of his spirit and lack of wisdom and foresight. Here he comes out in his prophetic strain to convey a truth for all times to come[2]:

چون کارد بدست آری مردم نتوان کشت   نزدیکِ خداوند بَدیء نیست فرامُشت

این کارد نه از بهرِ ستمگاران کردند   انگورَ نه از بهرِ نبیذ است بچرخُشت

[1] Dr. Riẓā-zāda Shafaq, *Ta'rīkh-i Adabiyyāt-i Irān*, p. 47, Tehran, A.H. 1321 (solar).

[2] 'Awfī, *Lubāb.*, ii, 9.

عیسیٰ برهی دید یکی کشته فتاده   حیران شد و بگرفت بدندان سر انگشت

گفتا که کرا کشتی تا کشته شدی زار   تا باز که او را بکشد آنکه ترا کشت

انگشت مکن رنجه بدر کوفتن کس   تا کس نکند رنجه بدر کوفتنت مُشت[1]

Thou may'st possess a knife but men thou mustn't slay,
God never forgetteth a crime perpetrated,
The knife wasn't meant for the tyrant,
Nor the grape for making wine,
Once Jesus found a slain man lying on the road
And was struck with astonishment and grief,
He said, 'Whom hadst thou slain that thou
Hast been slain and who hath slain thee himself to be slain?'
Hurt thou none with thy finger, lest none may hurt thee with the fist.[1]

Rūdakī's verses embodying his lament in his old age have special interest as they throw much light upon his life and habits. There are some lines which may offend modern taste, yet on account of the importance of the poem, we quote as many verses as could be available. From the perusal of these verses it is understood that he had fallen on evil days in his old age. The cause of his poverty and misfortune must be either due to his love for animal gratification[2] or his removal from the Samanid court for his possible leanings towards the Ismā'īlī faith. Whatever the cause may be, the story described in these verses excites our pity, sorrow and grief. The verses are:

مرا بسود و فرو ریخت هرچه دندان بود

نبود دندان لا بل چراغِ تابان بود

سپید سیم رده بود و درّ و مرجان بود

ستارهٔ سحری بود و قطرهٔ باران بود

[1] Naṣru'llāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Hamīd Munshī, *Kitab-i Kalīla va Dimna*, ed. Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm Khān Garakānī, Introduction, p. 'ل', Tehran, 1351 A.H.

[2] We find references in his poems and in the poems written by later poets as to his love for a Turkish slave named 'Ayyār. Rūdakī had to spend a huge sum of money to purchase him and became involved in debt which was liquidated by his great friend and admirer Abu'l-Faẓl Bal'amī.

Cf. Rūdakī's line:

داد پیغام بسرّ اندر عیّار مرا   که مکن یاد بشعر اندر بسیار مرا

Adīb-i Ṣābir of Tirmiẕ writes:

گوئی هوا ز بادِ بهار و نسیم گُل   با رودکی حکایتِ عیّار میکند

Sūzanī of Samarqand says:

کردم دلِ خویش ای بتِ عیّار ز عشقت

چون رودکی اندر غمِ عیّار شکسته

یکی نماند کنون بل همه بسود و بریخت
چه نحس بود همانا که نحسِ کیوان بود
نه نحسِ کیوان بود و نه روزگار دراز
چه بود مَنت بگویم قضای یزدان بود
جهان همیشه چنین است گِرد گِردان است
همیشه تا بود آئینش گِرد گِردان بود
همان که درمان باشد بجای درد شود
و باز درد همان کز نخست درمان بود
کهن کند بزمانی همان کجا نو بود
و نو کند بزمانی همان که خلقان بود
بسا شکسته بیابان که باغِ خرّم بود
و باغِ خرّم گشت آن کجا بیابان بود
همی چه دانی ای ماه روی غالیه بوی
که حال بنده ازین پیش بر چه سامان بود
شد آن زمانه که او شاد بود و خرّم بود
نشاطِ او بفزون بود و بیم نقصان بود
بزلفِ چوگان نازش همی کنی تو بدو
ندیدی آنگه او را که زلفِ چوگان بود
شد آن زمانه که رویش بسانِ دیبا بود
شد آن زمانه که مویش بسانِ قطران بود
بسا کنیزک نیکو که میل داشت بدو
بشب زیارتِ او پیش او به پنهان بود
بروز چونکه نیارست شد بدیدنِ او
نهیبِ خواجهٔ او بود و بیمِ زندان بود
نبیدِ روشن و دیدارِ خوب و روی لطیف
کجا گران بُد زی من هماره ارزان بود

همیشه شاد ندانستمی که غم چه بود
دلم نشاط و طرب را فراخ میدان بود
بسا دلا که بسانِ حریر کرده بشعر
ازان سپس که بکردار سنگ و سندان بود
همیشه دستش زی زلفکانِ خوشبو بود
همیشه گوشش زی مردمِ سخندان بود
بدان زمانه ندیدی که زی چمن رفتی
سرود گویان گوئی هزاردستان بود
عیال نه زن و فرزند نه مؤنت نه
ازین همه تنم آسوده بود و آسان بود
همی خریدمی و بیشمار داده درم
بشهر هرکه یکی تُرکِ نارِ پستان بود
شد آن زمانه که شعرش همه جهان بنوشت
شد آن زمانه که او شاعرِ خراسان بود
کرا بزرگی و نعمت ز این و آن بودی
ورا بزرگی و نعمت ز آلِ سامان بود
بداد میرِ خراسانش چهل هزار درم
درو فزونی یک پنج میر ماکان بود
کنون زمانه دگر گشت و من دگر گشتم
عصا بیار که وقتِ عصا و انبان بود

Wore out and fell all the teeth I had,
They were teeth, nay they were bright lamps;
They were as white as pure silver and resembled a row of pearls,
They were as bright as the Morning Star and as clear as the drops of rain;
Not one is left now, all have decayed and fallen,
What a mishap ! 'twas indeed the effect of Saturn;
No 'twas not due to Saturn nor due to lapse of time
Why then ? the truth is that 'twas the Will of God;
Ever so hath turned the Wheel of Fortune, and till the world exists its law would reign supreme;

A thing that cures, a source of pain would be, and again a thing that pains a cure could be;
Anon it makes old the things fresh and new
And forthwith makes them new when old they grew;
Many a beauteous garden is reduced to desert drear
And where once stood a desert lovely gardens appear;
O thou, whose face is bright as the Moon and whose tresses fragrant as musk, knowest not what a high station thy slave held before;
Past are the days when he was merry and gay
And had more to enjoy and less to pay;
Thou art displaying thy curling tresses to thy slave in glee
And didst know him not when wavy curls had he;
Gone is the time when his face was like velvet
Gone is the time when his hair was ebon black;
Many a maiden fair in love with him
In secret visited him by night;
As in the day she could visit him not for fear of her lord and loss of liberty;
Sparkling wine, ravishing eyes and comely face,
Costly though they were cheap for me;
Always happy I was and knew not what sorrow was,
My heart was a play-ground for sport and gaiety
Many a heart was softened to silk by my song
Though 'twas as hard as a stone or an anvil could be;
Ever ready were his hands for the tresses smelling sweet
And to lend the ear to men of lore always keen was he;
Thou didst see him not, when he would enter gardens warbling like a nightingale;
No hearth, no wife, no child, no care had he
Free from these and unencumbered was he;
Always bought he at enormous prices damsels having breasts like the pomegranates wher'ver in the town one could be;
Gone are the days when the world ran crazy for his poems
Gone are the days when the bard of Khurāsān was he;
Who was laurelled and who was favoured by all?
Who was showered by the House of Sāmān with honour and favours;
Forty thousand dirhams the prince of Khurāsān rewarded him
To which a fifth was added by Mīr Mākān;
Now the time hath changed and changed am I,
Get a beggar's stick, for 'tis the time to have a stick and a wallet.

Thus in sorrow and misfortune ended the days of the poet. He was indeed the spoilt child of fortune. He died in his own village in A.H. 329/A.D. 940. According to Sam'ānī his tomb was situated in a garden near his village Banuj, and was obliterated in course of time

بعد از وفات تربت ما در زمین مجو
در سینه‌های مردمِ عارف مزارِ ماست

Look not on earth for our graves after we die,
In the hearts of men of lore our sepulchres lie.

INDUS SCRIPT AND TANTRIC CODE

By

DR. B. M. BARUA

The Indus seals and script have been critically studied from different points of view by such eminent scholars as Sir John Marshall,[1] Mr. Earnest Mackay,[2] Professor Langdon,[3] Dr. G. R. Hunter,[4] Dr. Giuseppe Piccoli,[5] and Messrs. C. J. Gadd[6] and Sidney Smith.[7] It is necessary to keep in view the nature of the guidance to the study of this fascinating but difficult subject which each of them has given us.

In the opinion of Sir John Marshall the Indus script is a pictographic writing which does not appear to have reached the syllabic stage, while in Dr. Hunter's opinion it may have been originally both pictographic and ideographic, but in its preserved state it is mainly phonetic. Mr. Gadd in his study of the *Sign-list of Early Indus Script* opines, 'that it is not an *alphabet* must be obvious from the number of its signs; such a notion cannot seriously be taken into account. On the other extreme, it can hardly be a pure picture-writing in which every sign represents a word, since a very short search will reveal groups of signs which frequently appear in the inscriptions in different contexts and often with the insertion of one or more varying signs. While no great certainty can be felt about this matter, it remains true that the general impression derived from the study of these inscriptions is that the signs are probably syllabic, with the admixture of 'ideograms', and perhaps determinatives; in short, that the system is perhaps not very much different from that of the cuneiform writing.'

Mr. Sidney Smith observes, 'Of those writings which are not purely alphabetic it may be said that signs fall into one of three classes, syllables, ideograms, determinatives. In any one inscription a sign can only belong to one of these classes, but it may in different inscriptions belong to all three. If a sign is used with a syllabic value, it may in different inscriptions have

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[1] Article on *Religion* in *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilization*, Arthur Probsthain, Vol. I.
[2] Article on *Seals and Seal Impressions* in *ibid.*, Vol. II.
[3] Article on *The Indus Script* in *ibid.*, Vol. II.
[4] Work on *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.*
[5] Article on *A comparison between Signs of the Indus Script and Signs* in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum, Indian Antiquary,* Vol. LXII, Pt. 782.
[6], [7] Articles on the *Sign-list of Early Indus Script, Mohenjo-daro,* Vol. II.

different syllabic values. If a sign belongs to the last class, it may determine meaning, in which case it generally marks the first or last sound in a syllable, or the first or last syllable in a polysyllable. A determinative of sound is usually called a complement, and is particularly useful when ideograms permit of variant readings . . . . The complications of the 'material' nature of the signs arise from two main features of the script, modifications, whether internal or external, and combinations.'

While definitely stating that the Brāhmī script is derived from the ancient Indus pictographic writing and assigning the phonetic values to the derived alphabetic characters, Professor Langdon does not wish 'to convey the inference that these are the correct values of the original ideograms, any more than the phonetic values of the Phœnician alphabet represent the values of the Egyptian pictographs from which they are derived.' 'It is highly improbable', says he, 'that the signs of the Indus script have reached the syllabic stage, that is, a consonant and vowel, as in the Brāhmī alphabet. Many of them may possibly be so used, and used as phonetic elements in the writing of the words, as many Sumerian pictographs are in the oldest known Sumerian texts.' He goes further and adds that there is not even a remote connection of the signs of the Indus script with the Sumerian or Proto-Elamite ones, the Indus inscriptions resembling the Egyptian hieroglyphs far more than they do the Sumerian linear and cuneiform system. There exists no difference of opinion as to the great antiquity of the Indus pictographs and the system of the Indus writing from right to left. As regards the contents of the Indus inscriptions, they are so far taken to be personal names or titles.

In spite of all attempts hitherto made there prevails a 'counsel of despair' regarding the decipherment of the Indus inscriptions. Swami Sankarananda, in his *Ṛgvedic Culture of the Pre-historic Indus*, calls our attention to the Tantric code, *Varṇabījakoṣa*,[1] strongly maintaining that a sure key to unlocking the secrets of the Indus script, if rightly used, might be obtained from it. The object of this paper is to briefly indicate the way in which the guidance from the Tantric code might be followed and that with what probable results, without being sanguine at all of being able to lessening the difficulties that beset the path or having a final say in the matter.

A few preliminary observations are indispensable. The Tantra texts, as they are now extant, are admittedly compilations of a comparatively modern age. They are far removed as such even from the Vedic and Epic times, not to speak of the early Indus civilization. Evidently their subject-matters bear the stamp of things that evolved through many subsequent periods. The separation of things that are later from things that are earlier is necessary before the Tantric code is availed of for the present purpose. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that it is chiefly based upon the pictographs which stand for a syllabic form of writing. In other words, it attaches certain phonetic values, in many instances more than one, to different signs

[1] See *Tantrābhidhāna*, edited by Panchanana Bhattacharya in Arthur Avalon Tantrik Texts Series, Vol. I.

as well as abstract ideas. So far as the signs go, their variety and variations are at first sight commensurate with those of the Indus script. The Sanskrit names which it supplies seem to be very appropriate to the Indus signs if we can ascertain the deities and men in different attitudes, animals and objects from which they are derived. And yet the question is bound to remain open in the present state of our knowledge if the phonetic values as suggested in the Tantric code are at all applicable to the pictographs of the Indus Valley. The utmost that I can say is that there is no harm in giving it a fair trial, in which case there must be a concerted action among a number of experts who can correctly identify the Indus signs and those who can lay their finger on their Sanskrit name-equivalents in the Tantric code. If thereby a large number of intelligible words can be made out of the Indus inscriptions, then, and then only, the problem of decipherment can be taken to be solved, at least partially, in the absence of any better guide in the shape of bilingual, trilingual or quadrilingual records or in that of Tantric manuscripts with the pictographs distinctly shown in them.

That there was the tradition of a pictogram in India is evident from the *Lalita-Vistara* list of sixty-four kinds of writing (*lipis*), including the numerical and notational ones and mentioning the Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhi and Puṣkarasārī as three parent scripts, the last one being obviously the name of a pictogram.

Though there is a wide gulph which separates the Indus history from the age of the Buddha and which can be bridged over only after other ancient sites showing the chain of continuity are discovered, it is a fact that the ancient pictographic tradition is maintained in the symbolical inscriptions on the Indian punch-marked coins, while the terra-cottas of the same age maintain the technique and tradition of the popular Indus arts and crafts.

As compared with the pictographs and signs of the Indus script, the Egyptian hieroglyphics follow a simplified and much more definite system. The same observation applies almost with equal force to the linear and cuneiform system of Sumeria, Susa, Babylon, Assyria and Iran. The uniqueness and high antiquity of the Indus script are proved by the much wider variety of its signs as well as its fluid character, both of these distinctive features being envisaged by the Tantric code.

One great drawback of the Tantric code, so far as it is known, lies in its failure to suggest the pictures or signs that are expressive of numerals, whereas in all probability and as argued by Mr. Sidney Smith there are a few numeral signs in the Indus inscriptions. If this be a fact, one may further observe that the Indus devices were precursors of those of the cuneiform system (*see* Pl. V, C).

The Indus tradition of the yogic method of mental concentration was continued through the *Upaniṣads*, Buddhism, Sāṃkhya-Yoga and different forms of later Tantricism, while, as I make out, the evidence of one of the early Mohenjo-daro seals is conclusive as to the continuity of the Indus religious thought through the *Ṛgveda*, *Upaniṣads*, Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism, in short, through the whole of Indo-Aryanism. In this particular seal an

Aśvattha tree (*Ficus Religiosa*) prominently figures, even with its aerial roots. Two bird-beaked and dragon-bodied but conventionalized creatures remain poised in the air from two sides of the tree, facing each other. Their tails are entwined on the tree-trunk round a circular spot in which the four *pippalas* (*Aśvattha* fruits) are shown, hanging down from their stalks (Pl. II, 1). It is not difficult to make out that the creatures represented thereon are the two *Suparṇas*, the mythical birds who appear in the Pali *Jātaka Nidānakathā* to be in the rôle of demi-gods along with the Nāgas, both ranking below the Devas and Brahmas.[1] The Buddha accords a chance or supernatural (*opapātika*) origin to both of them.[2] In the Indus stage the Nāga-bodied Suparṇas are a single mythical being, while their later separation into two classes of mythical beings closely resembling each other in their general shapes and forms is evident from their representation as such in the decorative device of the stone libation vases from Babylonia and Assyria (*see* Pl. II, 1*a*). So far as the Indus seal is concerned, the representation of the *Aśvattha* fruits would have been unmeaning if it were not for the fact that Indus artist's intention was to indicate the eating or not eating of them by the two creatures. If so, the seal concerned contains unmistakably a very ancient and interesting pictorial representation of the allegorical verse in the *Ṛgveda* [3] and later texts[4] which embodies the whole trend of the Indo-Aryan religious thought:

Dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhāyā samānaṃ vṛkṣaṃ pariṣaṣvajāte /
tayor anyaḥ pippalaṃ svāduttyanaśnan anyo abhicākaśīti //

'Two birds, inseparable friends, cling to the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fruit, the other looks on without eating.'

As to the contents of the Indus inscriptions, Mr. Gadd hits the mark in his conjecture that 'they include names, very probably of the owners'. 'Many, perhaps', he adds, 'especially of the shorter inscriptions, may be regarded as names alone, but others seem to add qualifications, which may be titles'.[5] Mr. Sidney Smith gives us a better guidance when he takes for granted 'that the inscriptions do not all contain only personal names; there must be other elements as well'.[6] We can have a more definite guidance from the Pali scholiast Buddhaghosa when he leads us to expect to find on the punch-marked coins (*kahāpaṇas*) either the name of the place—a village, town or city, a hill-side or river-bank—from which they were issued or that of their maker.[7]

In the inscriptions on the Indus seals, too, as they stand till now, we are generally to expect the names, simple or descriptive, or persons or places,

[1] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, i, pp. 70, 76.
[2] *Saṃyutta*, III, pp. 246ff.
[3] *Ṛgveda*, I, 164–20; *Nirukta*, XIV, 30.
[4] *Kaṭha Upa.*, III; *Muṇḍaka*, III, 1.1; *S'vetāśvatara*, IV. 6.
[5] *Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. II, p. 412.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 421.
[7] *Sāratthappakāsinī*, II, p. 294: *mahā-herañño . . . asukagāme asukanigame asuka-nagare asuka-pabbatacchāyāya asuka-nadītīre kato 'ti pi asukācariyena kato 'ti pi jānāti.*

the persons being owners or manufacturers and the places, villages, towns, cities or the like. It is only in the few cases of the seals with religious or mythological devices, which were probably used as amulets or the like, that we are to expect the names of the deities represented on them or any formulas of mystic potency. Following the guidance of the Tantric code, one may feel justified in thinking that the ordinary inscriptions ending in the letter (= śa) record the personal names in genitive singular, meaning 'of So and So'. One of them (Pl. V, B. 2) may be taken to read L+u+l+u+śa = Luluśa, 'of Lulu'. Another of them (Pl. V, B. 9-10), in which in the upper line a *ghariyal* (Sk. *grāha*) holds a fish in its jaws, may be taken to record a place-name ending in the word *patha*. There is a different place-name ending in the same word *patha* in the inscription on a second seal (Pl. V, B. 9).[1] In the religious seal (Pl. I, 1), the inscription may be supposed to record the name of the deity represented on it. It will be extremely hazardous at present to suggest anything beyond this.

Mr. Sohrab Jamshedjee Bulsara, who passes as a well-informed Iranian scholar, is out to prove the Iranian (*i.e.* Zoroastrian) origin of such ancient Indian alphabets as 'the Devanāgarī, the Indus Script, the Brāhmī, the Pāli and the Kharoshṭī'.[2] The typical list given of the ancient Indian alphabets is more than sufficient to prove his supernormality. It is for the first time that we hear of the 'Avestan letters' modelled evidently on the Egyptian hieroglyphics which follow a simple system of picture-writing as compared with the Indus script.[3]

One thing may be definitely stated in favour of the Indus scribes that they have most skilfully and intelligently executed their work and are not careless like the scribes of Aśoka. In a few of the seals they have clearly indicated the animal and other figures from which the letters or signs were derived. Attention may be drawn first of all to the seal (Pl. I, 1) in which the scribe indicates that the first letter on the right gives the outline of the lion-faced man in a standing posture, the second stands for the horned head of the buffalo, the third for the head of the rhinoceros, the fourth for the two forelegs of the tiger, the fifth for the outline of the fish, and the sixth for the two forelegs of the elephant. By showing the first letter below the inscription and above the tiger, the scribe wants to indicate that the inscription is to be read from right

[1] Note that in historical times the Punjab proper abounded with the places named after roads, *e.g.* Ajapatha (Goat-road), Meṇḍapatha (Ram-road), Mūsikapatha (Rat-road), Vaṃsapatha (Bamboo-road). *Mahāniddesa*, pp. 155, 415; Pāṇini, V. 1. 77; B. C. Law, *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 71. In each of the two seals (Pl. V, B. 9, 9*a*), the place-name seems to consist of five signs or syllables, the three in the lower row to be read from left to right and the two in the upper row from right to left. The three animals in the lower row of the first seal appear to be an elephant, a rhinoceros and a ram, the ram in front being shown also with its head turned towards the signs in the upper row. The place-name to be made out, according to the Tantric code, is Śalahapatha = Sk. Śarabhapatha.
[2] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Tenth All India Oriental Conference*, pp. 102ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

to left. The names suggested in the Tantric code along with their phonetic values are as follows (Pl. I, 1*a*).

1. Siṃhāsyā (Lion-faced) = *a*; Narasiṃha (Man-lion) = *a* or *u*.
2. Mahiṣaghna (Buffalo-killer) = *ja*.
3. Khaḍgī (Rhinoceros) = *gha, la, va*.
4. Vyāghrapāda (Tiger-legs) = *u* or *ḍa*.
5. Matsya (Fish) = *pa*.
6. Hastī (Elephant) = *śa*.

The sensible word which can be made out of the inscription is *ajala-upaśa*, Sk. *acala-upāsya*, meaning 'The mountain-worshipped one'.

In another seal (Pl. II, 6) we see a six-faced animal and behind it a six-faced letter. The Tantric code name for this is Ṣaṇmukha (Six-faced) having *u, ū, tha,* or *pa* for its phonetic value.

In a third seal (Pl. II, 5) the scribe indicates the correspondence between a three-faced quadruped and a letter derived from it. The appropriate name to be supplied for this letter from the Tantric code is Trivaktra (Three-faced), phonetic value *u*.

In a fourth seal (Pl. II, 4, 4*a*) the first letter of the inscription stands for the forelegs of the leopard. The suitable Tantric code name for this will be Śvāpada (Dog-legs), phonetic value *ā*.

In a fifth seal (Pl. II, 3, 3*a*) the third letter stands for the long-bearded head of a mighty goat. If the Tantric code name Aja (Goat) or Ajeśa (Goat-chief) be applicable to it, its phonetic value is either *ai, sa* or *ja, jha*.

Similarly the letter or sign composed of six vertical strokes, Tantric code name Ṣaḍaṭa (Six travellers), phonetic value *sa*, may be shown to have been derived from the six standing human figures (Pl. II, 2, 2*a*); the letter or sign composed of seven vertical strokes, Tantric code name Sapta-turaga (Seven fast-walkers), phonetic value *cha*, from the seven human figures in a fast walking attitude (Pl. I, 2, 2*a*); the letter or sign from the figure of a tree-spirit appearing in the attitude of catching or killing a tiger (Pl. I, 3, 3*a*); and the letter or sign from the standing figure of a deity under a *prabhā*-like object (Pl. I, 4, 4*a*).

It is not an easy task to identify all the letters or signs; a few of them can certainly be. Take, for instance, Kabandha (Headless man), phonetic value *va* (Pl. IV, 149); Vṛścika (Scorpion), phonetic value *cha* (Pl. IV, 94); Vihaga (Flying bird), phonetic value *pha* (Pl. IV, 99); Śikhī (Peacock), phonetic value *ta, pha, ra, la* (Pl. IV, 104); Kukkuṭī (Hen), phonetic value *ṅ* (Pl. IV, 103); Hasta (Hand), phonetic value *jha* (Pl. III, 32); Dhanu (Bow), phonetic value *ṭa* (Pl. IV, 151); Dhanurdhara (Bow-holder), phonetic value *pa* (Pl. IV, 152); Mukha (Mouth), phonetic value *aḥ, ka, ṭa, dha, ya, va, kṣa* (Pl. III, 31); Gaja

(Elephant tusker), phonetic value *ā* (Pl. III, 87); Catustārā (Four stars), phonetic value *ñ* (Pl. III, 3); Tribindu (Three points), phonetic value *cha* (Pl. III, 2); Bindu (single point), phonetic value *aṃ, i, ṭha, ma* (Pl. III, 1); Pañcapañcātmikā (Five individuals), phonetic value *gha* (Pl. III. 18, 18*a*).

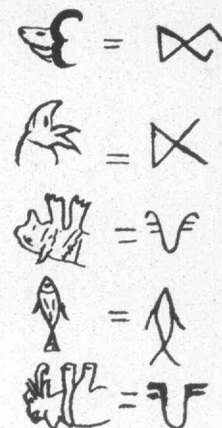
The difficulty which seems at first sight insuperable lies in finding out the underlying system of the Indus writing, in separating the vowel and consonantal signs, as well as in distinguishing the numeral devices.

In offering this suggestion I do not intend being dogmatic on any point. I claim certainty just in one point, namely, in the interpretation of the seal representing the two Suparṇas on an *Aśvattha* tree. But it may be hoped that his paper as a whole will be found useful in clearing up the general position of the Indus script which is indigenous, ancient in time and unique in its character. The development of a syllabic system in the Indus script retaining in it vestiges of pictographs and ideograms is undeniable, and there is apparently no solid ground for thinking that there is anything peculiarly Dravidian or proto-Dravidian in the Indus seals and their inscriptions. None need be astonished if their language is a form of Prakrit from which the language of the *Ṛgveda* itself evolved with no real dual in it save and except in the compounds denoting natural pairs.

INDUS SCRIPT—TYPICAL SEALS



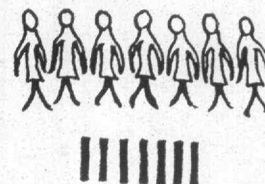
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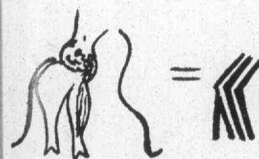
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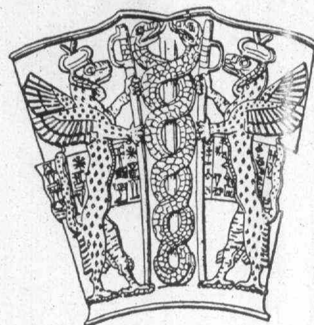


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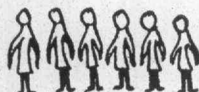
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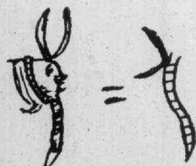
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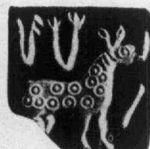
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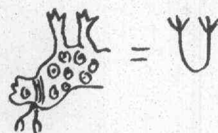
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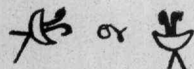
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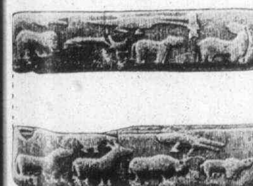
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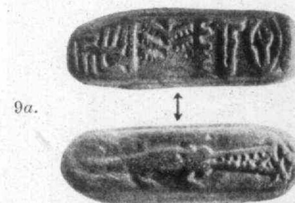
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B. TYPICAL INSCRIPTIONS

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C. NUMERAL SIGNS

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ERRATA

Page		
Page 1	Read	'*Laud*' in place of 'Land'.
,, 339	,,	'*that*' in place of 'the'.
,, 416	,,	'*Navapatrikā*' in place of 'Navaputrikā'.
,, 463	,,	'*gulf*' in place of 'gulph'.

MESSAGES

Sir Atul Chatterjee

It is gratifying to learn that many friends and admirers of Dr. B. C. Law are contributing to a Presentation Volume in his honour. Dr. Law's services to the study of ancient Indian culture have been most valuable, both on account of his own patient and erudite research into many recondite problems and his munificent endowments to further similar research by other scholars. He has set an excellent example and it is to be hoped that he will be spared for many long years to carry on and develop his activities in this sphere.

The Late Dr. A. Berriedale Keith

I congratulate you on your attainment of 55th year. It is pleasant to think that you have accomplished so much while you are still so young. With all good wishes.

Dr. F. W. Thomas

Your valuable and thoroughgoing contributions to our studies are so numerous and extensive that it is difficult to realise that in 1946 you will attain an age of no more than 55 years. Having reached 76 early this year (1943) I must be regarded as being on the descending path; but my interest in our perennial studies is undiminished and I look forward hopefully to being a living participant in the tribute of appreciative congratulation which will reach you on the day.

Sir Edward Maclagan

You know how most I appreciate what I have read of your well-known indological studies.

Dr. Dasharatha Sharma

Please find herewith one Sanskrit verse, an humble offering of mine, for the Commemoration Volume. I do not know whether it will be found good enough; but it expresses fairly well, I believe, the high regard in which I have always held you.

॥ श्रीः ॥

विमलचरणसाम्यं प्राप्यते केन लोके
मुररिपुरतुलोऽसौ तुल्यतां येन नीतः ।
विमलचरण-विष्णोर्जह्नुकन्यावतीर्णा
विमलचरण-लायं बौद्धगङ्गाप्रसारी ॥

दशरथशर्मा ।

The Hon'ble Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University

I am a very great admirer of your profound learning and rare scholarship, and I pray that you may live long to serve the cause of ancient Indian literature and culture.